1778B
29
Gurukul Kan

1778-B
29

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

विषय संख्या 954.03 आगत नं० 150014

लेखक .....

शीर्षक History of military transition

दिनांक	सदस्य संख्या	दिनांक	सदस्य संख्या

50014

गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि न लगायें।

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1776B
29

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

वर्ग संख्या...954.03 आगत संख्या...150014

पुस्तक विवरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित ३० वें दिन यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापस आ जानी चाहिए अन्यथा ५० पैसे प्रतिदिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब दण्ड लगेगा।

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्व
कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर क
आदि न लगायें।

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

51

954.03,HIS
150014

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

954.03
W5

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION

ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN

CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

VOLUME II.

SECTION THE FIRST.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN NOURSE,

BOOKSELLER IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

M.DCC.LXXVIII.

1778 / 28

DIGITIZED C-DAC
2005-2006

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

BOOK VI.

THE WAR OF BENGAL.

THE ſcope of our narrative now calls us from the coaſt of Coromandel to relate the calamities which at this time befel the Engliſh ſettlements in Bengal; previous to which, it is requiſite to inveſtigate the riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh commerce in the province, and to give ſome portion of the hiſtory of the Mahomedan government. 1756.

BENGAL is the eaſternmoſt of the provinces which compoſe the empire of the great Mogul. It lies between the degrees 26. 30. and 21. 30. of north latitude, and extends from the 86th to the 97th degree of longitude, computing from the meridian of London. Its area is nearly 21 ſquare degrees.

The GANGES, from its irruption through the mountains of the frontier, flows for 300 miles to the ſouth-eaſt, when it receives the Jumna at Allahabad. From hence its courſe continues 300 miles almoſt directly eaſt, when having received ſeven large rivers, and more of inferior note, it enters the province of Bengal, according to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. the ancient definition, in the latitude of 25. 10, where its current on the right hand waſhes the foot of a mountain called Tacriagully, from whence it ſtrikes to the SE, until it reacheth the ſea. A hundred miles below Tacriagully it ſends off an arm to the ſouth, which is called the river of *Coſſimbuzar*; and 50 miles lower, another, called the *Jelingeer*, which, after flowing about 40 miles to the SW, unites with the other at a town called Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of theſe two ſtreams is ſometimes called the *little Ganges*, but more commonly the *river Hughley*, which after flowing 120 miles of latitude in a courſe which does not verge more than one point to the weſtward of the ſouth, gains the ſea in the latitude of 21. 30 at the iſland of *Sagor*. The main body of the Ganges, which for diſtinction is called the *great Ganges*, continues from the commencement of the river of Coſſimbuzar, receiving a multitude of ſtreams from the left, until it reacheth the latitude of 22. 45, where its waters are met by thoſe of another river even larger than itſelf, called the *Baramputrah*, which riſes on the eaſtern ſide of the vaſt mountains that ſend forth the Ganges to the weſt. The conflux of theſe two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed ſeveral large iſlands between their junction and the open ſea, which their waters, through ſeveral extenſive channels, reach about 35 miles lower down, in the latitude of 22. 10. *Tacriagully* is the termination of a vaſt range of mountains, which accompanies the courſe of the Ganges from the weſt: and about 50 miles weſt of Tacriagully, where they begin to form the north boundary of Bengal on this ſide the river, another range ſtrikes from them to the ſouth, but in a curve ſwelling to the weſtward, which terminates within ſight of the ſea, at the Nelligree hills, 30 miles inland from the town of Ballaſore, in the latitude of 21. 30. Several diſtricts belonging to Bengal lie interſperſed within theſe mountains, but none beyond them; for to the weſtward they extend ſeveral degrees, and are in ſome parts impaſſable, as far as the province of *Berar* in the Decan; to the north they divide Bengal from the ſouthern diviſion of BEHAR, and to the ſouth, ſeem the natural ſeparation of Bengal from ORIXA, which nevertheleſs has acquired

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

acquired a tract of country within them, extending 20 miles along the sea-coasts from Balasore to the river of Pipley, which disembogues opposite to the Island of Sagor. On the eastern side of the Ganges, the territory of Bengal extends to the north as far as the latitude of 26. 30. where it is bounded by the foot of the first range of mountains approaching Thibet. By the acquisition of a country, called *Purnea*, the territory on this side the river extends 20 miles more to the west than Tacriagully on the other; and a line nearly north and south, from the northern mountains to the Ganges, marks the boundary between Purnea and the province of Behar. From this line the territory of Bengal extends 180 miles to the eastward as far as Rangamatty, a town belonging to the king of Assam, situated in the latitude of 26. 10. on the river Barramputrah. The course of this river from Rangamatty to the sea seems the natural boundary of Bengal to the east; but considerable districts have been acquired on the other side of it, which will be described as occasion requires; and at the upper part of the sea-coast which bounds the bay of Bengal to the east, the province of Chittigan has been wrested from the kingdom of Aracan. 1756.

The sea-coast between the mouths of the river Hughley and the Great Ganges, extends 180 miles, and the whole tract is a dreary unhospitable shore, which sands and whirlpools render inaccessible from the sea to ships of burden; and for several miles inward, the land is intersected by numerous channels, which derive from both rivers, and disembogue by many mouths into the sea. The islands formed by these channels are covered with thickets, and occupied by deer and tygers.

The triangle included by the Cossimbuzar and Hughley rivers to the west, by the Great Ganges to the east, and by the sea-coast to the south, as well as a large tract on either hand and to the north of this Delta, is as level as the sandy deserts of Africa, or Arabia; and, like some of the countries on the banks of the river of Amazons, no where produces a single stone. The soil is a stratum of the richest mould lying on a deep sand, which being interspersed with shells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of this im-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. menſe plain as are not watered by the Ganges and its branches, are fertilized by many other ſtreams from the mountains, and for the ſpace of three months, from May to Auguſt, when the Sun is moſtly in the zenith, heavy rains fall every day.

Hence the luxuriance of the ſoil ſupplies the ſubſiſtance of the inhabitants with leſs labour than any other country in the world. Rice, which makes the greateſt part of their food, is produced in ſuch plenty in the lower parts of the province, that it is often ſold on the ſpot at the rate of 2 pounds for a farthing: a number of other arable grains, and a ſtill greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the ſpices of their diet, are raiſed, as wanted, with equal eaſe: ſugar, although requiring a more attentive cultivation, thrives every where: although their kine are of a mean race, and give little milk, yet the defect of exuberance is ſupplied by the multitude of the animals: the caſts who eat fiſh, find them ſwarming in all the ſtreams and ponds of the country, and ſalt is produced in abundance in the iſlands near the ſea. Hence in ſpite of deſpotiſm the province is extremely populous: and the vacation from agriculture leaves a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be ſpared in others, at leiſure to apply themſelves to the loom; ſo that more cotton and ſilk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the ſame extent of country throughout the empire, and conſequently at much cheaper rates. The greateſt part of theſe manufactures, and of the raw ſilk, is exported; and Europe receives the largeſt ſhare; the reſt goes by land and ſea to different parts of the empire, and other countries; to which they likewiſe ſend rice, ſugar, beetle-nut, ginger, long-pepper, turmerick, and a variety of other drugs and productions of the ſoil. Their real wants from abroad are only the metals; but ſince Europe has opened a trade to India, they have conſumed large quantities of woollen manufactures, and require arms, and a variety of mechanical implements better than they can make themſelves, ſome from fancy, but the greateſt part for uſe. The abundance of advantages peculiar to this country have induced the eaſtern world to call it the paradiſe of India; and the weſtern, without hyperbole, the rich kingdom of Bengal. But theſe ad-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

vantages, through a long courſe of generations, have concurred with the languor peculiar to the unelaſtic atmoſphere of the climate, to debaſe all the eſſential qualities of the human race, and notwithſtanding the general effeminacy of character which is viſible in all the Indians throughout the empire, the natives of Bengal are ſtill of weaker frame and more enervated diſpoſition than thoſe of any other province: bodily ſtrength, courage, and fortitude are unknown: even the labour of the common people is totally void of energy; and they are of a ſtupidity which neither wiſhes nor ſeems to be capable of extending its operations into any variety of mechanical dexterity. All thoſe of the better caſts, who are not fixed to the loom, are bred to the details of traffic and money, in which their patience and perſeverance are as great as their deteſtation of danger, and averſion to bodily fatigue; and it is common to ſee the accounts of a huckſter in his ſtall, who does not exchange the value of two rupees in the day, as voluminous as the books of a conſiderable merchant in Europe. 1756.

The natives of Bengal derive their religion from a code called the Shaſter, which they aſſert to be the genuine ſcripture of Bramah, in preference to the Vidam, of which the followers aſſert the contrary, whilſt neither underſtand the language of the original text, which is called the Shanſcrit: the very diſuſe of this language is of the moſt remote antiquity; it is preſerved only by the Bramins, and underſtood but by very few even of them. The two codes of the Shaſter and Vidam divide almoſt equally the whole body of the Indian religion throughout Indoſtan. The followers of the Shaſter are diſtinguiſhed by the name of GENTOOS.

The language as well as the written character of Bengal are peculiar to the natives, and not uſed in any other province, and both ſeem to be baſe derivations from the Shanſcrit.

It appears from the hiſtory of Feritſha that the ſovereignty of the Mahomedans was eſtabliſhed in Bengal about the year 1200, during the reign of Scheabbedin, the Gauride. At this time the capital was *Lucknouti*, an immenſe city, to which the natives attributed great antiquity: it was ſituated on the right ſide of the Ganges, about 1200.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. about 20 miles north of the iſland of Coſſibuzar, and about the ſame diſtance to the ſouth of Maulda. From the reign of Scheab-
1399. bedin to the invaſion of Tamerlane in 1399, the country during two centuries is always ſuppoſed annexed to the empire of Delhi, although its governors ſometimes affected royalty; and the province, during this period, has more than once been conferred on princes of the royal blood, who ſtood neareſt the throne. The confuſions in the empire, which followed the invaſion of Tamerlane, gave the rulers of Bengal better opportunity to aſſert and maintain inde-
1447. pendence. In 1447 they appear aſſuming the ſtile and dignity of
1494. kings, and in 1494, Sultan Alla ul dien, as monarch of Bengal, makes peace on equal terms with Sultan Secunder emperor of Delhi. From this time the continual convulſions of the throne, until it was ſeized by the intrepid hand of Baber, left the Sultans of Bengal without the apprehenſion of controul from the tranſitory ſovereigns who ſtiled themſelves emperors, and even Baber, until his death, in
1530. 1530, had too much to do in confirming his authority in other parts
1534. of Indoſtan to look to Bengal: but in 1534 the reigning Sultan was expelled by the famous adventurer Shere Cawn, who himſelf
1539. in 1539 quitted the province on the approach of the emperor Homaion ſon of Baber. This is the firſt eſtabliſhment made by the houſe of Tamerlane in the province, but it was of ſhort duration; for Shere Cawn defeated Homaion on his return to Agra, immediately after which he recovered the dominion of Bengal, and armed by the means it afforded, drove Homaion out of Indoſtan into Perſia,
1542. 1545. and aſſumed the the throne of Delhi in 1542. He died in 1545;
1552. his ſon and ſucceſſor Selim in 1552; and during their reigns no commotions appear in Bengal; but during the three abrupt ſuc-
1555. ceſſions after Selim, until Homaion recovered Delhi in 1555, Bengal was continually diſputed, and by ſeveral competitions. Homaion
1556. died in 1556, the year after he was reinthroned, and ſtrong rebellions in the intermediate countries kept Bengal independant of
1575. Delhi until the year 1575, when the generals of Acbar reduced the province, and a part of Orixa, after which Bengal remained in ſub-
1624. jection until 1624, when it was wreſted from the empire by Shaw Jehan

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Jehan in rebellion againſt his father the emperor Jehanguire; but it was recovered the next year. Shaw Jehan ſucceeded to the throne in 1627, and in 1638 ſent his ſon Sujah to command in Bengal. Sujah continued lord of the province until 1661, when he was driven to take refuge in Arracan by Emir Jumla the vizir of his brother Aurunzebe, who had confined their father Shaw Jehan, and aſcended his throne. From this time until a revolution which has happened in our days, Bengal continued in an uninterrupted ſubmiſſion to the authority of the great Mogul.

1756. 1627. 1638. 1661.

The peculiar patience of the *Gentoos* in Bengal, their affection to buſineſs, and the cheapneſs of all productions either of commerce or neceſſity, had concurred to render the details of the revenue, the moſt minute, voluminous, and complicated ſyſtem of accounts which exiſt in the univerſe, inſomuch that the emperor Jehangire, although the Mahomedans had then been ſovereigns of the country for three centuries, ſays in his note book, that the application of ten years was neceſſary to acquire a competent notion of them. The military pride of the Mahomedans, their indolence and ſenſuality, their ignorance of the language, and the inferiority of their numbers, rendered them inadequate to a taſk they deteſted, and obliged them, however unwilling, to leave the collection of the revenues, as they found it, with the *Gentoos*, and the ſame inſufficiencies reduced them to continue the *Rajahs* or princes, amongſt whom the country was divided, in the ſuperintendance of the municipal regulations of their reſpective diſtricts, ſubject to regulated tributes, and the arbitrary fines and extortions of victorious authority. The greateſt part of Bengal remains at this day under the intermediate juridiction of theſe Rajahs, ſeveral of whom are deſcended from anceſtors, who ruled the ſame diſtricts before the Mahommedan conqueſt.

The Portugueze appear in Bengal before the preſent dynaſty of Moguls; for an armament was ſent by the victory of Goa in 1534 to aſſiſt the reigning ſultan againſt the invader Shere Cawn. This nation, however, never eſtabliſhed regular governments or garriſons in the province, as in moſt other parts of India. But different bands

1534.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. at different times took up their reſidence on the ſea coaſts of Balaſore and Arracan, and in ſeveral habitable iſlands, which lye in the mouths of the great and leſſer Ganges, where, living without law, and with much ſuperſtition, ſome hired themſelves as ſoldiers to the governors of the neighbouring diſtricts, whilſt others equipt boats and armed veſſels, and plundered in the rivers all who were not able to reſiſt them. The Dutch ſettled in Bengal about the year

1625. 1625.

The trade of this country was opened to the Engliſh by means of

1636. a ſurgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was ſent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the emperor Shaw Iehan, whom he cured, and the emperar, beſides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of cuſtoms throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchaſe goods in this province, and to carry them by ſea to Surat. His patent would probably have been little regarded, if the Nabob of the province had not wanted his aſſiſtance to cure one of his favourite women, whom he likewiſe recovered: on which the Nabob prevailed on him to remain in his ſervice, giving him an ample ſtipend, and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtained at Agra, with a promiſe to extend it to all others of the Engliſh nation who ſhould come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the Engliſh governor at Surat, by whoſe advice the Company in

1640. 1640 ſent two ſhips from England to Bengal, the agents of which being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton, were received with courteſy, and aſſiſted in their mercantile tranſactions; and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to proſecute the trade.

The profits accruing to Europeans by their trade to Indoſtan, ariſe much more from the commodities which they purchaſe in that country, than from thoſe which they ſend thither, and the moſt valuable part of the cargoes returned to Europe conſiſts of ſilk and cotton manufactures: the weaver of which, is an Indian, living and working with his wife and ſeveral children in a hut, which ſcarcely affords him ſhelter from the ſun and rain: his natural indolence however

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

however is satisfied in procuring by his daily labour, his daily bread; and the dread of extortion or violence from the officers of the district to which he belongs, makes it prudence in him to appear, and to be poor; so that the chapman who sets him to work, finds him destitute of every thing but his loom, and is therefore obliged to furnish him with money, generally half the value of the cloth he is to make, in order to purchase materials, and to subsist him until his work is finished; the merchant who employs a great number of weavers, is marked by the higher officers of the government, as a man who can afford to forfeit a part of his wealth, and is therefore obliged to pay for protection, the cost of which, and more, he lays upon the manufactures he has to sell, of which, by a combination with other merchants, he always regulates the price, according to the necessity of the purchaser to buy. Now the navigation to India is so very expensive, that nothing can be more detrimental to this trade than long protractions of the voyage; and loss, instead of profit, would ensue, if ships were sent on the expectation of buying cargoes on their arrival; for either they would not find these cargoes provided, and must wait for them at a great expence; or if ready, would be obliged to purchase them too dearly. Hence has arisen the necessity of establishing factories in the country, that the agents may have time and opportunity to provide, before the arrival of the ships, the cargoes intended to be returned in them. 1756.

The English company, either in the first voyage or soon after, built a factory at Hughley, the principal port of the province, lying about one hundred miles from the sea on the river to which it gives its name, and which is the western arm of the Ganges; but the officers of the government superintended the buildings, and objected to every thing which resembled or might be converted into a station of defence; the Mogul empire, at that time, disdaining to allow in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any other sovereignty than its own: for whatsoever forts the Portuguese or other Europeans possessed on the sea coasts of Indostan, the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, were either wrested or purchased from princes at that time not conquered by the Mogul, in

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. whoſe territory no European power had hitherto been ſuffered to erect a ſingle baſtion.

1640 to 1680. Not permitted to have fortifications, the Engliſh were likewiſe prohibited from entertaining a military force ſufficient to give umbrage to the government, but were allowed to maintain an enſign and 30 men to do honour to the principal agents; who thus confined to commercial views, applied themſelves with much induſtry to promote their own, and the company's intereſts in trade. Engliſhmen were ſent from Hughley to thoſe parts of the province in which the moſt valuable commodities were produced: but as the number of factors employed by the company did not ſuffice to ſuperintend in different places, the proviſion of ſuch quantities of goods as were annually demanded, the greateſt part of the purchaſes was managed at Hughley, where the principal agents contracted with merchants of the country, who, on receiving about one half of the value beforehand, obliged themſelves under pecuniary penalties to deliver at fixed periods the goods for which they had contracted. The company being by theſe diſpoſitions inveſted with a right in all the goods for which they had contracted, even before theſe goods were manufactured, gave the name of Inveſtment to all their purchaſes in India.

Theſe were the only methods of carrying on the trade with reaſonable expectation of profit; but they rendered the Engliſh entirely dependant on the government of Bengal, who, either by ſeizing the goods which were provided, or by prohibiting them from being carried to the principal reſidence, from whence they were to be ſhipped, might at any time ſubject the company's eſtate to great detriment and loſs: and of theſe riſques the company were ſo apprehenſive, that they kept their factories in Bengal dependant on the Preſidency of Madraſs; where they had a fort and garriſon, to which, in caſes of ſudden emergency, the agents in Bengal were to apply for advice and aſſiſtance.

Their trade, however, was carried on for ſome time without interruption, and with much ſucceſs; but in a few years, when they had erected coſtly buildings, had accumulated large quantities

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of Engliſh commodities, and had given large credits in the province, the government deeming them as it were fettered to the ſhore, changed its conduct towards them. The patents granted to Boughton, as well as the other ſtipulations which had induced them to ſettle in the province, were either diſavowed, or conſtrued in contradiction to their meaning: the ſame cuſtoms were levied from them, as from other merchants: the Nabob affected to arbitrate between the company and ſuch of the natives, who in order to evade the payment of their debts, thought proper to purchaſe his protection; and even vagabond Engliſhmen offending againſt the company's privileges, were encouraged to take refuge in his court, and to diſavow the authority of their countrymen. In a word, every pretext which might bring the Engliſh affairs under his cognizance was practiſed in order to ſubject them to fines and exactions. If the ſettlements heſitated, or refuſed to comply with the Nabob's demands, their trade, throughout the province, was immediately ſtopped. 1756. 1640 to 1680.

For theſe evils there were but two remedies, war, or retreat: both worſe than the miſchief; for although the government annually repeated its exactions, the advantages of the Bengal trade, whilſt new, were ſuch as rendered it more prudent to acquieſce, than by defiance to riſque the whole of the company's ſtock and concerns in the province; and for forty years the Engliſh attempted no military reſiſtance.

At length, finding theſe impoſitions extravagantly increaſed, becauſe they had only been oppoſed by embaſſies and petitions; and having the ſame cauſes of complaint againſt the Mogul's government at Surat; the company in the year 1685, determined to try what condeſcenſions the effect of arms might produce; and with the approbation of King James the ſecond, fitted out two fleets; one of which was ordered to cruize at the bar of Surat, on all veſſels belonging to the Mogul's ſubjects: the other was deſigned not only to commit hoſtilities by ſea at the mouths of the Ganges, but carrried likewiſe 600 regular troops in order to attack the Nabob of Bengal by land. The agents at Hughley received previous notice 1685.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. of theſe intentions, and were inſtructed to call in all their factors
1685. and concerns, that all the Engliſh ſubjects and property might be in readineſs to repair on board the ſhips, as ſoon as they ſhould arrive in the road of Ballaſore, from whence it was intended that they ſhould proceed and ſurpriſe the city of Chittagan, on the oppoſite ſhore, where they were immediately to fortify themſelves.

The conduct of this war was entruſted to Job Chanock, the company's principal agent at Hughley, a man of courage, without military experience, but impatient to take revenge of a government from which he had perſonally received the moſt ignominious treatment, having not long before been impriſoned and ſcourged by the Nabob. One veſſel of the fleet was loſt, the largeſt ſhip, with another, were not able to make their paſſage, and the reſt did not
1686. arrive before the month of October, 1686: by which time, a body of the Nabob's troops, probably from ſome ſuſpicions of the intended hoſtilities, had ſurrounded the factory at Hughley. Chanock, therefore, on the arrival of the ſhips, ordered the troops, about 460 men, to come up the river to his aſſiſtance, gave battle, and drove the enemy out of the town. A truce enſued, during which, all the company's effects were ſhipped; by which time, the governor of Hughley having received conſiderable reinforcements, both ſides were equally willing and ready to renew hoſtilities. The Moors were again diſcomfited: but nevertheleſs, prepared to blockade the factory again; to avoid which, Chanock, on the 15th of December, took the field, and marching down the weſtern bank of the river, burned and deſtroyed all the magazines of ſalt, and granaries of rice, which he found in his way between Hughley and the iſland of Ingelee, which lies at the mouth of the river, near the weſtern ſhore. On this ſpot, perhaps the moſt unhealthy in the province, he pitched his camp, in the month of April, whilſt the ſhips anchored in the main ſtream. The Moors ſuffered them to remain here without moleſtation for three months, during which, ſickneſs ſwept away 300 Europeans, which was two thirds of the whole force.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

In the mean time, the fleet ſent to Surat had been much more ſucceſsful, having taken from the Mogul's ſubjects, cargoes, which were valued at a million of ſterling money. Theſe loſſes deterred the merchants at Surat from making preparations for future voyages; the manufacturers and mechanics, left without employment, complained loudly of famine; and the emperor's revenues were conſiderably diminiſhed: upon which Aurengzebe ſent one of his officers from Delhi, with orders to hear the Engliſh complaints, and to mitigate the oppreſſions they had ſuffered. Orders of the ſame purport were likewiſe ſent to the Nabob of Bengal, and arrived very fortunately for the Engliſh troops at Ingelee; when, reduced to only 100 men capable of bearing arms, they were ſurrounded by 10,000 foot, and 3000 horſe. Hoſtilities ceaſed, and by a treaty ſigned the 16th of Auguſt, 1687, it was ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhould not only be permitted to return to all their factories in the province, but might likewiſe erect docks and magazines at *Ulabarea*, a village ſituated on the weſtern bank, about 50 miles from the mouth of the river. 1756. 1686. 1687.

However Chanock had not faith enough in the treaty to return to Hughley without the ſhips, and the Moors diſtruſted the Engliſh too much to ſuffer them to appear there with ſuch an advantage. He therefore remained three months at Ulabarea, during which the place was found to be ſo improper for the purpoſes which had induced him to aſk it, that he deſired and obtained leave to remove to Soota-nutty, a town about 40 miles higher up, and on the other ſide of the river, where the factors and ſoldiery lived in huts until they could provide proper habitations. Mean while the war at Surat broke out afreſh, on hearing which the Nabob of Bengal paid no regard to the treaty made at Ingelee; but gave up the Engliſh trade to the rapine of his officers, and at the ſame time demanded a very large ſum as a recompence for the damage which his country had ſuſtained by the late hoſtilities. Chanock being neither in a condition to oppoſe him by arms, nor to appeaſe him with money, ſent two members of the council to Dacca, to try if he might be ſoftened by ſubmiſſions. Soon after their departure

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1688. ture the power of the ſettlement was tranſlated from Mr. Chanock to Heath a commander of one of the company's ſhips, a man of courage, but of a variable diſpoſition, not far removed from crazineſs; who, ſoon after his arrival at Soota-nutty, ordered all the Engliſh to repair on board the ſhips, and proceeded with them to the road of Ballaſore, where the governor of the town offered to treat with him in behalf of the Nabob, and finding that this propoſal was not received with cordiality, detained two of the company's agents reſiding in the factory of Ballaſore, as hoſtages againſt any violence: notwithſtanding which, and that the two Engliſh deputies were ſtill at Dacca, as well as two other factors in other parts of the province, Heath landed with a crew of ſailors and attacked the town, which had no defences. This outrage was committed on the very day that the governor received a copy of the treaty which the Nabob had made with the two deputies at Dacca; by which it was ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhips ſhould attack the king of Arracan. Heath pretended to acquieſce to theſe terms, hoping that his profeſſions might facilitate his intentions of ſurprizing Chittigan, where the fleet arrived on the 17th of January,
1689. 1689; but finding the works, as well as the garriſon, much ſtronger than he expected, Heath, as if he had come with no other purpoſe, offered, as he had promiſed, to join the Nabob againſt the king of Arracan; but ſoon after changing his mind again, he ſailed to the river which leads to the capital of that country, where he profered his ſervice to the king againſt the Nabob, inſiſting, however, that their firſt attempt ſhould be againſt Chittagan. But, not being of a temper to bear the delays of an Indian adminiſtration, he as ſuddenly took diſguſt againſt this ally; and on the 13th of February, ſailed away with the fleet and the Company's agents acroſs the bay of Bengal to Madraſs, where they arrived on the 15th of March. Here he apologized for his conduct by ſaying, that nothing but lies had been told on all ſides.

Nevertheleſs, this conduct, crazy and irregular as it was, produced better effects than could have been expected from meaſures dictated by the moſt prudent councils: for the Nabob imagined that

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

that the contempt and diſreſpect with which Heath had treated him, proceeded from a reſolution which the Engliſh had taken, to abandon the trade of Bengal; and fearing to be called to a ſevere accout by the emperor Aurengzebe, for forcing them to quit the province, he immediately ſent letters to Madraſs requeſting them to return, and promiſing all the immunities, the denial of which had been the cauſe of the late contentions. Such a condeſcenſion was thought a ſufficient warrant of the ſincerity of his intentions. Mr. Chanock, therefore, with his factors and thirty ſoldiers, ſailed from Madraſs, and arrived in the month of July at Soota-nutty; where, in conſequence of the Nabob's orders, the government of Hughley received them with civility. 1756. 1689.

The next year they received a phirmaund or patent from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade free of cuſtoms, on condition of paying annually the ſum of 3000 rupees. The great advantages intended by this favour, depended however more on the temper of the Nabob, than on the will of the emperor; for the Engliſh had more than once before received ſuch mandates, and found them of little uſe; and the remembrance of former evils continued to raiſe ſolicitude, even when no immediate cauſes of apprehenſion ſubſiſted. 1690.

The right of juriſdiction over the Indian inhabitants, whom the reſidence and commerce of the Engliſh continually attracted to Soota-nutty, became every day more neceſſary to prevent perpetual litigations with thoſe, who although employed by the Engliſh, might at any time defy them in the courts of government, in which the merchants of the ſettlement would be more cautious of ſeeking protection, if the company had power to ſtop their families and attach their effects: but this right of juriſdiction could not be purchaſed, even at Delhi, without the conſent of the Nabob; it was equally neceſſary that the company ſhould have a fort to protect their valuable effects againſt ſudden violence; but even profers of money, repeated for five years ſucceſſively, could not prevail on the Nabob to allow theſe privileges; and they were deſpaired of, when

Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. when ſome unexpected events enabled the company to obtain them.

1690. In 1696, the Rajahs on the weſtern ſide of the river Hughley,

1696. took up arms: they were headed by him of Burdawan, whoſe territory extends along the weſtern ſide of the river, from Nuddeah to the iſland of Ingelee, and who likewiſe poſſeſſed a conſiderable diſtrict on the other ſhore, contiguous to Calcutta; ſo that the Engliſh, French, and Dutch companies, had each their principal ſettlement within his juriſdiction. The greateſt part of the Nabob's army being near the court at Dacca, the rebels made great progreſs before a force ſufficient to oppoſe them could aſſemble: and in the mean time they took Hughley, plundered Muxadavad, in the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, and from thence proceeded to Rajahmahal. On the breaking out of this war, the three European ſettlements augmented their ſoldiery, and declared for the Nabob; of whom they at the ſame time requeſted permiſſion to put their factories in a ſtate of defence againſt an enemy, whoſe reſentment they muſt incur by their attachment to his government. The Nabob ordered them in general terms to defend themſelves; and they taking for granted, what was not poſitively forbidden, with great diligence raiſed walls with baſtions round their factories: the Dutch about a mile to the ſouth of Hughley; the French two miles lower down the river, at Chandernagore; and the Engliſh at Calcutta, a ſmall town contiguous to Soota-nutty, where they had built their principal magazines. Such was the origin of the three European forts in the province of Bengal, and they were the firſt which the Mogul government ſuffered foreigners to build in any part of the empire. An Engliſh ſloop prevented the Rajah from taking the fort of Tannah; and the garriſon of Calcutta, conſiſting of fifty men, beat a body of his troops within ſight of the town. The Dutch aſſiſted the Nabob's troops to retake Hughley. The French did little, but appeared in arms, and fortified themſelves better than either of the other two.

The news of this rebellion alarmed Aurengzebe himſelf ſo much, that he ſent one of his grandſons, Azim-al-Shan, with an army, to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

to ſuperintend the three governments of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa. 1756.
This prince was ſon of Mahomed Mauzm, who reigned after 1696.
his father Aurengzebe, with the title of Behader Shah; and Azim-al-Shan himſelf ſeems likewiſe, even at this diſtant period, to have had an eye to the throne: for he came into Bengal with a reſolution to amaſs money by every means. This avaricious diſpoſition the Engliſh plied with preſents, which in 1698 obtained 1698.
his permiſſion to purchaſe from the Zemindar, or Indian proprietor, the towns of Soota-nutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, with their diſtricts, extending about three miles along the eaſtern bank of the river Hughley, and about one mile inland: the prince, however, reſerved the annual fine of 1195 rupees, which this ground uſed to pay to the Nabob of the province. But at this time, when the Engliſh ſettlements ſeemed on the point of emerging from continued difficulties to a ſtate of proſperity, the erection of a new Eaſt India Company, in oppoſition to the old, renewed all the former evils. The new company eſtabliſhed their factory at Hughley, and the competition between the reſpective agents was carried on with the ſame animoſity as exaſperated their principals in England, which expoſed the concerns of both to the impoſitions of the Nabob, and of the merchants of Bengal, who took every advantage of this rivality. However, the ſpirit of commerce, which knows no reſentments that are prejudicial to its intereſt, ſoon reconciled the contending parties in England, and produced a coalition, of which the preliminaries were adjuſted in 1698; but the final union did not take place till ſeven years after: this time being neceſſary to blend the different concerns of both companies into one common ſtock.

In the mean time, the ſettlement of Calcutta had attracted ſuch a number of inhabitants, as excited the jealouſy of the governor of Hughley, who, pretending that he ſhould be puniſhed for ſuffering ſo many of the Mogul's ſubjects to withdraw themſelves from his juriſdiction, threatened to ſend a *Cadi*, or Mahomedan judge, and officers of the police, to adminiſter juſtice amongſt the natives living under the Engliſh flag. The meaſure would have

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. renewed the ſame inconveniences, which had forced the Engliſh to quit Hughley: it was therefore counteracted by a bribe given to Azam-al-Shan, who forbad the governor of Hughley from proceeding in his intentions. By this conſtant attention to money, Azam-al-Shan in three years amaſſed three millions of pounds ſterling, which he carried with him out of the province: but he left behind him his ſon Furrukſhir to get more; who, in 1713, gained the throne, after his father had periſhed in diſputing it with his brothers.

The union of the two companies, by augmenting the ſtock, increaſed the trade, and enlarged the views of the direction: who at the ſame time, warned by the late examination of the company's affairs in parliament, exerted themſelves with zeal and intelligence, in order to confound the clamours of thoſe who exclaimed againſt the inſtitution of an Eaſt India company, as a monopoly detrimental to the mercantile intereſts of the nation. The commerce of Bengal more eſpecially became the object of their attention: the ſubordinate factories of Coſſimbuzar, Dacca, and Ballaſore, which had been abandoned, were now reſettled: the exports and imports were doubled in value and in quantity: and the garriſon of Calcutta was augmented to 300 men: all which the government of Bengal, contrary to its uſual maxims, beheld without repugnance, and even without demanding money as the price of its forbearance and favour. This was the longeſt term of repoſe from vexations, which the Engliſh had experienced ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment in the province; and the encreaſing importance of the colony induced the company in 1707 to withdraw the ſettlements in it, from their former dependence on Madraſs, and to declare Calcutta a preſidency accountable only to the direction in England.

But the nabob Jaffier Khan, who at this time was appointed to rule Bengal, did not ſuffer the Engliſh to remain any longer in this ſtate of eaſe and independence: and the reſpite which they had lately enjoyed ſerved only to convince him, that, as being better able,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

able, they ought the more readily to comply with his demands. 1756.
Having removed the ſeat of government from Dacca to Muxadavad, in the center of the province, he was better enabled to take cognizance of their affairs; and to diſcover pretexts and means of diſtreſſing them, without openly violating the privileges which they had obtained from Aurengzebe and Azim-al-Shan. Every year of his adminiſtration was marked by extraordinary and increaſing extortions, not only from the Europeans, but from all ranks of people in the province: at the ſame time he was as much dreaded for his abilities as deteſted for his iniquities: and the preſidency of Calcutta, not ſeeing any better reſource, propoſed in the year 1713, 1713.
to the company in England, that an embaſſy of complaint, ſupported by a valuable preſent, ſhould be ſent to the great Mogul at Delhi. To this meaſure the company readily acquieſced, directing the preſidencies of Bombay and Madraſs to join their grievances in the ſame petition with thoſe of Bengal. The nomination of the embaſſadors was left to Mr. Hedges the governor of Calcutta, who choſe John Surman and Edward Stephenſon, two of the ableſt factors in the ſervice there: joining to them an Armenian, named Serhaud, who had for many years been the principal merchant in the ſettlement.

It does not appear, that the preſidency had any other lights to direct their proceedings and expectations at Delhi, excepting ſuch as they received from this Armenian, who had never been there; but who was very ſolicitous to be admitted into this honourable commiſſion, in hopes of getting a great deal of money by the goods he ſhould carry free of charges in the train of the embaſſy. The preſents deſigned for the Mogul and his officers conſiſted of curious glaſs ware, clockwork, toys, brocades, and the fineſt manufactures of woolen cloths and ſilks, valued altogether at 30,000 pounds; which Serhaud, in his letters to Delhi, magnified to 100,000, and gave ſuch a deſcription of the rarities which were coming, that the mogul Furrukſhir ordered the embaſſy to be eſcorted by the governors of the provinces through whoſe territories it might paſs. The train proceeded on the Ganges from Calcutta to Patna, the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1715. capital of Behar, and from hence by land to Delhi, where they arrived on the 8th of July 1715, after a march of three months. The famous Hoſſan Ally, who afterwards depoſed four, and created five emperors of Indoſtan, was at this time vizir, dreaded by his ſovereign, and mortally hated by Cawndorah, who was in full poſſeſſion of the emperor's favour. The Engliſh, by their previous correſpondence to Delhi, had choſen Cawndorah for the patron of their petitions, to which the rivality between theſe lords was likely to prove no little detriment; for the one only could perſuade the emperor to grant, what the other alone had the power of carrying into execution. Jaffier, the nabob of Bengal, had from the beginning regarded the embaſſy with deteſtation, as the ſtrongeſt imputation againſt the integrity of his own conduct, and would probably have counteracted it, both by repreſentations and money, if he had not wanted all his influence at Delhi to promote the ſucceſs of greater views; for he had for ſome years been ſolliciting the annexion of the provinces of Behar and Orixa to the government of Bengal, and the ſucceſſion to this vaſt viceroyalty, in his family. Nevertheleſs his emiſſaries privately ſpread their ſpecious objections amongſt his friends: which, with the deſire of Hoſſan Ally to thwart Cawndorah, would probably have ſoon produced the diſmiſſion of the embaſſadors with civil and inſignificant anſwers, if an accident, which on a leſs important occaſion would have been too mean to merit hiſtorical notice, had not placed them at once in a high degree of favour with the emperor himſelf; whom not all the vigilance of a mogul's ſeraglio had been able to preſerve from the contagion of a diſtemper, which its inſtitutions ſeem ſo well calculated to prevent.

The mogul, deſpairing of the ſkill of his own empiricks, was adviſed by Cawndorah to employ the ſurgeon of the Engliſh embaſſy, named Hamilton, by whom he was in a few weeks perfectly cured; and, in gratitude for this ſervice, promiſed to grant the embaſſadors any indulgences, which might be conſiſtent with the dignity of his government. Soon after his recovery ſucceeded the feſtival of his marriage with the daughter of Jaſſeing, the principal

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1778B
29

rajah of the Rajpoot nation; which interrupted all other buſineſs, and obliged the embaſſadors to wait ſix months before they could gain permiſſion to preſent their petition. 1756.

It was delivered in the month of January of the next year 1716, and contained a variety of requeſts. "That the cargoes of Engliſh "ſhips which might be wrecked on the Mogul's coaſt ſhould not "in future be plundered: that a ſtipulated ſum, paid annually to "the government of Surat, ſhould exempt the Engliſh trade at "that port from the Mogul's duties, and from the viſitations of his "officers, who had continually extorted more than they were au-"thorized to demand: that the rupees coined in the mints of "Bombay and Madraſs ſhould paſs in the receipt of the Mogul's "revenue: that three villages, contiguous to Madraſs, which had "formerly been granted, and were afterwards taken back by the "government of Arcot, might be reſtored to the company in per-"petuity, ſubject to the payment of the former fine: that the "iſland of Diu near the port of Maſulipatnam might be given to "the company, paying for it an annual rent of 7000 pagodas." 1716.

In behalf of the preſidency of Calcutta, the petition repreſented all the impoſitions of the Nabob of Bengal, and propoſed, "that they "ſhould be obviated by poſitive orders, that all perſons, whether "Europeans or natives, who might be indebted or accountable to "the company, ſhould be delivered up to the preſidency at Calcutta "on the firſt demand: that the officers of the mint at Muxadavad "ſhould at all times, when required, allow three days in the week "for the coinage of the company's money: and that a paſſport, or "*duſtuck*, ſigned by the preſident of Calcutta, ſhould exempt the "goods it ſpecified from being viſited or ſtopped by the officers of "the Bengal government on any pretence whatſoever:" and in order to maintain theſe excellent privileges, if granted, even in defiance of the Nabob himſelf, it was requeſted, "that the Engliſh "might purchaſe the lordſhip of thirty ſeven towns, with the ſame "immunities as Azim-al-Shan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, "Soota-nutty, and Govindpore."

Cawndorah,

DIGITIZED C-DAC
2005-2006

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. Cawndorah, although he meant the embaſſay well, adviſed them to act as if they had no other reliance than on the Vizir; and the emperor, with the ſame caution, profeſſed indeed a general approbation of the petition, but directed the ſeveral articles to be diſcuſſed by the different officers of the ſtate, to the cognizance of which they were deemed to belong. This ſubjected the whole petition to the judgment of the Vizir; who, not without candour, diſputed all the material articles, and readily allowed thoſe of leſs conſequence: a ſecond petition was therefore preſented to the emperor, in conſequence of which ſome more points were given up by the Vizir; and then a third; which, being received with the ſame favour as the other two, induced him to give up the reſt of his objections. But, to the great diſappointment of the embaſſadors, the mandates were iſſued, not under the Mogul's, but under the ſeal of the Vizir; which, although carrying great authority in the provinces near the capital, was likely to be little reſpected by the diſtant vice-roys, to whom theſe mandates were addreſſed. To increaſe their difficulties, the Armenian Serhaud, having been checked by his colleagues in ſome irregular proceedings, perplexed all their operations; and, as they thought, betrayed their councils. Nevertheleſs, Meſſrs. Stephenſon and Surman with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit returned the mandates, and determined to wait until they ſhould obtain patents under the ſeal of the Mogul.

Theſe procraſtinations had already led the embaſſy to the month of April of 1716, when the emperor took the field, and marched towards Lahore againſt the Sykes, a nation of Indians lately reared to power, and bearing mortal enmity to the Mahomedans. The embaſſadors followed the camp. The campaign was tedious, though ſucceſsful, and, amongſt other events, produced a quarrel between the troops of the Vizir and Cawndorah, which rendered their diſſention utterly irreconcileable. Their jealouſies, after the return of the army to Delhi, continued to protract the admiſſion of the claim made by the embaſſadors; who, having waſted fourteen months without the leaſt progreſs, began to deſpair of ſucceſs,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

when they were adviſed to bribe a favourite eunuch in the ſeraglio, who promiſed on this condition to procure the patents in the form they deſired, and without delay. So much money had already been ſpent, that the embaſſadors thought it would be trivial not to riſk this ſum as the laſt experiment, although they much doubted the effect. But, to their ſurprize, as ſoon as the money was paid, the Vizir and all his dependents appeared as much inclined, as they had hitherto been averſe, to promote their requeſts; and ſoon after thirty-four patents, including the different ſubjects of the petition, were iſſued in the Mogul's name, and ſigned with his ſeal. They were delivered to the embaſſadors before they had diſcovered the real cauſe of their unexpected ſucceſs; which, however, was explained to them before they left Delhi, by one of Cawndorah's officers. In the year 1686, a little while before the fleet ſent from England began to take the ſhips belonging to the Moors, the Engliſh agents at Surat retired to Bombay: they returned after the peace; but a little before the preſent patents were iſſued, the preſidency of Bombay had again withdrawn the factory of Surat, as a reſidence not worth maintaining, unleſs the trade could be freed from the impoſitions to which it had of late years been ſubject. The government of Surat, reaſoning from former experience, took the alarm, and firmly believed that a fleet was on its way from England to commit hoſtilities, as in the year 1687, which would have been attended with the ſame ſucceſs; for many ſhips of value belonging to the Mogul's ſubjects were at ſea. The eunuch, to whom the embaſſadors had given the bribe, was the intimate correſpondent and friend of the Nabob of Guzurat, who had deſired him to repreſent to the Vizir, that it was better to ſatisfy the Engliſh by granting their petitions, than by a refuſal to expoſe the trade of Surat to their repriſals. To this advice the Vizir immediately acquieſced, and from that hour changed his conduct towards the embaſſadors: the eunuch being early in the ſecret, and foreſeeing the change that would ſhortly enſue, determined to reap ſome advantage from his intelligence, and impoſed himſelf on the embaſſadors as the author of the benefits which it was not in his

1756.
1716.

power

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1717. power to prevent. The embaſſadors having thus accompliſhed their commiſſion, took leave of the Emperor in the month of July 1717, two years after their arrival at Delhi. The patents addreſſed to the Soubah of the Decan, and the Nabob of Guzurat, took effect as ſoon as they were publiſhed, becauſe they afforded no political pretext of oppoſition, as adding nothing to the military ſtrength of the company's ſettlements in either of theſe ſubahſhips, although to their commercial advantages. But the thirty-ſeven towns which they were permitted to purchaſe in Bengal would give them a diſtrict extending ten miles ſouth of Calcutta along the banks on each ſide the river Hughley, of which the paſſage in this extent might be eaſily commanded by the erection of batteries or redoubts; at the ſame time that the revenue of the tract would defray the expence: and it was ſuppoſed that a great number of weavers might be eſtabliſhed in it, who would be immediately ſubject to the company's juriſdiction. The ſhrewdneſs of the Nabob Jaffier, exaſperated by his grudge to the embaſſy in general, ſaw the conſequences of this grant with indignation; but, not daring openly to diſpute the Mogul's order, he deterred the holders of the land with ſecret threats of vengeance from parting with their ground on any terms of compenſation which might be proffered to them: and the Engliſh government confiding too much in the ſanction of the Mogul's authority, neglected the more efficacious means of bribing the Nabob to their own views; and thus the moſt important conceſſion which had been obtained by the embaſſy, was entirely fruſtrated. However, Jaffier admitted the privilege of the duſtucks, which, being recognized throughout the province, greatly facilitated the circulation of the company's trade; which now no longer paid cuſtoms, nor was liable to be ſtopped by the officers of the government; and this immunity was ſtill more beneficial, becauſe the other European colonies were not intitled to it: nor indeed, any of the natives excepting two or three principal merchants, who purchaſed it at a high rate of the Nabob.

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The company, confining themſelves intirely to the trade between India and Europe, had, not unwiſely, relinquiſhed to their agents that which is carried on from one part of India to another: but the impoſitions of the government had hitherto prevented their agents from reaping any conſiderable advantages from this indulgence: and to promote their profits, the company, ſoon after the embaſſy, allowed all thoſe who ſerved them under covenants to make uſe of their duſtucks for ſuch commodities as belonged to themſelves; but forbid, under ſevere penalties, the proſtitution or extenſion of this privilege to any others. A queſtion now aroſe, whether the company's agents were intitled to trade from one part of the province to another in ſuch commodities as were the produce of Bengal. The Mogul's patent implied no reſtrictions. But they could not be ignorant of the intentions of Delhi concerning this privilege; for when the embaſſadors propoſed to Cawndorah that it ſhould extend to all kinds of commodities, he replied with emotion "The Sea!" And the Nabob Jaffier openly treated the pretenſion with the ſame indignation as he had ſecretly felt againſt the ceded lands, declaring that he would not ſuffer the duſtucks to protect any goods, excepting ſuch as were imported, or were purchaſed to be exported, by ſea; alledging, that as the ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, together with ſome other articles of general conſumption, were either farmed out in monopolies, or taxed at exceſſive rates, the detriment to the revenues would be as great as the advantages to the company's agents, if they were permitted to trade in theſe articles, free of the cuſtoms and rents which were paid by the natives who dealt in them. 1756.

Convinced as much by the reaſoning, as deterred by the power, of the Nabob, the agents receded from their pretenſion, and applied themſelves to make the moſt advantage of thoſe privileges which were not conteſted. Succeſs produced new adventures; and the ſuperior ſkill of our countrymen in navigation, induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians and Indians, to freight moſt of the goods which they exported to foreign markets, on the ſhipping belonging to the colony, which, in ten years after

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. the embaſſy, amounted to 10,000 tons: and many private fortunes were acquired, without injuring the company's trade, or ſubjecting their eſtate to diſputes with the government. The preſidency, nevertheleſs, found it their intereſt from time to time to ſooth the Nabob with preſents, in order to promote the increaſe of the company's inveſtment, and to facilitate the courſe of their buſineſs at the ſubordinate factories: but the people of all denominations reſiding in Calcutta, enjoyed, after the return of the embaſſy, a degree of independance and freedom unknown to all the other inhabitants of Bengal: who, on the contrary, were oppreſſed every year with increaſing vexations by the rapacity of the Nabob.

1718. In 1718, the year after the embaſſy, Jaffier received from Delhi the patents he had long ſolicited, annexing the provinces of BEHAR and ORIXA to his government of Bengal, and the reverſion of the whole to his heir.

The Ganges, in a courſe which tends with little deviation from the weſt to the eaſt point of the compaſs, flows through the whole province of BEHAR, and divides it into two regions. The ſouthern extends about 220 miles, from the river *Caramnaſſa* to *Tacriagully*, and is ſkirted to the South by the chain of mountains which on this ſide accompanies the courſe of the Ganges; and ſeveral diſtricts belonging to the province are included within the mountains themſelves, but none recede more than 60 miles from the river. The river *Dewah*, which is likewiſe called the *Gogra*, joins the Ganges on its northern ſhore 180 miles to the weſt of Tacriagully. That river for a long way before the junction tends from the W. N. W. and 40 miles of the lower part of its channel forms part of the weſtern boundary of the northern diviſion of Behar, which extends to the eaſt 180 miles, to the line we have noted as the limit of Purniah, and recedes from the Ganges and Dewah 90 miles to the north; where foreſts at the foot of the range of mountains, which bound the country of *Napal*, continue with the mountains to the eaſtward far beyond Rangamati, and form the northern boundaries of Behar, Bengal, and Aſſam. The area of Behar comprizeth 9 ſquare degrees. The capital, Patna, ſtands on the ſouthern bank

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of the Ganges, 130 miles to the weſt of Tacriagully. There are many manufactures in this province, although nothing near ſo many as in Bengal, to which it is likewiſe much inferior in fertility; but it produces a great quantity of ſaltpetre, and of the beſt opium in India. 1756. 1713.

ORIXA is the moſt northern country on the eaſt ſide of the promontory of Indoſtan. The river Pipley coming from the N. W. diſembogues, as we have ſaid, in the latitude of 21. 25, oppoſite to the iſland of Sagore. The channel of this river for 40 miles from its mouth, and an imaginary line 20 miles farther to the weſt, to the foot of the Nelligreen hills, before they curve to the eaſt behind Balaſore, divide Orixa from Bengal. Southward it extends along the ſea coaſt to the latitude of 20, 10, within 6 miles of Gangam, which terminates the province of CHICACOLE in the Decan. To the weſtward Orixa is ſeparated from the province of BEHAR by a vaſt tract of mountains, hitherto unexplored. The interior of the province is the ſtrongeſt and beſt ſoil in the empire; but from the want of good ſea-ports, there are few manufactures, and very little circulation of gold and ſilver, in the country. Catteck, the capital, is ſituated in the latitude of 21, 23, and 50 miles from the ſea.

Jaffier had no ſons, but before his arrival in Bengal had given his only daughter in marriage to Sujah Khan, a lord of diſtinction, who accompanied him into the province. Of this marriage were born two ſons, both of whom were arrived at man's eſtate, when the commiſſion appointing their father Sujah to ſucceed Jaffier was ſent from Delhi. Sujah, although humane, was indolent and voluptuous, and his father in law, being deſirous to break him to buſineſs, ſent him ſoon after the patents were received, to govern the province of Orixa.

A few months after his arrival at Catteck, two brothers, natives of Tartary, came to his court with ſtrong recommendations from Delhi, in compliance with which Sujah received them into his ſervice: appointing the elder, Hodgee Hamed, to attend his perſon as a domeſtic, and the other, Allaverdy, to command a troop of horſe. They were both employed according to their talents.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. For the elder was calm, ſupple, wily, provident, but void of natural courage: the younger, ſtern, active, intrepid, ſagacious, but too high-minded to ſubmit to the compliances neceſſary in an Aſiatic court. Conviction of the aſſiſtance which each might derive from the qualities of the other cemented them, as much as the relation of blood, in the moſt inviolable friendſhip. This powerful and uncommon union ſeemed to command fortune; for in a few years they raiſed themſelves to the higheſt offices in Sujah's court and army; Hodgee Hamed becoming his prime miniſter, and Allaverdy the general of his troops. The Nabob Jaffier foreſaw and dreaded the conſequences of their influence: but the infirmities of old age had rendered him incapable of taking the vigorous reſolutions neceſſary to extricate his ſucceſſor from the toils into which
1725. he had been led; and in 1725 Jaffier died, to the great joy of the province; but of none more than the two brothers, to whoſe ambition his death opened more extenſive proſpects. They accompanied Sujah to Muxadavad, and partook of the increaſe of his power, adminiſtering the ſame employments in the general government of the Subahſhip, as they had held in the province of Orixa.

1729. In 1729 Sujah appointed Allaverdy to govern Behar, in which ſtation he had frequent opportunities of exerting his military talents, as well as his political abilities; being conſtantly in arms againſt the Indian chiefs on both ſides the Ganges, who had never been reduced to a ſettled dependance on the mooriſh government. However, after many fights, intrigues, and aſſaſſinations, all ſubmitted, and afterwards continued in obedience to Allaverdy; who now feeling his ſtrength, gave ſcope to his ambition, which as uſual, obliterated every ſentiment of gratitude to the creator of his fortunes.

In the mean time Hodgee maintained his influence over the Nabob by an obſequiouſneſs which prevented all ſuſpicions, and remitted large ſums to his brother, which were ſent to Delhi, and in
1736. 17-6 procured a commiſſion from thence appointing Allaverdy, Nabob of Behar, free from any dependance on the government of Bengal: but as there was no immediate occaſion to proclaim this title, of which he

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

already enjoyed moſt of the advantages, the brothers agreed that it ſhould be kept ſecret, until there ſhould be a neceſſity of aſſerting it publickly. However, ſuch a tranſaction could not be entirely concealed; and the firſt informations leading to farther inveſtigations, Sujah, although unwillingly, was at length convinced of the treacherous ingratitude of his favourites. 1756.

He was meditating revenge, when the approach of Nadir Shah ſtruck all the provinces of the empire with conſternation, and kept all their rulers in ſuſpenſe how far the ſtorm would reach: and in 1739, before the Perſians left Delhi, Sujah died. 1739.

The ſucceſſion devolved to his only ſurviving ſon Suffraze Khan, a man of mean abilities, and governed only by his vices. He, however, bore the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt the two brothers; but the fear of Allaverdy reſtrained him from taking away the life of Hodgee, who was in his power: and Allaverdy, trembling for the ſafety of his brother, refrained from committing any hoſtilities, but improved his army.

The profligacy of Suffraze Khan increaſed with the means of indulgence: and his debaucheries went to an exceſs that diſordered his underſtanding. There was, amongſt the officers of the court, an old Gentoo of diſtinction, named Allumchund, whom the late Nabob uſed to conſult with confidence; relying on which, Allumchund ventured, in a private conference, to warn Suffraze Khan of the dangerous conſequences of his intemperance; but Suffraze Khan anſwered him with ignominious abuſe and invectives. No one after this ventured to ſhew any diſapprobation of his inclinations; and, left to himſelf, he ſoon after committed a more extravagant outrage. 1740.

There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxadavad, whoſe head, Juggutſeat, had raiſed himſelf from no conſiderable origin to be the wealthieſt banker in the empire, in moſt parts of which he had agents ſupplied with money for remittances; from whom he conſtantly received good intelligence of what was tranſacting in the governments in which they were ſettled; and in Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer in the adminiſtration; for by

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1740. by anſwering to the treaſury, as ſecurity for moſt of the renters farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one all the details of the revenues; and the great circulation of wealth, which he commanded, rendered his aſſiſtance neceſſary in every emergency of expence. His eldeſt ſon, ſoon after the diſgrace of Allumchund, married a woman of exquiſite beauty, the report of which alone inflamed the curioſity of the Nabob ſo much, that he inſiſted on ſeeing her, although ke knew the diſgrace which would be fixed on the family, by ſhewing a wife, unveiled, to a ſtranger. Neither the remonſtrances of the father, nor his power to revenge the indignity, availed to divert the Nabob from this inſolent and futile reſolution. The young woman was ſent to the palace in the evening; and, after ſtaying there a ſhort ſpace, returned, unviolated indeed, but diſhonoured, to her huſband.

Hodgee, who had been lurking for ſome ſuch occaſions of conſpiracy, now began to move; and made overtures to Juggutſeat and Allumchund, who received them with eagerneſs. Secret meetings were concerted, in which it was agreed, that as ſoon as Hodgee could be placed out of the reach of danger, Allaverdy ſhould invade Bengal, and, if ſucceſsful, take the Nabobſhip. But the firſt difficulty ſeemed inſurmountable, as nothing could be more contrary to the ſecurity of the Nabob than the releaſe of ſuch a pledge as Hodgee, and it was impoſſible that he could be removed out of the province without the Nabob's conſent; which nevertheleſs was at length obtained, by the interceſſion, it is ſaid, of ſome of the principal officers of the Durbar, whom Hodgee had gained over and admitted into the ſecret of his conſpiracy. The Nabob at the audience of taking leave treated Hodgee with ſcoff and mockery. The conveyances for his departure having for ſome time been held in readineſs, he proceeded immediately on his journey to Patna; and as ſoon as he arrived there, Allaverdy, giving out that he was diſhonoured by the ignominious manner in which his brother had been turned out of the province, began his march towards Bengal.

1741. His approach was ſo ſudden, that he gained the paſs of Tacriagully before Suffraze Khan had time to ſecure it by a proper reinforcement.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

forcement. On hearing which, the Nabob accuſed Juggutſeat of treachery; who defended himſelf by producing letters from Allaverdy, prepared for the purpoſe, in which he was upbraided for not having uſed his influence to prevent the baniſhment of Hodgee. 1756. 1745.

Suffraze Khan now aſſembled his troops, and ordered them to rendezvous on the plain of Gheria, which lies on the weſt ſide of the river of Coſſimbuzar, about five miles to the north of Muxadavad. Here he had ſcarcely formed his encampment, which conſiſted of 30,000 men, horſe and foot, when Allaverdy appeared in ſight, with an equal number, but of better troops; for amongſt his cavalry were 3,000 Pitans, the braveſt of the Mahomedans in Indoſtan; and his infantry, levied in Behar, were much ſtouter than thoſe in the army of Suffraze Khan, who were moſtly natives of Bengal.

However, the unexpected firmneſs of the Nabob inſpired ſome of his officers with courage; but more were either diſſaffected, or wavering; and all belonging to the artillery had been engaged by Allumchund to diſcharge the cannon without ball, and to deſert it ſoon after the onſet. Troops after troops quitted the field, as ſoon as they ſaw the artillery abandoned. Nevertheleſs Suffraze Khan continued the fight, until he was left with only a few ſquadrons of horſe, whom the enemy were moving to ſurround, when the driver of his elephant, warning him of the danger, offered, at the forfeit of his head, to convey him back ſafely to the capital; to which propoſal the Nabob, with a reſolution worthy of a better life, and of a better fate, replied, that he ſcorned to retreat before rebels and traitors; and ordered the driver to puſh into the thickeſt of the enemy's troops, toward the ſtandard of Allaverdy; where, ſupported by the remains of his cavalry, he renewed the fight more deſperately than ever, until he fell, ſhot through the heart by a muſket ball.

Allaverdy, without meeting any farther oppoſition, marched to Muxadavad, where he was immediately proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa; and uſed his victory with more lenity and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. moderation than is uſually practiſed by eaſtern conquerors; and
1741. even ſpared the two ſons of Suffraze Khan, whom, with their mother and other relations, he ſent to take up their reſidence at Decca, at the extremity of the province, where his officers were inſtructed to treat them with reſpect, whilſt their conduct ſhould give no umbrage. The whole province ſubmitted as peaceably to his government, as if no revolution had happened: but Muſſut Kouli, who governed Orixa under Suffraze Khan, flying from the battle of Gheria, retreated to Catteck, and when ſummoned by Allaverdy, refuſed to acknowledge his ſovereignty, He therefore called his brother Hodgee from Patna to adminiſter the government of Bengal during his abſence, and then marched into Orixa, and in leſs than a month expelled Muſſut Kouli, and reduced the province.

The exceſs and rapidity of his fortunes, together with the reputation of his military abilities, alarmed the throne; and Nizam-almuluck, the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, in order to ſtop the farther progreſs of his arms, incited the Morattoes to invade his dominions almoſt as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of them. In conſequence of which, an army of 80,000 Morattoes arrived within a few days journey of the mountains, which bound Bengal to the weſtward, before Allaverdy had quitted Catteck; who, not having given credit to the reports of their approach, had taken no precautions to prevent their irruption: and had even permitted the greateſt part of the army he led into Bengal, to return to their homes; ſo that his whole force did not exceed 10,000 men, 5000 of whom were cavalry, and amongſt them were the 3000 Pitans: his ſoul, however, nothing diſmayed, reaſſumed its wonted activity, as ſoon as he found the danger to be really formidable; and he advanced by exceſſive marches towards his capital. But the Morattoes had already paſſed the defiles of the mountains, when he arrived near Burdawan 100 miles from Muxadavad; where, finding himſelf ſurrounded, he encamped in a ſtrong ſituation. Baſchir Pondit, the general of the Morattoes, immediately ſent deputies to his camp, who ſhewed the Emperor's mandates, authorizing them to demand

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

demand the chout, or a fourth part of the revenues of the three provinces for the three laſt years. They likewiſe demanded that he ſhould oblige himſelf to pay this tribute regularly in future, and that ſome officers deputed by the Morattoes ſhould be employed in all the departments of the revenues, in order to aſcertain and ſecure their proportion. They moreover required him to deliver up the treaſures of the two laſt Nabobs, Soujah and Suffraze Khan, or to pay the equivalent. 1756. 1742.

Allaverdy on hearing theſe imperious terms ordered the deputies to quit his camp, with a defiance fraught with contempt to their general. The next day he renewed his march in open day, in full ſight of the enemy, who ſoon broke and diſperſed his infantry, but were not able to make impreſſion on his cavalry. The Pitans were commanded by an officer named Muſtapha Khan, whom they not only revered as their hereditary chief, but loved as the braveſt ſoldier amongſt them: Allaverdy himſelf, his nephew Zaindee Hamed, Meer Jaffier his brother-in-law, and all the other officers of diſtinction, continually preſented themſelves againſt the moſt dangerous onſets; and ſuch examples could not fail to animate their followers. Before night they had advanced fifteen miles in their way, when they halted in a ſtrong ſituation: the next day the march was renewed with the ſame courage and ſucceſs: and on the evening of the third day they arrived at the town of Cutwah, ſituated about thirty miles ſouth of Muxadavad, on the bank of the Coſſimbuzar river, which in this part is fordable during the dry ſeaſon of the year.

About 500 of the cavalry were killed during the retreat, but more horſes periſhed; for only 3000 men mounted arrived at Cutwah, where they remained ſome days in order to recover their fatigue, having ſcarcely ſlept ſince they left their camp at Burdawan. The Morattoes, in the mean time, aſſembled round Cutwah, and perſuaded themſelves that Allaverdy would wait for reinforcements from Muxadavad, before he attempted to paſs the river. Great, therefore, was their ſurprize and admiration, when they ſaw him

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. preparing to ford it with the ſame ſpirit of defiance as he had ſhewn in the reſt of his march.

1742. The ſucceſs of this operation depended on preventing the enemy from following them into the ford through the avenues of the town; and eighty of the braveſt Pitans, excellently mounted and in complete armour, were ſelected for this important ſervice, under the command of their general Muſtapha Khan, whom Zaindee Hamed and Meer Jaffier joined as volunteers. This intrepid troop maintained their poſt until Allaverdy with the main body had croſſed the river: when they likewiſe began to retreat; and cutting their way through the enemy, all but fifteen eſcaped and paſſed the ford.

As ſoon as they arrived, Allaverdy continued his march to Muxadavad, which he reached the next day: his firſt attention, after this gallant retreat, was to reward thoſe who had ſo bravely ſeconded his own perſeverance and courage. Every ſoldier received a gratuity; all the officers promotion: Meer Jaffier, who had ſignalized himſelf at the paſſage of the river, additional penſions; and to Muſtapha Khan he preſented a million of rupees. To Zaindee Hamed he gave the firſt place in his affection, and from this time deſtined him for his ſucceſſor; although he had given his only daughter in marriage to Nowagis Mahomed, the eldeſt of Hodgee's ſons.

The Morattoes, as ſoon as they had gained ſufficient intelligence, croſſed over into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, and ravaged the open country; but did not venture to attack the capital; and the approach of the rainy ſeaſon, during which the ſwelling of the rivers would have confined them in the iſland, deterred them from continuing on it more than three days. To preſerve their horſes, they encamped on the high lands of Berhohin, in the north-weſt part of the province. Here they were enabled to form proper reſolutions, by the advice of one of the Soubah's officers, named Meer-ahib, who had deſerted to them: he was a man of ſcheme, method, and activity, had been deputy governor of Dacca, and poſſeſſed much general knowledge of the province. Inſtructed by him, they collected

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

lected the revenues of the countries lying to the weſt of the river Hughley. He likewiſe enabled them to form a bridge of boats at Cutwah, and having procured ſome pieces of artillery, and ſome European deſerters to man them, he built two floating batteries to defend the bridge, ſtationing one on each ſide. Thus prepared, as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was paſſed, they croſſed again into the iſland, by which time Allaverdy had augmented his army by levies made in Behar to 50,000 men, of whom 20,000 were cavalry, and of theſe one half were Pitans. The enemy's detachments, nevertheleſs, truſting to the hardineſs and activity of their horſes, carried their ravages to the furthermoſt parts of the iſland, and eluded the troops ſent by Allaverdy to intercept them, who at length took the better reſolution of marching with his whole force towards their bridge at Cutwah; on which Baſchir Pondit recalled all his parties; and the whole army re-croſſed the river, but in ſuch a hurry that they neglected to break the bridge. Their rear had ſcarcely paſſed before the van of Allaverdy's army arrived, but the fire of the floating batteries obliged them to halt until their artillery came up, which ſoon ſilenced the enemy's; when the Nabob's troops crouding in greater numbers than the bridge could ſupport, ſome of the boats ſunk; and a thouſand men periſhed: it however was ſoon repaired, and the whole army croſſed; but the Morattoes ſtill continued to avoid every encounter. At length Allaverdy, deſpairing of ſtriking a deciſive blow againſt ſuch an enemy, offered to treat; but Baſchir Pondit, elated with this condeſcenſion, repeated the ſame terms as he had propoſed at Burdawan, and added to them that the ſon of Suffraze Khan ſhould be placed in the Nabobſhip. Allaverdy, ſtung by this reproachful propoſal, formed a deſign of circumventing his enemies, in contempt of all reſpects divine or human. 1756. 1742.

Pretending to be very ſollicitous of peace, he propoſed a perſonal conference with Baſchir Pondit; who, ſuſpecting the good faith of his profeſſions, did not conſent to the interview without taking ſeveral precautions againſt the treachery he feared, and even obliged Allaverdy to ſwear by the Koran, that he would uſe none. It

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1742. was agreed that the conference ſhould be held in a tent pitched in an open plain, at an equal diſtance between the two camps; and that each of the chiefs ſhould be accompanied by fifteen officers on horſeback, and the ſame number of unarmed ſervants on foot, who were to take care of their horſes; but the care of providing the tent was left to Allaverdy, who had ſeduced Baſchir Pondit into this negligence, by offering to ſend his wife, during the conference, to viſit the wife of the Morattoe. At the appointed hour the two chiefs advanced to the tent, each of them having ſelected for his retinue the principal and braveſt officers in his army; and with Allaverdy were his favourites, Muſtapha Khan and Meer Jaffier: at the ſame time was diſcovered moving to the right a long train of covered pallankeens, which were ſuppoſed to be the retinue of his wife going to the Morattoe camp. The two companies met, and entered the tent with much ceremony. What followed is variouſly told; the prevailing report was, that the conference laſted an hour, which ſeems impoſſible; for on a ſignal, 50 armed men ruſhed from behind the ſides of the tent, which had been pitched with a double lining in order to conceal them; and, joining the officers who accompanied Allaverdy, began the work of aſſaſſination. Baſchir Pondit with all his attendants, and three or four of Allaverdy's, were killed; but Allaverdy himſelf did not unſheath his ſword. The annals of Indoſtan ſcarcely afford an example of ſuch treacherous atrocity, and none in which perſons of ſuch diſtinction were the actors. As ſoon as the maſſacre was finiſhed, a ſignal was thrown out, on which the army of Bengal advanced againſt the Morattoe camp, and were joined in the way by Allaverdy, and his officers from the tent, who led them to the attack. The Morattoes fled on every ſide in confuſion; but reaſſembled again to the weſtward, and renewed the war with redoubled devaſtations and barbarities.

Practice and encouragement at length brought the Nabob's cavalry to fight the enemy in their own way, and every day produced a combat or ſkirmiſh in ſome part or other of the country. This irregular war continued three months, when the Morattoes, finding

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

their numbers much diminiſhed, repaſſed the weſtern mountains, and quitted the province. 1756.

1743.

The whole Morattoe nation in its two diviſions of Poni and Berar, determined to avenge the death of Baſchir Pondit, and the remains of his army were ſcarcely retreated before two others were in march to invade Bengal: each conſiſted of 60,000 men; but acted independently. The army of Poni was commanded by Ballerow, who, without dethroning the Sahah Rajah, or real ſovereign of the Morattoes, had uſurped the whole authority of the ſtate, which he tranſmitted on his death to his ſon Balagerow. The other army was commanded by Ragojee Bonſola, who had ſome years before conquered, and had ever ſince governed, the province of Behar. He is the ſame who, by the inſtigation of Nizamuluck, invaded the Carnatic in 1740, as now Bengal. The army with Ballerow entered the province of Behar, whilſt the other, under Ragojee, marched through the mountains from Behar into Orixa. Allaverdy on the news of their approach broke the bridge at Cutwah, and encamped near his capital. Mean while, the two Morattoe armies, advancing without oppoſition, met at Burdawan; where the two generals agreed, that the war ſhould be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided. At the ſame time they were joined by Meer-abib, who, as before, fixed another bridge at Cutwah, over which they paſſed into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar; but Allaverdy relying on the ſucceſs of leſs hazardous meaſures, determined neither to offer or accept battle. Amongſt the priſoners taken from the army of Baſchir Pondit, was an officer of diſtinction, named Shaſerow, whom Allaverdy had attached by ſeveral acts of generoſity; in return for which Shaſerow now employed his mediation with Ballerow in favour of Allaverdy, whoſe emiſſaries were at the ſame time ſowing diſſention between the two Morattoe generals, perſuading each that much plunder had been ſecreted from the common ſtock by the other army.

The explanations that enſued on this ſubject produced a coolneſs between them, which determined Ballerow to agree to the propoſals of Allaverdy, who offered to pay two millions of rupees, on condition

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. dition that both the Morattoe armies ſhould be immediately with-
1743. drawn, and three millions more as ſoon as they ſhould be arrived in their own country. Accordingly it was agreed that Ballerow and Allaverdy ſhould meet and confer together on the 30th of March; but ſome motions made that day by the troops of Ragojee cauſing Allaverdy to ſuſpect treachery, he returned to his camp when on the way to the place appointed. However, on the 3d of April they met. The conference laſted two hours, during which the treaty was ratified. Ragojee diſſembled his diſapprobation until all the Morattoes had quitted the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, when he openly refuſed to accept the treaty; and Ballerow, who had received the two millions of rupees, gave himſelf no trouble either to perſuade or compel him, but marched away with his own troops and the money.

Allaverdy, more ſatisfied with having removed one half of his enemies, than diſappointed at the refuſal of Ragojee, immediately marched againſt him. But the Morattoes, as uſual, avoided all encounters of riſque, and ravaged the defenceleſs parts of the country until the month of June, when they retired into Orixa, and in a few days reduced the whole province; of which Ragojee, with the conſent of his officers, gave the government to Meer-abib. As ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was paſſed, ſome of their detachments again
1744. infeſted Bengal; and in March 1744, new parties, allured by the ſucceſs of their countrymen, traverſed, plundering as they went, all Behar and Bengal, in their way to the main body, which remained in Orixa. The three following months Allaverdy was employed in beating up the parties that remained in Bengal, and as ſoon as the rains ceaſed, he marched with his whole force into Orixa; where by continual ſtratagems he brought on ſeveral encounters, in which the Morattoes ſuffered conſiderably; and purſuing theſe advantages, he in leſs than three months obliged them to quit the province and retire to the weſtward. However, he was ſcarcely returned to
1745. Muxadavad, in February 1745, when they renewed their incurſions; but their detachments were not formidable enough to require the ſame ſtreſs of oppoſition which had hitherto employed his whole

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

force and attention. He therefore, in October, detached a large body of troops to Patna, under the command of his nephew Zaindee Hamed, and now began to have ſome proſpect of tranquillity; which, nevertheleſs, ſtill fled before him. 1756. 1745.

The reputation of Muſtapha Khan, and his influence amongſt the ſoldiery, had for ſome time rendered him obnoxious to the ſuſpicions of Hodgee, who concluded, that if he did not already entertain dangerous views, he might aſpire at the ſovereignty after the death of Allaverdy, to the prejudice of his own ſon Zaindee Hamed: but mere arguments could not induce Allaverdy, who feared nothing, to entertain this opinion of a fellow ſoldier, by whom he had always been ſerved with fidelity, and had on all occaſions generouſly rewarded. He demanded proofs, which were ſupplied by letters that ſeemed to be witten by Meer-abib to Muſtapha Khan, implying a previous correſpondence, exhorting the Pitan to aſſaſſinate Allaverdy, and promiſing him the aſſiſtance of the Morattoes to ſeize and maintain the government. Allaverdy, not ſuſpecting that Hodgee would dare to uſe ſuch an artifice in an affair of ſo great importance, believed the impoſition, and determined to put Muſtapha Khan to death at the next viſit; whoſe friends apprized him of the danger; on which he inſtantly marched away with the body of 3000 Pitans under his immediate command, and was the next day followed and joined by the ſame number, with their officer Sumſheer Khan; all took their way towards Behar.

Their departure confirming Allaverdy in his belief of Hodgee's repreſentations, he ordered Zaindee Hamed to advance from Patna, in order to ſtop the retreat of the Pitans, whilſt he himſelf followed them with his own army, which overtook them half way between Tacriagully and Patna, before Zaindee Hamed appeared in ſight. Muſtapha Khan therefore gave battle without delay; the conflict was ſharp and obſtinate, notwithſtanding the diſparity of numbers: and the ſucceſs remained doubtful, until the two chiefs came within reach of one another, when a party of men, armed with matchlocks, who had been taught to ſhoot at a mark, and were appointed to guard the elephant on which Allaverdy rode, fired a volley 1746.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. volley directed againſt the perſon of Muſtapha Khan, and killed
1746. him; on which Sumſheer Khan gave the ſignal of retreat, and, paſſing at a diſtance from Zaindee Hamed's march, retreated out of the province, and proceeded to his own country, to the eaſt of the Jumna.

After the battle, Hodgee, who had accompanied his brother, went to Patna, in order to ſuperintend the civil adminiſtration of Behar; and having brought with him the head of Muſtapha Khan, cauſed it to be carried on a pole round the city, during which proceſſion it was inſulted by the multitude with every indignity. Allaverdy haſtened back to Bengal, which, during his abſence, had been expoſed to the return and depredations of the whole body of Morattoes, which he had driven out of Orixa. Thus ended the year 1746. Continual marches and a few indeciſive ſkirmiſhes employed
1747. him until the end of 1747, when events of more dangerous conſequence called forth the exertion of his utmoſt reſolution.

Meer-abib, who, ſince his defection, had loſt no opportunity of diſtreſſing Allaverdy, had entered into a correſpondence with Sumſheer Khan, immediately after the death of Muſtapha; in conſequence of which the Pitan, with 8000 of his countrymen, appeared in December on the bank of the Ganges, oppoſite to the city of Patna; which intending to ſurprize, he tendered the ſervice of his troops to Zaindee Hamed. Hodgee, it is ſaid, had received ſome intelligence of the connexion exiſting between Sumſheer Khan and Meer-abib; and adviſed his ſon to project an interview, in which all the Pitan officers might be blown up by a mine of gunpowder; but Zaindee Hamed, ſuſpecting his father's intelligence, rejected the propoſal, and waited for the orders of Allaverdy; who inſtructed him to inliſt the Pitans, and afterwards to take the firſt opportunity of deſtroying their chiefs. Accordingly, the terms of agreement were ſettled, and the principal officers, accompanied by 2000 of their ſoldiery, croſſed the river: they were received by Zaindee Hamed in a tent pitched at a little diſtance from the city. Sumſheer Khan approached the firſt, made his obeiſance, and having received from Zaindee a roll of beetel, as a pledge of friendſhip, took his

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

his place, ſtanding behind him as an officer now rated in his ſervice. Eleven other officers went through the ſame ceremony; and when Zaindee Hamed was preſenting the beetel to the thirteenth, the officer, who had laſt received it, plunged a dagger over his ſhoulder into his heart. In the ſame inſtant the others fell on thoſe of Zaindee's retinue who were ſtanding neareſt his perſon, whilſt the Pitan ſoldiers attacked the reſt and his guards. The aſtoniſhment on one ſide being as great as the impetuoſity on the other, all the attendants of Zaindee Hamed were ſoon diſperſed; and during the conflict a party of Pitans galloped to the gate of the city, of which they kept poſſeſſion, until Sumſheer Khan arrived with the reſt. 1756. 1748.

Here the conſternation was ſo great, that no one thought of reſiſtance; and the Pitans cutting down all they met without diſtinction, proceeded and got poſſeſſion of the citadel. Their firſt care now was to ſeek for Hodgee, in order to retaliate the death of their leader Muſtapha Khan, and the ignominy with which Hodgee had treated his remains; he was taken, endeavouring to eſcape in a covered pallankeen, and immediately ſcourged in public, like a common criminal; after which he was led through the city on an aſs, with his legs tied under the belly, and his face painted half black, half white; during which proceſſion he was inſulted with every ſcoff and mockery that deteſtation could ſuggeſt. Five millions of rupees were found in his houſe; and the ſcourge was again repeated, in order to extort a confeſſion of the treaſures he was ſuppoſed to have concealed; but whether he really had no more, or believed that no confeſſion would exempt him from future torture, he bore that which was now inflicted on him until his life was in danger; when Sumſheer Khan, deſirous of reſerving him for more lingering and exquiſite ſufferings, ordered him to be taken care of: but the unfortunate and high minded wife of Zaindee found means to convey to him a doſe of poiſon. He took it immediately, and in a few hours it releaſed him from all his agonies. His fate, ſevere as it was, excited no commiſeration; for his avarice, perfidy, and cruelty, had rendered him execrable to every rank and condition.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1748. The main body of Pitans croſſing the river joined thoſe in poſſeſſion of the city, and during three days rioted in maſſacre and rapine: after the tumult ſubſided, Sumſheer Khan eſtabliſhed officers to govern the city, raiſed contributions from the neighbouring diſtricts, and levied troops.

The news of theſe diſaſters overpowered all the fortitude of Allaverdy, and rendered him for ſome days incapable of attending to the concerns of his government: his grief was moſtly paid to the memory of Zaindee Hamed, who was the only one of his family worthy to ſucceed him. However, the deſire of revenge recalled his wonted firmneſs, and he appeared again with new vigour, augmenting his army, and improving it by new diſcipline: he likewiſe ſolicitouſly attached to his perſon the 4000 Pitans, who had remained with him after the retreat of Muſtapha Khan. Thus animated and prepared, he took the field in the month of March with 25,000 horſe and 15,000 foot, and proceeded into Behar through the paſs of Tacriagully.

In this interval, Sumſheer Khan had likewiſe levied 5000 horſe and 10,000 foot, with which and his 8000 Pitans he took the field, and encamped about 20 miles to the eaſt of Patna, having concerted with the Morattoes that they ſhould fall upon Allaverdy's rear, whilſt the Pitans attacked him in front. In conſequence of this agreement Meer-abib and Ragojee had entered the country of Burdawan, waiting the motions of Allaverdy to direct their own: and as ſoon as he had paſſed Tacriagully, they, by a ſhorter rout, croſſed the mountains, ſeventy miles to the weſt, through the paſſes of Berbohin, and arrived in the middle of Behar almoſt as ſoon as the army of Bengal. Allaverdy ſaw his danger; but nevertheleſs proceeded, and when near the encampment of Sumſheer Khan left his own tents and baggage ſtanding on the plain, with only a ſmall force to guard them, and marched on to give the Pitans battle; who met him without heſitation. The Morattoes in the rear were within a march of the battle, but, as he had foreſeen, ſtopped at the camp, and during the conflict, employed themſelves in plundering the ſpoil, inſtead of aſſiſting their allies; the battle, nevertheleſs, was the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the moſt fierce and obſtinate that had for many years been fought in Indoſtan. Allaverdy had foreſeen the fury of their onſets, and remained in the rear, in order to rally his own troops. Nevertheleſs, the Pitans would in all probability have been victorious, had he not interſperſed his cavalry with matchlock men; who firing with aim ſhot, one after another, moſt of their principal officers, and at laſt Sumſheer Khan himſelf, juſt as he had cut his way to the elephant on which Allaverdy ſuperintended the battle. His death, as uſual, decided the victory. The Pitans haſtened back to Patna, where they remained gathering together their own effects, and plundering whatſoever they could find valuable belonging to the inhabitants, until the army of Bengal appeared in ſight, when they quitted the city, and croſſing the Ganges marched away to their own country. 1756. 1748.

Allaverdy having ſettled the government of Behar, returned before the rainy ſeaſon to Muxadavad. The Morattoes, after the defeat of Sumſheer Khan, divided into ſeveral detachments, of which ſome infeſted Behar, ſome Bengal, and others Orixa; but their operations were not formidable enough to call Allaverdy himſelf again into the field: and he committed the conduct of the war to his general Meer Jaffier, who was continually employed in interrupting or diſlodging their parties.

The war ever ſince the retreat of Ballerow in 1743, had been principally carried on by the Morattoes of Ragogee Bonſola from Behar, joined ſometimes by partizans and adventurers from other countries. In 1749, Ragogee aſſiſted Nazirjing in his expedition into the Carnatic with 10,000 horſe, under the command of his ſon Jonagi, which, with other expeditions, diſabled him from recruiting the loſſes ſuſtained by his army in Bengal, which was continually diminiſhing by fight or fatigue. In the beginning of the next year Meer Jaffier pent up 5000 of their horſe in the mountains of Behar, and put more than one half of them to the ſword. 1749. 1750.

At this time much confuſion reigned at Delhi. The army of the Emperor Hamed Schah, commanded by his vizir Seifdar Jung, had been routed in the preceding year by the Rohillas, a tribe of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. Pitans tributary to the province of Oude, who 20 years before were
1750. of little note or eſtimation; and to repair this diſgrace, it was reſolved to hire 40,000 Morattoes of Balagerow, who had ſucceeded his father Ballerow in the government of Poni. Its own diſtreſs therefore deprived the throne of farther means to excite more enemies againſt Allaverdy, in whom on the other hand the infirmities of age ſeemed to have quelled the ambitious ſpirit which had rendered him ſo formidable to the empire. The Court of Delhi, therefore, as the beſt compromiſe, conſented to confirm him Subah of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, on condition that he ſhould annually remit the uſual tribute of ſix millions of rupees.

The patents were publiſhed at Muxadavad ſoon after the body of 5000 Morattoes were defeated in Behar, and Allaverdy improving both circumſtances opened a negociation with their leaders, conſenting to leave them in poſſeſſion of the ſouthern part of Orixa until a firm peace could be ſettled with the heads of the nation, provided all their parties were immediately withdrawn out of the provinces of Bengal and Behar. The terms were accepted, and he ſoon after
1751. ſent an embaſſador to Poni; but a variety of references and diſcuſ-
1753. ſions delayed the ratification of the treaty to the end of the year 1753, when it was agreead that Allaverdy ſhould annually pay the ſum of 120,000 rupees, and that all Orixa ſouth of Catteck ſhould be ceded to the Morattoe dominion in perpetuity, and that they ſhould receive half the revenues of the northern part as far as the river of Pipli, with the permiſſion of appointing officers, who, together with the Nabob's, were to ſuperintend the collections.

Thus ended this war. All the countries lying to the eaſt of the great and leſſer Ganges, excepting the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, were defended by theſe rivers from the calamities which afflicted Orixa, the weſtern part of Bengal, and the ſouthern region of Behar, where the puſillanimous inhabitants were continually taking flight, even on imaginary alarms, and wandering from their homes found no reſources of charity in their countrymen; for the fear of contamination prevents all of the Indian religion from giving ſhelter, or adminiſtering to the wants of any, who are not known or recommended

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

mended to them, and confining all their ſentiments of humanity to perſons of their own caſt, they ſuffer the ſtranger to periſh without compaſſion. Nor could the advantages of a climate, in which fuel and raiment are ſcarcely neceſſary, countervail the deſtructive effects of this general timidity and uncharitableneſs. 1756. 1753.

Examples of theſe diſtreſſes were frequently ſeen by the Engliſh at Calcutta, to which place the inhabitants of the oppoſite ſide of the river often came over in great numbers for refuge, and periſhed through want; communicating their own terrors to thoſe of whom they aſked relief; inſomuch, that in the year 1742 the Indian inhabitants of the colony requeſted and obtained permiſſion to dig a ditch at their own expence, round the company's bounds, from the northern part of Soota-nutty to the ſouthern part of Govindpore. This work would extend ſeven miles, whilſt the force to defend it did not exceed 300 Europeans and 500 peons. In ſix months three miles were finiſhed: when the inhabitants, ſeeing that no Morattoes had ever been on the weſtern ſide of the river within ſixty miles of Calcutta; and that Allaverdy exerted himſelf vigorouſly to prevent their incurſions into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, diſcontinued the work; which from the occaſion was called the *Morattoe ditch*.

Allaverdy made no objection to this work; and moreover permitted the Engliſh, in the ſame year, to raiſe a rampart with baſtions of brickwork round their factory at Coſſimbuzar. But the reſt of his conduct ſhewed that theſe indulgences did not proceed from any deſire of courting the Europeans in times of difficulty: for, notwithſtanding the ſervices which he might have received from their garriſons, he never aſked their aſſiſtance. He forbid the Engliſh and French from committing any hoſtilities againſt each other in his dominions during the war declared between the two nations in 1741; and in the year 1748 he, on ſome contempt of his authority, attacked and drove the factors of the Oſtend company out of the river of Hughley: and he ſeveral times exacted money of the Engliſh, French, and Dutch ſettlements; alledging, that they ought to contribute to the expence, as they participated of the protection, of his arms. The preſidency of Calcutta not complying

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1753. plying with his demands on the firſt ſummons, he more than once ſtopped their trade: however, all they paid from his acceſſion did not exceed 100,000 pounds ſterling; which on an average was not two in a hundred on the amount of their inveſtments during that interval.

The Morattoes during the war made only one conſiderable depredation on the Engliſh trade. This was in the year 1748, when they ſtopped a fleet of boats coming from Coſſimbuzar to Calcutta, and plundered it of 300 bales of raw ſilk belonging to the company. But the advantages of the European commerce in general were much impaired by the diſtreſſes of the province, which enhanced the prices and debaſed the fabricks of all kinds of manufactures.

The difficulties which Allaverdy had encountered and ſurmounted ſince his acceſſion obliterated in the minds of his ſubjects whatſoever deteſtation they might have conceived againſt his uſurpation of the ſovereignty: his attention to protect them from the violences and iniquities of his officers acting either with civil or military authority, had gained him the public reverence and eſteem: and ſuch was the openneſs and generoſity of his character on all occaſions, in which his ambition was not thwarted, that his ingratitude to his benefactor Sujah Khan, the murder of Baſchir Pondit, and his intentions to cut off Muſtapha Khan, were imputed, although abſurdly, to the influence which his brother Hodgee was ſuppoſed to have over all his reſolutions: he remained, perhaps, the only prince in the eaſt whom none of his ſubjects wiſhed to aſſaſſinate. But he was no ſooner arrived at this degree of reputation and fortune, than increaſing infirmities warned him of his approaching end; and his injudicious choice of a ſucceſſor embittered his latter days with as many anxieties as he had ſuffered in the reſt of his reign.

Having no male iſſue or deſcendants, the ſucceſſion naturally devolved into the family of his brother Hodgee, who had three ſons, Nowagis Mahomed, Zaindee Hamed, and Sid Hamed: Nowagis married the only daughter of Allaverdy, by whom he had no iſſue; Sid Hamed had a ſon; and Zaindee Hamed left two, of whom

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

whom the elder, named Mirza Mahmud, was adopted by Allaverdy, and the other, named Moorad Dowlah, by Nowagis Mahomed. The ſuperior qualities of Zaindee juſtified Allaverdy in preferring him to his elder brother Nowagis, a man of much leſs reſolution and capacity; but after the death of Zaindee, there remained no reaſon to exclude Nowagis again from the ſucceſſion: for he was of a better character than his brother Sid Hamed; and of the two children left by Zaindee, the younger, Moorad Dowlah, was weak of intellect, and the elder, Mirza Mahmud, a youth of ſeventeen years, had diſcovered the moſt vicious propenſities, at an age when only follies are expected from princes. But the great affection which Allaverdy had borne to the father was transferred to this ſon, whom he had for ſome years bred in his own palace; where, inſtead of correcting the evil diſpoſitions of his nature, he ſuffered them to increaſe by overweening indulgence: born without compaſſion, it was one of the amuſements of Mirza Mahmud's childhood to torture birds and animals; and, taught by his minions to regard himſelf as of a ſuperior order of beings, his natural cruelty, hardened by habit, rendered him as inſenſible to the ſufferings of his own ſpecies as of the brute creation: in conception he was not ſlow, but abſurd; obſtinate, ſullen, and impatient of contradiction; but, notwithſtanding his inſolent contempt of mankind, innate cowardice and the confuſion of his ideas rendered him ſuſpicious of all who approached him, excepting his favourites, who were buffoons and profligate men, raiſed from menial ſervants to be his companions: with theſe he lived in every kind of intemperance and debauchery, and more eſpecially in drinking ſpirituous liquors to an exceſs, which inflamed his paſſions and impaired the little underſtanding with which he was born. He had, however, cunning enough to carry himſelf with much demureneſs in the preſence of Allaverdy, whom no one ventured to inform of his real character; for in deſpotic ſtates the ſovereign is always the laſt to hear what it concerns him moſt to know.

1756. 1753.

This youth in the year 1753 Allaverdy declared his ſucceſſor, and from this time ſuffered him to act in the government of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. 1754. provinces with great authority; whilſt his ſubjects beheld with equal ſurpriſe and conſternation an inſtance of ſuch dotage in a prince, whoſe judgment had never failed him until this, the moſt important option of his life. The doom was, however, irrevocable, and Mirza Mahmud on his appointment received the name of Chirageeal-Dowla, ſignifying the lamp of riches, by which he was afterwards called; but by the Europeans, Surajah Dowlah. His uncles, Nowagis and Sid Hamed, did not indeed break out into open rebellion, but ſhewed ſo much diſcontent, that Allaverdy was convinced they would diſpute the ſucceſſion after his death; and knowing that Nowagis Mahomed was governed by a man of abilities, named Hoſſein Cooley Khan, he determined to remove this miniſter. But Nowagis having for ſome years held the government of Dacca with its appurtenances, had acquired great wealth, which enabled him to maintain a large retinue of armed men in conſtant pay; and the city of Dacca was at this time governed by a nephew of Hoſſein Cooley Khan: Allaverdy therefore was apprehenſive that Nowagis might retire to Dacca, and throw off his allegiance, if he ſhould take the alarm, whilſt that city remained under his autho-

1755. rity; but Surajah Dowlah undertook to remove the nephew of Hoſſein Cooley Khan, and ſent a party of aſſaſſins, who entering Dacca in diſguiſe ſtabbed him in the dead of night. As ſoon as his death was known at Muxadavad, Nowagis took up arms, but more from apprehenſions of his own danger than with intention to revenge the injury: Allaverdy therefore eaſily quelled this inſurrection, by aſſuring him that the murder had been committed without the participation either of himſelf, or Surajah Dowlah. Some days after the tumult was quieted, Surajah Dowlah cauſed Hoſſein Cooley Khan himſelf to be aſſaſſinated in open day, as he was paſſing through the ſtreets of Muxadavad.

1756. Theſe murders increaſed the gloomy conjectures which the appointment of Surajah Dowlah to the ſucceſſion had already raiſed in the minds of the people. His uncles Nowagis and Sid Hamed had hitherto acted independently of each other, but now united; and although their reverence to Allaverdy reſtrained them from revolt during

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

during his life, they augmented their forces and the number of their dependants. In this ſtate of mutual ſuſpicion the two parties remained, until the beginning of the year 1756, when both Nowagis, and Sid Hamed died of fevers, without poiſon. 1756.

Their deaths diſſolved indeed the union of their houſes; but, nevertheleſs, did not leave Surajah Dowlah without powerful competitors: Nowagis left great treaſures; and his widow, the daughter of Allaverdy, as the only means of preſerving them, determined to diſpute the ſucceſſion. Her ſex indeed excluded her from the government, to which otherwiſe ſhe was the natural heir, as the only child of Allaverdy. And the younger brother of Surajah Dowlah, who had been adopted by her huſband, was dead; but although a ſtripling had left a ſon who was about two years old, and this infant ſhe determined to hold out to the province, as the competitor of Surajah Dowlah. At the ſame time, the ſon of Sid Hamed, who governed the country of Purneah, relying on the univerſal deteſtation which was entertained againſt Surajah Dowlah, levied forces, and determined to oppoſe his acceſſion.

A Gentoo, named Rajah-bullub, had ſucceeded Hoſſein Cooley Khan in the poſt of Duan or prime-miniſter to Nowagis; after whoſe death his influence continued with the widow, with whom he was ſuppoſed to be more intimate than became either her rank, or his religion; but, doubtful of the event of the impending conteſt, he determined to place his family and treaſures out of the reach of danger; and not deeming them in ſafety at Dacca, where they had remained for ſome time, he ordered his ſon Kiſſendaſs to remove them from that city, under pretence of going a pilgrimage to the pagoda of Jagernaut, on the coaſt of Orixa. Accordingly, Kiſſendaſs left Dacca with ſeveral loaded boats: but, inſtead of going through the channels at the bottom of the Delta, proceeded along the great Ganges to the Jelingeer river, through which he entered the river of Hughley; when his father at Muxadavad requeſted Mr. Watts, the Engliſh chief at Coſſimbuzar, to obtain permiſſion of the preſidency of Calcutta, that Kiſſendaſs with his family might, if they found it neceſſary, reſt for ſome days in the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. town, by which the boats muſt paſs, in their way to Orixa. At the ſame time there remained no hopes of Allaverdy's recovery; upon which the widow of Nowagis had quitted Muxadavad, and encamped with 10,000 men at Moota Gill, a garden two miles ſouth of the city, and many now began to think and to ſay that ſhe would prevail in her oppoſition againſt Surajah Dowlah. Mr. Watts therefore was eaſily induced to oblige her miniſter, and adviſed the preſidency to comply with his requeſt. His letter to the preſidency on this ſubject was ſcarcely arrived in Calcutta, before the boats of Kiſſendaſs appeared in ſight: the preſident Mr. Drake was at this time at Ballaſore for the recovery of his health; but the reſt of the council, relying on the opinion of Mr. Watts, conſented to admit Kiſſendaſs into the town.

Amongſt the Gentoo merchants eſtabliſhed at Calcutta was one named Omicund, a man of great ſagacity and underſtanding, which he had employed for forty years with unceaſing diligence to increaſe his fortune. The preſidency had long permitted him to provide much more of the company's inveſtment than the ſhare allowed to any other contractor; by which, and other indulgences, he was become the moſt opulent inhabitant in the colony. The extent of his habitation, divided into various departments; the number of his ſervants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of armed men in conſtant pay reſembled more the ſtate of a prince than the condition of a merchant. His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Behar, and by preſents and ſervices he had acquired ſo much influence with the principal officers of the government at Muxadavad, that the preſidency in times of difficulty uſed to employ his mediation with the Nabob. This pre-eminence, however, did not fail to render him the object of much envy: the manufactures provided for the company having every year ſince the firſt irruption of the Morattoes decreaſed in quality and increaſed in price, much of this detriment was imputed to the avarice and iniquity of Omichund; and the company determining, if poſſible, to reſtore their inveſtment to the former condition of price and quality, relinquiſhed in the year 1753, their

uſual

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

uſual method of contracting with merchants, and ſent *Gomaſtahs*, or Gentoo factors in their own pay, to provide the inveſtment at the different *Aurungs*, or cloth markets in the province. From this time Omichund was excluded from any participation in the company's affairs, which, diminiſhing his commercial advantages, vexed his avarice, although poſſeſſed of four millions of rupees. However, he ſtill continued the trade, which he uſed to carry on independant of the inveſtment, and redoubled his attention to maintain his importance at Muxadavad; in conſequence of which Rajah-bullub at this time requeſted his good offices to his ſon Kiſſendaſs, whom Omichund received on his arrival with much hoſpitality, and lodged the family in a convenient habitation. 1756.

The admiſſion of Kiſſendaſs into Calcutta was ſoon known at Muxadavad. It wounded the pride of Surajah Dowlah, and exaſperated his mind with ſuch ſuſpicions, that he immediately went to Allaverdy, and told him that he was well informed the Engliſh intended to ſupport the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Mr. Forth, the ſurgeon of the Engliſh factory at Coſſimbuzar, who attended Allaverdy in his laſt illneſs, was preſent, and Allaverdy, inſtead of anſwering Surajah Dowlah, queſtioned Mr. Forth concerning the report, who replied, that it was raiſed by the enemies of the Engliſh, in order to hurt them in his favour, and that on examination it would appear groundleſs; adding, that the Engliſh had no other ambition than to be merchants in his country. Allaverdy then aſked how many ſoldiers were in the factory at Coſſimbuzar? Whether the French or the Dutch preſidencies had lately ſent up any to their factories in that town? Where the Engliſh ſhips of war were? Whether they would come to Bengal? Whether ſome had not been in the river of Hughley three months before? Why the ſquadron came into India? Whether there was war between England and France? To which queſtions Mr. Forth replied, without deviating from the truth: and Allaverdy, ſeeming to be convinced that the expectation of a war with France had brought the ſquadron to India, and that the Engliſh at Calcutta were in no condition to riſk the diſpleaſure of the government, told Surajah Dowlah,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. that he gave no credit to his information; who replied, that he could prove it. A few days after this converſation, news arrived in Bengal that the Engliſh had taken Gheria. The piracies which Angria had for ſo many years committed on the ſubjects of the Mogul had rendered his name famous throughout the empire; and there was ſcarce a province of which he had not taken ſome of the natives, who concurred in deſcribing his fortreſs as impregnable: and various rumours now prevailed at Muxadavad. Some ſaid that the Engliſh intended to ſend ſixteen ſhips to make war in Bengal; others, that Surajah Dowlah was determined to ſack Calcutta, and drive the Engliſh out of his dominions: and Mr. Watts received poſitive information that there were many ſpies employed by the government in Calcutta; and that the weakneſs of the garriſon and fortifications, and the facility with which the place might be taken, were the public diſcourſe of the city and the court. The preſidency on this information ordered ſtrict ſearch to be made, and ſeveral who were ſuſpected of being ſpies, were turned out of the company's bounds.

At length the long-expected event of Allaverdy's death happened on the 9th of April: his public character is ſufficiently delineated by his actions: his private life was very different from the uſual manners of a Mahomedan prince in Indoſtan; for he was extremely temperate, had no pleaſures, kept no ſeraglio, and always lived the huſband of one wife. Warned by the experience of his own ambition, the defection of Meer-abib, and the rebellion of Muſtapha Cawn, he declined as much as poſſible to entruſt any Mahomedan, excepting of his own lineage, with any power out of his ſight, which might either tempt or enable him to revolt: but kept his army, which conſiſted chiefly of Mahomedans, continually under his own eye, or never ſuffered a large body of the ſame troops to remain long enough at a diſtance to be ſeduced from their obedience. At the ſame time he paid them well and regularly, and rewarded the officers of merit and diſtinction, either with ready money or with jaghires, which were always rents ariſing from lands over which they were not ſuffered to have any extenſive juriſdiction.

But

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

But he preferred the ſervice of *Gentoos* in every office and dignity of the ſtate, excepting in the ranks of the army, for which they neither wiſhed nor were fit, and ſeemed to regard the increaſe of their wealth as his own. Roydulub was his duan, or treaſurer, and his confidential miniſter; Ramramſing the Rajah of Midnapore, the maſter of the ſpies and meſſengers. The governments which he gave to his nephews, the ſons and grandſons of Hodgee, as well as the interior eſtabliſhment of their families, were regulated by *Gentoos*. He encouraged the immenſe opulence of the Seats, and admitted them to his moſt ſecret councils; he gave the government of Hughley and its diſtrict, in which all the European ſettlements on the river are ſituated, to Monikchund; and after the aſſaſſination of Zaindee Hamed, he would not truſt the government of Behar, notwithſtanding its importance as a province and a frontier, to Meer Jaffier, although his brother-in-law, and the firſt officer in his army; but gave it to the Gentoo Ramnairan. The Rajahs, both of Bengal and Behar, ſought their protection and exemptions, from their fellow Gentoos, who were eſtabliſhed in his confidence, and contributed not a little to increaſe their fortunes. Thus was the Gentoo connection become the moſt opulent influence in the government, of which it pervaded every department with ſuch efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge; nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration and relieve his wants; and it is ſaid that the Seats alone gave him in one preſent the enormous ſum of three millions of rupees, as a contribution to ſupport the expences of the Morattoe war. Warranted by ſuch experience, Allaverdy recommended the policy of his own preference to his ſucceſſor, and inſtructed his wife to inculcate the ſame maxims after his deceaſe; but he did not foreſee that the great inferiority of abilities in Surajah Dowlah might turn to dangers the very means from which his own had derived ſecurity. 1756.

Surajah Dowlah immediately after the death of Allaverdy was proclaimed, and prepared to attack the widow of Nowagis Mahomed. Not more than one or two days after his acceſſion he wrote a letter to the preſident of Calcutta, ordering him to deliver

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. up Kiſſendaſs, with his treaſures. The bearer of the letter was brother of Ramramſing, the head of the ſpies: he came in a ſmall boat, and landed in the diſguiſe of a common pedlar on the 14th of April, and immediately proceeded to Omichund's, who, as the governor was abſent at his country houſe, introduced him to Mr. Holwell, a member of the council, who ſuperintended the police of the town. The next day it was deliberated what reſolution ſhould be taken concerning this meſſenger.

The governor returning the next day ſummoned a council, of which the majority being prepoſſeſſed againſt Omichund, concluded that the meſſenger was an engine prepared by himſelf to alarm them, and reſtore his own importance; and as the laſt advices received from Coſſimbuzar deſcribed the event between Surajah Dowlah and the widow of Nowagis to be dubious, the council reſolved that both the meſſenger and his letter were too ſuſpicious to be received; and the ſervants, who were ordered to bid him depart, turned him out of the factory and off the ſhore with inſolence and deriſion: but letters were diſpatched to Mr. Watts, inſtructing him to guard againſt any evil conſequence from this proceeding.

It is probable that the report of the ſpy, ſupported by the repreſentations of his brother, renewed the ſame ideas which had induced Surajah Dowlah to accuſe the Engliſh ſome days before to Allaverdy. He, however, concealed his reſentment; for when the vaqueel, or Gentoo agent employed by Mr. Watts repreſented at the Durbar the ſuſpicions which had induced the Engliſh government to treat the meſſenger as an impoſtor, Surajah Dowlah ſcarcely ſhewed any emotion or diſpleaſure; and neither Mr. Watts nor the preſident received any farther injunctions from him concerning Kiſſendaſs.

In the beginning of April letters had been received from England, informing the preſidency that war with France was inevitable, and ordering them to put the ſettlement in a ſtate of defence; but to do this was impoſſible without building the fort anew. However, a great number of labourers were ſent to repair a line of guns,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

which extended on the brink of the river in front of the weſtern ſide of the fort. 1756.

In the mean time the widow of Allaverdy interpoſed between her daughter and Surajah Dowlah, and at length prevailed on her to acknowledge him; which ſhe had no ſooner done than Surajah Dowlah put her into cloſe confinement, and ſeized her palaces and treaſures with the infant ſon of his own brother. As ſoon as he had quelled this enemy he proceeded with his whole army, conſiſting of 50,000 men, againſt the ſon of Sid Hamet in Purnea.

Notwithſtanding the diligence which had been employed to expel the ſpies employed by the Nabob in Calcutta, ſeveral found means to remain undiſcovered; and, inſtigated moſt probably by the head ſpy, repreſented in their letters to the Durbar, that the Engliſh were very buſy in raiſing ſtrong fortifications. The Nabob, whoſe cowardice eaſily led him to believe any thing that alarmed his fears, gave ſuch entire credit to the report, that on the day in which he began his march towards Purneah, he diſpatched a letter to Mr. Drake, ſignifying that he had been informed the Engliſh were building a wall, and digging a large ditch round the town of Calcutta; and ordering him immediately to deſiſt, and to deſtroy all the works which had lately been added to the fortifications.

It was unfortunate, Mr. Watts had neglected to inform the preſidency of the complaint which Surajah Dowlah had made to Allaverdy a little before his death, in the preſence of Mr. Forth; and of the converſation which enſued on that occaſion: for whatſoever informations were now communicated were conſidered as the artifices of the court to frighten the preſidency out of a ſum of money; whereas the converſation implied that Surajah Dowlah bore rancour againſt the Engliſh; and that both he and Allaverdy had been attentive to their military proceedings. But, wanting this information, Mr. Drake thought that the truth would be his beſt defence, and ſimply wrote a letter, importing, "That the Nabob "had been miſinformed by thoſe who had repreſented to him that "the Engliſh were building a wall round the town; that they had "dug

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. " dug no ditch ſince the invaſion of the Morattoes, at which time " ſuch a work was executed at the requeſt of the Indian inhabi- " tants, and with the knowledge and approbation of Allaverdy; that " in the late war between England and France the French had at- " tacked and taken the town of Madraſs, contrary to the neu- " trality which it was expected would have been preſerved in " the Mogul's dominions; and that there being at preſent great " appearance of another war between the two nations, the Eng- " liſh were under apprehenſions that the French would act in the " ſame manner in Bengal: to prevent which, they were repairing " their line of guns on the bank of the river." Few in Mr. Drake's ſituation would have apologized in any other manner: nevertheleſs, conſidering the character of Surajah Dowlah, and the diſpoſition of his mind towards the Engliſh at this juncture, the anſwer was improper; becauſe it tended to make him believe that the impending war between the two nations would probably be brought into Bengal; and becauſe it implied that he either wanted power or will to protect the Engliſh. Accordingly, when he received the letter on the 17th of May at Rajamahal, the peruſal of it irritated him to a degree of rage which aſtoniſhed all his officers, excepting one or two of his intimate favourites. He inſtantly changed his reſolution of proceeding further, ordered his army to march back without delay to Muxadavad, and ſent forward a detachment of 3000 men, to inveſt the fort of Coſſimbuzar. On the 22d of May theſe troops arrived and ſurrounded it, but committed no hoſtilities; and on the 1ſt of June the Nabob himſelf came up with the main body of his army.

The fort was juſt ſtrong enough to oblige an enemy to attack it with cannon: the baſtions were ſmall: the curtains were only three feet thick, and ſerved as the outward wall of a range of chambers, which with their terraſſes imitated ramparts, and were on all ſides overlooked from without by buildings within 100 yards, and there was neither ditch, nor even a palliſade, to interrupt the approach to the very foot of the walls: perhaps the jealouſy of the government would not ſuffer more; none of the cannon were above nine

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

nine pounders, moſt were honey-combed, many of their carriages decayed, and the ammunition did not exceed 600 charges. The garriſon conſiſted of 22 Europeans, moſtly Dutchmen, and 20 Topaſſes. 1756.

The Nabob, immediately on his arrival, ſent a meſſenger, ordering Mr. Watts to come to him, who at the ſame time received a letter from the duan, Roydulub, aſſuring him of ſafety: he nevertheleſs delayed until Mr. Forth the ſurgeon went out and returned, accompanied by an officer, with the ſame aſſurances from Roydulub in perſon: on which he proceeded to the tent of Roydulub, and was introduced by him to the Nabob, who received him with inſolence and invectives: immediately after which he was conducted into another tent, where ſeveral ſecretaries and officers prepared a writing, importing, that the preſidency of Calcutta ſhould within fifteen days level whatſoever new works they had raiſed; that they ſhould deliver up all tenants of the government who had taken protection in the ſettlement; and that if it ſhould be proved that the company's duſtucks, or paſſports for trade, had even been given to ſuch as were not intitled to them, what the government had been defrauded of by ſuch practices ſhould be refunded. Mr. Watts, ſurrounded by menaces, ſigned the paper, immediately after which the ſame conclave ordered him to ſend for Mr. Collet and Mr. Batſon, the two other members of the council; who came and ſigned likewiſe, and were detained with Mr. Watts in the camp. The next day they received an order to ſurrender the fort; but repreſenting that this did not now depend on themſelves, no umbrage was taken at the delay of their conferences with one another, and their meſſages to the garriſon, who, deeming the fort, as it really was, untenable, the Nabob's officers, with a number of followers, were admitted on the 4th of June; who, inſtead of ſealing up what effects they found, as the Nabob had ordered, ſtole the greateſt part; and the ſoldiery, who took poſſeſſion of the factory, inſulted the garriſon with every kind of contumely and reproach. This behaviour continued three days, and ſo much affected the mind of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. commanding officer, Enſign Elliot, that he ſhot himſelf through the head.

The cannon and ammunition were carried to the camp; the ſoldiers were ſent to the common priſon at Muxadavad; Mr. Batſon, one of the council, and the younger men in the company's ſervice, were permitted to retire to the French and Dutch factories; and Meſſ. Watts and Collet, inſtead of being employed as they expected to repreſent the will of Surajah Dowlah to the preſidency of Calcutta, were informed that they muſt accompany him thither. None of the Nabob's officers endeavoured to reſtrain him from this raſh and violent reſolution: they believed themſelves marching to the plunder of one of the moſt opulent cities in the empire. But Seat Mootabray and Roopchund, the ſons of the banker Juggutſeat, who had ſucceeded to the wealth and employments of their father, and derived great advantages from the European trade in the province, ventured to repreſent the Engliſh as a colony of inoffenſive and uſeful merchants, and earneſtly entreated the Nabob to moderate his reſentment againſt them; but their remonſtrances were vain; and on the 9th of June the army began their march towards Calcutta.

During theſe proceedings, letters were daily diſpatched from Calcutta, inſtructing Mr. Watts to aſſure the Nabob that the preſidency was ready to obey his orders, to demoliſh whatſoever additions had been made to their fortifications, and what other buildings without the fort might have been repreſented to him as works intended for defence; but none of theſe letters reached Mr. Watts, and were probably carried to the Nabob, whoſe intentions they incouraged. Coja Wazeed, the principal merchant of the province, who reſided at Hughley, was likewiſe deſired to interpoſe his mediation; to whom the Nabob replied, that Mr. Drake had grievouſly offended him, and that he would not ſuffer the Engliſh to remain in his country on any other terms than were allowed them in the reign of the Nabob Jaffier. In the mean time, as the principal reaſon aſſigned for Surajah Dowlah's indignation was his belief, that the Engliſh were erecting new fortifications, the dread of exaſperating him

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

him ſtill more unfortunately deterred the preſidency from taking the neceſſary meaſures to oppoſe, until there remained no longer any hopes of appeaſing him: and in this precarious ſuſpence twenty days, in which much might have been done, were ſuffered to elapſe unemployed. But on the 7th of June, when news was received of the ſurrender of Coſſimbuzar, they were convinced that they muſt owe their ſafety to reſiſtance. 1756.

Letters were immediately diſpatched to Madraſs and Bombay requeſting reinforcements, but without any probability that any could arrive from either in time; for the ſea was ſhut by the ſouth monſoon, and the meſſengers of the country could not arrive at either of their deſtinations in leſs than 30 days. As a relief nearer at hand, the French and Dutch preſidencies at Chandernagore and Chinchura were ſolicited, as in a common cauſe, to enter into a defenſive alliance againſt the Nabob; but the Dutch poſitively refuſed, and the French inſolently adviſed the Engliſh to repair to Chandernagore, in which caſe they promiſed them their protection. No reſource therefore remained but in their own force, which was indeed very inadequate to the conteſt; for, although the regular garriſon conſiſted of 264 men, and the inhabitants ſerving as militia were 250; in all 514 men; yet only 174 of this number were Europeans, and of theſe not ten had ever ſeen any other than the ſervice of the parade; the reſt were Topaſſes, Armenians, and Portugueze inhabitants, on whoſe faith or ſpirit no reliance could be placed. The number of Buxerries, or Indian matchlock men, were therefore augmented to 1500; proviſions were laid in ſtore, and works of defence, ſuch as the time would admit, were erected.

Whilſt the Nabob was advancing, it was determined to take poſſeſſion of the fort of Tannah, which lay about 5 miles below Calcutta on the oppoſite ſhore, and commanded the narroweſt part of the river between Hughley and the ſea with 13 pieces of cannon. Two ſhips of 300 tons, and two brigantines, anchored before it early in the morning of the 13th of June; and as ſoon as they began to fire, the Mooriſh garriſon, which did not exceed fifty men, fled: on which ſome Europeans and Laſcars landed; and having diſ-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. abled part of the cannon, flung the reſt into the river. But the next day they were attacked by a detachment of 2000 men, ſent from Hughley, who ſtormed the fort, drove them to their boats, and then began to fire, with their matchlocks and two ſmall field-pieces, on the veſſels, which endeavoured in vain with their cannon and muſketry to diſlodge them. The next day a reinforcement of 30 ſoldiers were ſent from Calcutta, but the cannonade having made no impreſſion, they and the veſſels returned to the town.

On the 13th likewiſe a letter was intercepted, written to Omichund, by the Nabob's head ſpy, adviſing him to ſend his effects out of the reach of danger as ſoon as poſſible: which confirming the ſuſpicions that were already entertained of Omichund's conduct, he was immediately apprehended, and put under ſtrict confinement in the fort; and a guard of twenty men was placed in his houſe, that his effects might not be clandeſtinely removed. His brother in law, Hazarimull, who had the chief management of his affairs, concealed himſelf in the apartments of the women, until the next day; when the guard, endeavouring to take him, were reſiſted by the whole body of Omichund's peons, and armed domeſticks, amounting to 300: ſeveral were wounded on both ſides before the fray ended; during which, the head of the peons, who was an Indian of a high caſt, ſet fire to the houſe, and, in order to ſave the women of the family from the diſhonour of being expoſed to ſtrangers, entered their apartments, and killed, it is ſaid, thirteen of them with his own hand; after which, he ſtabbed himſelf, but, contrary to his intention, not mortally. At the ſame time, Kiſſendaſs was brought into the fort by another detachment.

Mean while the Nabob advanced with ſuch uncommon diligence, that many of his troops died of fatigue, and many were killed by the ſun, which at this ſeaſon ſtruck perpendicular on their heads: on the 15th day of June, the 7th of their march, they arrived at Hughley, from whence they croſſed the river in a vaſt fleet of boats; many of which had accompanied the army from Muxadavad, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the reſt had been aſſembled at Hughley. Surajah Dowlah had previouſly ſent letters to the Dutch and French ſettlements at Chinchura and Chandernagore, ordering them to aſſiſt him with their garriſons againſt Calcutta; and when his army was in ſight of their factories, he repeated his ſummons in more imperious terms; but they pleaded the treaties ſubſiſting between their nations and the Engliſh in Europe: which denial he highly reſented; but ſuppreſſed his indignation for the preſent, leſt they ſhould, as in a common cauſe, take up arms in conjunction with the Engliſh. But to this they were nothing inclined. 1756.

The news of the enemy's approach was brought to Calcutta early the next morning, the 16th of June; on which the militia and military repaired to their poſts, and the Engliſh women quitted their houſes, and retired into the fort. Moſt of the Indian inhabitants who had not already taken flight now deſerted the town, and fled, they knew not whither, to avoid the ſtorm; but the Portugueſe, or black Chriſtians, availing themſelves of this title, flocked to the fort, into which more than 2000 of them, men, women, and children, were imprudently admitted. At noon the van of the Nabob's army, marching from the northward, appeared in ſight of the company's bounds, and, having neither reconnoitred nor gained intelligence, they remained ignorant that the Morattoe-ditch did not continue round the limits, but left an opening without defences to the ſouth. They therefore, without heſitation, advanced to attack the part which lay directly before them, where a deep rivulet, without any bank behind it, ſupplied the place of the Morattoe-ditch; and the redoubt, called *Perring's*, which was one of the objects of the Nabob's diſpleaſure, ſtood on a point of land at the mouth of the rivulet; but being only intended to command the river, this work had but one embraſure towards the land. Contiguous to the redoubt ſtood a bridge, which was the only paſſage over the rivulet; on the other ſide of which, within 100 yards, were thickets and groves, through which lay the high road. A ſhip of 18 guns had been ſtationed to the north of the redoubt, in order to flank the thickets: the greateſt part of the company's buxerries were aſſembled here to

defend

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. defend the rivulet; and as the guard of the redoubt was only 20 Europeans, 30 more, with two field-pieces, were ſent from the fort to their aſſiſtance. Four thouſand of the enemy's match-locks with four pieces of cannon took poſſeſſion of the thickets, and from three in the afternoon until night kept up a conſtant fire, the cannon againſt the redoubt, the matchlocks every where. It was returned by the redoubt and the field-pieces, which were placed in the rear of the bridge and oppoſite to the road, and the buxerries wherever they choſe. At midnight nothing was moving in the thickets; for every man after eating his meal had, as uſual, betook himſelf to ſleep; which enſign Piſchard, who had ſerved on the coaſt of Coromandel, ſuſpected from their ſilence, and croſſing the rivulet at midnight with his party, ſeized and ſpiked the four pieces of cannon, beat up and drove all the troops out of the thickets, and returned without the loſs of a man.

The Jemautdar of Omichund's peons, wounded as he was, had cauſed himſelf to be tranſported to the enemy's camp; and by his advice they deſiſted from renewing the attack on the north, and the whole army moved to the eaſtward of the company's bounds, into which ſeveral parties entered through paſſages which there were no troops to defend. In the afternoon they ſet fire to the great bazar, or market, within half a mile north-eaſt of the fort, and took poſ-ſeſſion of the quarter inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, which commenced half a mile, to the north, and extended moſtly along the bank of the river. A party was ſent to drive them away, and retuned with ſome priſoners, who reported that the enemy in-tended the next day to make a general attack upon the out-poſts; on which the party was recalled from Perring's redoubt to the north of the bounds; and every one paſſed the night under arms.

The fort of Calcutta, called Fort-William, was ſituated near the river, and nearly half way between the northern and ſouthern ex-tremities of the company's territory. Its ſides to the eaſt and weſt extended 210 yards; the ſouthern ſide 130, and the northern 100: it had four baſtions, mounting each 10 guns: the curtains were only four feet thick, and, like the factory of Coſſimbuzar, ter-raſſes,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

raſſes, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to theſe chambers were in ſeveral places opened in the curtains: the gate-way on the eaſtern ſide projected, and mounted five guns, three in front, and one on each flank towards the baſtions: under the weſtern face and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon, mounted in embraſures of ſolid maſonry; and this work was joined to the two weſtern baſtions by two ſlender walls, in each of which was a gate of palliſadoes. In the year 1747, warehouſes had been built contiguous to the ſouthern curtain, and projecting on the out-ſide, between the two baſtions, rendered them uſeleſs to one another; however, the terraſſes of theſe warehouſes were ſtrong enough to bear the firing of three pounders which were mounted in barbett over a ſlight parapet. 1756.

The houſes of the Engliſh inhabitants occupied the ground ſix hundred yards towards the eaſt, and half a mile to the north and ſouth of the fort; but lay ſcattered in ſpacious and ſeparate incloſures; and ſeveral of them overlooked the fort; as did the Engliſh church, which ſtood oppoſite to the N. E. baſtion; under theſe diſadvantages the fort was deemed ſo little capable of defence, that it was reſolved to oppoſe the enemy in the principal ſtreets and avenues.

Accordingly three batteries, each mounting two eighteen pounders, and two field pieces, were erected: one oppoſite to the eaſtern gate of the fort, at the diſtance of 300 yards, in the principal avenue, which continued in a ſtraight line to the eaſtward as far as the Morattoe ditch: this battery adjoined on the left to the gate-way of an incloſure, in which, at the diſtance of a few feet, ſtood a very ſpacious houſe of one floor, in which the mayor's court and aſſizes uſed to be held. A croſs-road paſſed from N. to S. along the eaſtern curtain of the fort; but 200 yards N. of it, this road loſt ſight of the fort, by a ſhort turning towards the river, along the bank of which it continued ſtreight to the N. in a ſtreet formed by houſes on one ſide, and the walls of incloſures on the other neareſt the river: at the upper end of this ſtreet, juſt beyond the turning, was another battery.

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. The third was in the croſs-road 300 yards to the ſouth of the fort, but the ground between was clear. Breaſt-works with palliſadoes were erected in the ſmaller inlets at a diſtance, and trenches dug acroſs the more open grounds. Between the north battery and the eaſtern, or that at the mayor's court houſe, there were only two inlets, both of which led into a ſpot lying on the eaſtern ſide of the croſs-road between the church and a houſe belonging to Mr. Eyre. But the ground immediately to the ſouth-eaſt of the fort, was much more open; and part of this ſpace was occupied by a large incloſure, called *The Park*; the north ſide of which ſkirted the principal avenue leading to the eaſtern battery, the weſtern ſide extended 200 yards along the ſide of the croſs-road towards the ſouthern battery, and the eaſtern ſide ſkirted one ſide of a rope-walk about ſixty yards broad. Along the other ſide of this rope-walk ſtood three Engliſh houſes, all within effective muſket ſhot of the eaſtern battery; which, being erected at the north-eaſt angle of the park, might by turning a gun to the ſouth, ſcour the whole length of this rope-walk, but could not ſo well command the entrance into a ſmall lane, which led into the farther end of the rope-walk from the ſouth-eaſt. This paſs was of conſequence; for the enemy might from hence proceed to the ſouth wall of the park, and then continue along it without interruption to ſeveral houſes, which extended along the croſs-road, almoſt from the ſouth-weſt angle of the park to the backſide of the ſouthern battery, which ſtood 100 yards farther on in the croſs road: about 200 yards eaſt of this battery, and about the ſame diſtance to the ſouth of the lane laſt mentioned lay another paſſage, which gave inlet into a large opening, ſouth of the park; from whence the enemy might with even more facility penetrate to the ſame houſes commanding the ſouthern battery. Both theſe paſſes were therefore carefully ſecured. Immediately in front of the ſouthern battery the road was arched over a deep and miry gully, which continued to the river; but, as this battery was thought leſs tenable than either of the other two, another was erected 200 yards behind it, acroſs the ſame road, and within 100 of the fort, about the midway of the weſtern ſide of the park-wall.

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The enemy, as it had been expected, attacked the out posts on the 18th in the morning. At eight o'clock one of their divisions advanced to the southern battery, and, taking possession of several houses situated on each side of the road beyond it, fired from their matchlocks, and from their wall-pieces, an engine of much greater efficacy, carrying a ball of three ounces; the two eighteen pounders, which were mounted on the battery, cannonaded the houses, in order to dislodge them, but without effect. 1756.

At break of day, two field-pieces with a platoon of Europeans had been detached from the eastern battery to a slight barricaded work at some distance in the avenue; and 40 buxerries under a good officer had likewise been sent to take post in the inclosure of the goal, which lay about 100 yards beyond the battery, on the right hand of the avenue: the walls of this inclosure were high, and holes had been struck through, to admit the firing of the two field-pieces, in case the enemy should gain their way, and oblige those at the barricade to retreat to the goal. About nine o'clock, a multitude of some thousands, armed with match and firelocks, advanced from the Morattoe ditch, along the avenue. They were stopped by the quick firing of the two field-pieces, which soon after dispersed them; but they retreated into the thickets on either hand, and, secure under that shelter, kept up an incessant, although irregular, fire on the barricade; nevertheless, the party there maintained their post two hours, when several being killed, and more wounded, the rest retreated, with the field pieces to the goal: at the same time the enemy, instead of advancing along the avenue, proceeded through by-ways, and got possession of the three English houses which stood along the rope-walk, and overlooked the back part of the goal, on which they fired so warmly from the windows and terrasses, that in a few minutes they killed six buxerries, and wounded four or five Europeans; on which the rest quitted the inclosure, leaving the field pieces behind, and returned to the battery at the Mayor's Court.

The battery to the north was likewise attacked about nine o'clock, but here the enemy did not find the same advantages as at the other two; for the street was narrow, and the inclosures which skirted it

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. on the ſide next the river afforded no ſhelter that was not over-looked by the battery itſelf; and, on the other ſide, the only houſes which commanded it were contiguous to one another, and did not extend more than ſixty yards beyond; and in each of them were poſted four or five Europeans. The firſt fire from the battery diſperſed the diviſion which was marching along the ſtreet to attack it, and deterred them from appearing again in a body: nevertheleſs they remained in the croſs ſtreets, from which two or three at a time frequently uſed to come out, fire at random, and then retreat. A platoon, with a field-piece, was detached to drive them out of the croſs ſtreets; which they eaſily effected, and then proceeded along the northern ſtreet, until they loſt ſight of the battery; when the enemy, taking advantage of their error, returned through the croſs ſtreets, to cut off their retreat, but yielded again to the field-piece and the fire of the platoon. Soon after, the whole body of the enemy, which had been appointed to this attack, went away, and joined thoſe who were employed againſt the eaſtern battery.

At noon the attacks in all parts ceaſed at once, and every thing remained quiet until two, when the enemy recommenced their fire upon the eaſtern battery, not only from the three houſes in the rope walk, but alſo from two others on the left hand of the avenue; from which ſtations neither the two eighteen-pounders on the battery, nor the cannon from the fort, were able to diſlodge them. The enemy's fire was ſo inceſſant, that only the men neceſſary to ſerve the guns were ſuffered to remain in the battery, whilſt the reſt took ſhelter in the mayor's court-houſe, from whence the place of thoſe who were either killed or wounded at the guns was occaſionally ſupplied. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a multitude of the enemy forced the paliſade at the farther end of the rope-walk, although defended by a ſerjeant and twenty men; and ruſhed down the walk with ſo much impetuoſity towards the eaſtern battery, that the gunners had ſcarcely time to turn one of the eighteen pounders againſt them; however, the firſt diſcharge of grape ſhot checked, and a few more drove them to ſeek ſhelter in the covers at hand; but many of them joined thoſe who were in the houſes,

from

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

from which the fire increaſed ſo much, that at five o'clock Captain Clayton, the military officer who commanded in the battery, ſent Mr. Holwell, who acted as a lieutenant under him, to repreſent to the governor the impoſſibility of maintaining this poſt any longer, unleſs it was immediately reinforced with cannon and men, ſufficient to drive the enemy out of the houſes: but before Mr. Holwell returned, Captain Clayton was preparing to retreat, having already ſpiked up two 18 pounders and one of the field-pieces; and the whole detachment ſoon after marched into the fort with the other. They were ſcarcely arrived before the enemy took poſſeſſion of the battery, and expreſſed their joy by exceſſive ſhouts. 1756.

The two other batteries had remained unmoleſted ſince noon; but a party had been detached from the ſouthern, to defend the paliſade to the eaſt of it, which was overlooked by two large houſes, one on each hand: a ſerjeant and twelve men, belonging to the military, poſted themſelves in one of the houſes; and a lieutenant with nine of the militia, all of whom were young men in the mercantile ſervice of the company, took poſſeſſion of the other: the fire from both defended the paſs until the eaſtern battery was deſerted, when, all the ground from hence to the two houſes being open, numbers of the enemy gathered in the ground on the inſide of the paliſade, and began to attack the two houſes, which animating thoſe who were attacking the paliſade on the other ſide, they at length tore it down, and joined thoſe already within. The ſerjeant with the twelve military ſaw their danger before the enemy had made proper diſpoſitions to prevent their eſcape, and quitting the houſe in which they had been ſtationed, proceeded by by-ways which they knew to the ſouthern battery; but did not give notice of their retreat to thoſe of the militia in the other houſe; who ſoon after ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded, without hopes of ſuccour or relief, came out in a compact body, determined to fight their way to the fort; but two, whoſe names were Smith and Wilkinſon, ſeparated from the reſt, and were immediately intercepted; the enemy, however, offered them quarter, which Smith refuſed, and, it is ſaid, ſlew five men before he fell; on which Wilkinſon ſurrendered,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. rendered, and was immediately cut to pieces. The other eight, always preſenting and rarely firing, got to the ſouth weſt angle of the park, when the guns, as well of the fort, as of the battery which had been raiſed acroſs the road leading to it, midway of the weſt ſide of the park-wall, deterred the enemy from accompanying them any farther. The detachments at all the three batteries, the two to the ſouth, and that to the north of the fort, were now recalled; and boats were ſent, which ſoon after brought away Enſign Piſchard, and the guard of 20 men, which was remaining at Perring's redoubt to the north.

The batteries had been ſo much relied upon as the beſt defences of the ſettlement, that the deſertion of them on the very firſt day they were attacked created general conſternation; and the uproar of 1500 black Portugueze in the fort increaſed the confuſion. Of the Laſcars, who had been inliſted to ſerve the cannon, not more than twenty, and of the buxerries not one, remained. The Armenian and Portugueze militia were ſtupified with fear. However, the Engliſh ſtill preſerved their courage, and ſmall parties were detached to the church, to Mr. Eyres, oppoſite the angle of the north-eaſt baſtion, to Mr. Cruttenden's on the north, and to the governor's houſe on the ſouth, all which commanded the ramparts. In the mean time the enemy had drilled the three guns which had been ſpiked and left in the eaſtern battery, and turned them on the fort; whilſt numbers of their troops, ſheltering themſelves in the trenches which had been dug in the park, and behind the walls of that incloſure, kept a conſtant fire of ſmall arms on the ramparts.

A ſhip and ſeven ſmaller veſſels, belonging to the ſettlement, lay before the fort; and boats, with the natives who plied them, had been carefully reſerved. As night approached, it was reſolved to ſend all the European women on board the ſhip; two of the council ſuperintended their embarkation, and were accompanied by ſeveral of the militia. Before eight o'clock the party at the governor's houſe, having been much galled by the enemy from the next houſe to the ſouth, were recalled; their retreat expoſed the range of warehouſes adjoining to the ſouth curtain, which was the weakeſt part

of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of the fort, becauſe unflanked by any baſtion; and at midnight the enemy were heard approaching to eſcalade the terraſſes of theſe warehouſes. On which the governor ordered the drums to beat the general alarm: but although this ſummons was thrice repeated, not a man appeared in obedience to it, excepting thoſe who were on duty; but the enemy, ſuppoſing the garriſon prepared, retreated. 1756.

At two in the morning a general council of war was held, to which all the Engliſh, excepting the common ſoldiers, were admitted; and after debating two hours, whether they ſhould immediately eſcape to the ſhips, or defer the retreat until the next night, the council broke up, without any regular determination: but as of the two propoſals the firſt was not carried into execution, it was by many believed that the other was adopted.

The enemy renewed their attacks as ſoon as the morning appeared, by which time they had mounted three guns near the ſouth-weſt angle of the park, from whence, as well as from the eaſtern battery, they now cannonaded the fort, whilſt their matchlock men from ſeveral houſes, and behind the walls of incloſures, fired upon the ſeveral houſes in which parties were remaining, as well as upon the baſtions and ramparts. They had not, however, ventured to take poſſeſſion of the governor's houſe to the ſouth, notwithſtanding it had been evacuated ſo many hours; and another party under the command of Enſign Piſchard was ſent thither early in the morning. Ever and anon ſome one of the defenders was killed or wounded: but, although ten times the number of the enemy fell, their loſs in ſo great a multitude was ſcarcely felt, and immediately ſupplied. Before nine, Enſign Piſchard returned to the fort, wounded, and was followed by his party; on which the detachments in the church and the two other houſes were likewiſe recalled, and the poſts they quitted were immediately taken poſſeſſion of by the enemy, whoſe courage and activity increaſed with their ſucceſs, whilſt terror and confuſion prevailed more and more in the garriſon.

Many of the boats had deſerted in the night; and in the morning, when it was intended to ſhip off the Portugueze women and chil-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. dren, the voice of order was loſt amongſt this affrighted multitude, of which every one preſſing to be firſt embarked, the boats were filled with more than they could carry; and ſeveral were overſet. Moſt of thoſe who had crouded into them were drowned, and ſuch as floated with the tide to the ſhore, were either made priſoners or maſſacred; for the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of all the houſes and incloſures along the banks of the river, from which ſtations they ſhot fire-arrows into the ſhip and veſſels, in hopes of burning them. None of the garriſon who had embarked with the Engliſh women had returned to the ſhore, and their fright being much increaſed by the fire-arrows, they, without orders from the governor, removed the ſhip from her ſtation before the fort to Govindpore, three miles lower down the river; on which all the other veſſels weighed their anchors likewiſe, and followed the ſhip: and to increaſe the evil effects of their retreat, it happened at the very time when the detachments from the fort were obliged to abandon the adjacent houſes: in this hour of trepidation many of the Engliſh militia, ſeeing the veſſels under ſail, were terrified with the apprehenſion of loſing this opportunity of eſcaping, and quitted the ſhore. The governor, utterly unexperienced in military affairs, had hitherto ſhewn no averſion to expoſe his perſon wherever his preſence was neceſſary. He had early in the morning viſited the ramparts; and after the retreat of the detachments from the houſes, when an alarm was given that the enemy were endeavouring to force their way through the gate of paliſadoes in the wall between the ſouthern baſtion and the line of guns, had repaired thither, and ordered two field-pieces to be pointed towards the gate; but found none willing to obey him. Soon after, a man came and whiſpered to him, that all the gun-powder remaining in the magazines was damp and unfit for ſervice; although diſmayed by this information, he refrained from divulging it, and endeavoured to reduce the confuſion which prevailed every where till ten o'clock; when perceiving that only two boats remained at the wharf, in one of which ſeveral of his acquaintance were preparing to eſcape, the dread of being expoſed to the reſentment of Surajah Dowlah, who

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

had often threatened to put him to death, prevailed over all other considerations, and, panick-ſtruck, he hurried into the other boat, without giving warning to the garriſon: the military commanding officer, and ſeveral others who ſaw him embark, followed his example, and accompanied him to the ſhip. 1756.

The aſtoniſhment of thoſe who remained in the fort was not greater than their indignation at this deſertion; and nothing was heard for ſome time but execrations againſt the fugitives. However, the concourſe ſoon proceeded to deliberation, when Mr. Pearkes, the eldeſt member of the council in the fort, reſigned his right of command to Mr. Holwell. The whole number of militia and military now remaining amounted only to 190 men: and two or threee boats being returned to the wharf, the new governor, in order to prevent any more deſertions, locked the weſtern gate leading to the river.

The ſhip which had been ſtationed at the northern redoubt ſtill remained there; and the garriſon, having determined to defend themſelves vigorouſly until they could repair on board of her, an officer was diſpatched in a boat with orders to the captain to bring her down immediately to the fort. But the reliance upon this reſource was of ſhort duration; for the ſhip coming down ſtruck on a ſand-bank, and was immediately abandoned by the crew. In the mean time the fort was warmly attacked, and bravely defended until the enemy ceaſed firing at noon: neither did they renew their efforts with much vigour during the reſt of the day, or the ſucceeding night; but employed themſelves in ſetting fire to all the adjacent houſes, excepting thoſe which commanded the ramparts. In this interval the garriſon continually threw out ſignals, flags by day and fires by night, calling the veſſels at Govindpore to return to the fort: but this their laſt expectation of relief was likewiſe diſappointed, for not a ſingle veſſel came to their aſſiſtance.

The next morning the enemy recommenced their attacks with greater numbers than ever; and whilſt ſome of the garriſon were expoſing themſelves with much reſolution, others were entreating Mr. Holwell to capitulate; who, to calm the minds of ſuch as

deſponded,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. deſponded, at ſun-riſe, threw a letter from the rampart, written by the priſoner Omichund, to Monickchund, the governor of Hughley, who commanded a conſiderable body of troops in the army before the fort, requeſting him to intercede with the Nabob to ceaſe hoſtilities, ſince the Engliſh were ready to obey his commands, and only perſiſted in defending the fort to preſerve their lives and honour. The letter was taken up, but the enemy nevertheleſs continued their attacks until noon, when a large body attempted to eſcalade the northern curtain, under cover of a ſtrong fire of their ſmall arms from Mr. Cruttenden's houſe; but, after perſevering half an hour, they were repulſed, and the fire on all the other quarters of the fort ceaſed as ſoon as this body retreated. In theſe few hours twenty-five of the garriſon had been killed, or were lying deſperately wounded, and ſeventy more had received ſlighter hurts; and the common ſoldiers having broke open the ſtore-houſe of arrack, were intoxicated beyond all ſenſe of duty.

At two the enemy appeared again, but acted faintly; and at four a man was diſcovered advancing, with a flag of truce in his hand, which Mr. Holwell, at the general requeſt, anſwered with another on the ſouth-eaſt baſtion, from whence he at the ſame time threw a letter which he had prepared, addreſſed to the duan, Roydulub, of the ſame purport as that which Omichund had written in the morning to Monickchund. A parley enſued, during which many of the enemy flocked to the eaſtern gate of the fort, and to the gate of paliſadoes near the ſouth-weſt baſtion, both which they attempted to cut down; whilſt greater numbers, with ſcaling ladders endeavoured to mount the warehouſes to the ſouth: a ſhot was likewiſe fired, which wounded Mr. Bailley, as he was ſtanding on the S. E. baſtion with Mr. Holwell, who immediately ran down to bring men to the ramparts: but few obeyed, and thoſe who would have been willing had retired to various parts of the fort to get ſleep; and whilſt ſearch was making for them, the drunken ſoldiers, intending to eſcape to the river, broke open the weſtern gate of the fort, juſt as a body of the enemy had forced the gate of paliſades, and were ruſhing to attack this likewiſe, which they found

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

found opening: others at the ſame time had eſcaladed the ware-houſes. In this confuſion no reſiſtance was made, and every one ſurrendering his arms, the Nabob's troops refrained from bloodſhed; but about 20 of the garriſon ran to the N. W. baſtion, and dropped from the embraſures, where ſome eſcaped along the ſlime of the river, and others were ſurrounded and taken priſoners. 1756.

At five the Nabob entered the fort, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and moſt of the principal officers of his army. He immediately ordered Omichund and Kiſſendaſs to be brought before him, and received them with civility; and having bid ſome officers go and take poſſeſſion of the company's treaſury, he proceeded to the principal apartment of the factory, where he ſat in ſtate and received the compliments of his court and attendants in magnificent expreſſions of his proweſs and good fortune. Soon after he ſent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expreſſed much reſentment at the preſumption of the Engliſh in daring to defend the fort, and much diſſatisfaction at the ſmallneſs of the ſum found in the treaſury, which did not exceed 50,000 rupees. Mr. Holwell had two other conferences with him on this ſubject before ſeven o'clock, when the Nabob diſmiſſed him with repeated aſſurances, on the word of a ſoldier, that he ſhould ſuffer no harm.

Mr. Holwell, returning to his unfortunate companions, found them aſſembled and ſurrounded by a ſtrong guard. Several buildings on the north and ſouth ſides of the fort were already in flames, which approached with ſo thick a ſmoke on either hand, that the priſoners imagined their enemies had cauſed this conflagration, in order to ſuffocate them between the two fires. On each ſide of the eaſtern gate of the fort extended a range of chambers adjoining to the curtain; and before the chambers a varanda, or open gallery: it was of arched maſonry, and intended to ſhelter the ſoldiers from the ſun and rain, but being low, almoſt totally obſtructed the chambers behind from the light and air; and whilſt ſome of the guard were looking in other parts of the factory for proper places to confine the priſoners during the night, the reſt ordered them to aſſemble in ranks under the varanda on the right hand of the gate-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. way; where they remained for ſome time with ſo little ſuſpicion of their impending fate, that they laughed among themſelves at the ſeeming oddity of this diſpoſition, and amuſed themſelves with conjecturing what they ſhould next be ordered to do. About eight o'clock, thoſe who had been ſent to examine the rooms reported that they had found none fit for the purpoſe. On which the principal officer commanded the priſoners to go into one of the rooms which ſtood behind them along the varanda. It was the common dungeon of the garriſon, who uſed to call it *The Black Hole*. Many of the priſoners knowing the place, began to expoſtulate; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down thoſe who heſitated; on which the priſoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was ſo thronged, that the laſt entered with difficulty. The guard immediately cloſed and locked the door; confining 146 perſons in a room not 20 feet ſquare, with only two ſmall windows, and theſe obſtructed by the varanda.

It was the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year; and the night uncommonly ſultry even at this ſeaſon. The exceſſive preſſure of their bodies againſt one another, and the intolerable heat which prevailed as ſoon as the door was ſhut, convinced the priſoners that it was impoſſible to live through the night in this horrible confinement; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door; but without effect, for it opened inward: on which many began to give a looſe to rage. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himſelf at one of the windows, exhorted them to remain compoſed both in body and mind, as the only means of ſurviving the night, and his remonſtrances produced a ſhort interval of quiet; during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore ſome marks of humanity in his countenance, promiſing to give him a thouſand rupees in the morning, if he would ſeparate the priſoners into two chambers. The old man went to try, but returning in a few minutes, ſaid it was impoſſible; when Mr. Holwell offered him a larger ſum; on which he retired once more, and returned with the fatal ſentence, that no relief could be expected, becauſe the Nabob was aſleep, and no one dared to wake him.

In

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

In the mean time every minute had increaſed their ſufferings. 1756.
The firſt effect of their confinement was a profuſe and continued ſweat, which ſoon produced intolerable thirſt, ſucceeded by excruciating pains in the breaſt, with difficulty of breathing little ſhort of ſuffocation. Various means were tried to obtain more room and air. Every one ſtripped off his cloaths; every hat was put in motion; and theſe methods affording no relief, it was propoſed that they ſhould all ſit down on their hams at the ſame time, and after remaining a little while in this poſture, riſe all together. This fatal expedient was thrice repeated before they had been confined an hour; and every time, ſeveral unable to rear themſelves up again, fell, and were trampled to death by their companions. Attempts were again made to force the door, which, failing as before, redoubled their rage: but the thirſt increaſing, nothing but water! water! became ſoon after the general cry. The good Jemautdar immediately ordered ſome ſkins of water to be brought to the windows; but, inſtead of relief, his benevolence became a more dreadful cauſe of deſtruction; for the ſight of the water threw every one into ſuch exceſſive agitations and ravings, that, unable to reſiſt this violent impulſe of nature, none could wait to be regularly ſerved, but each with the utmoſt ferocity battled againſt thoſe who were likely to get it before him; and in theſe conflicts many were either preſſed to death by the efforts of others, or ſuffocated by their own. This ſcene, inſtead of producing compaſſion in the guard without, only excited their mirth; and they held up lights to the bars, in order to have the diabolical ſatisfaction of ſeeing the deplorable contentions of the ſufferers within; who, finding it impoſſible to get any water whilſt it was thus furiouſly diſputed, at length ſuffered thoſe who were neareſt to the windows, to convey it in their hats to thoſe behind them. It proved no relief either to their thirſt, or other ſufferings; for the fever encreaſed every moment with the encreaſing depravity of the air in the dungeon, which had been ſo often reſpired, and was ſaturated with the hot and deleterious effluvia of putrifying bodies; of which the ſtench was little leſs than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. air at the windows, were either in a lethargic ſtupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuſe was uttered, in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miſeries, by firing into the dungeon; and whilſt ſome were blaſpheming their creator with the frantic execrations of torment in deſpair, heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhauſted by theſe agitations, at length laid down quietly, and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. Thoſe who ſtill ſurvived in the inward part of the dungeon, finding that the water had afforded them no relief, made a laſt effort to obtain air, by endeavouring to ſcramble over the heads of thoſe who ſtood between them and the windows; where the utmoſt ſtrength of every one was employed for two hours, either in maintaining his own ground, or in endeavouring to get that of which others were in poſſeſſion. All regards of compaſſion and affection were loſt, and no one would recede or give way for the relief of another. Faintneſs ſometimes gave ſhort pauſes of quiet, but the firſt motion of any one renewed the ſtruggle through all, under which ever and anon ſome one ſunk to riſe no more. At two o'clock not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number were too many to partake of the ſaving air, the conteſt for which and life, continued until the morn, long implored, began to break; and, with the hope of relief, gave the few ſurvivors a view of the dead. The ſurvivors then at the window, finding that their intreaties could not prevail on the guard to open the door, it occurred to Mr. Cooke, the ſecretary of the council, that Mr. Holwell, if alive, might have more influence to obtain their relief; and two of the company undertaking the ſearch, diſcovered him, having ſtill ſome ſigns of life; but when they brought him towards the window, every one refuſed to quit his place, excepting Captain Mills, who with rare generoſity offered to reſign his; on which the reſt likewiſe agreed to make room. He had ſcarcely begun to recover his ſenſes, before an officer, ſent by the Nabob, came and enquired if the Engliſh chief ſurvived; and ſoon after the ſame man returned with an order to open the priſon. The dead were ſo thronged, and the ſurvivors had

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſo little ſtrength remaining, that they were employed near half an hour in removing the bodies which lay againſt the door, before they could clear a paſſage to go out one at a time; when of one hundred and forty-ſix who went in, no more than twenty-three came out alive, the ghaſtlieſt forms that ever were ſeen alive. The Nabob's troops beheld them, and the havock of death from which they had eſcaped, with indifference; but did not prevent them from removing to a diſtance, and were immediately obliged, by the intolerable ſtench, to clear the dungeon, whilſt others dug a ditch on the outſide of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiſcuouſly thrown. 1756.

Mr. Holwell, unable to ſtand, was ſoon after carried to the Nabob, who was ſo far from ſhewing any compaſſion for his condition, or remorſe for the death of the other priſoners, that he only talked of the treaſures which the Engliſh had buried; and threatening him with farther injuries, if he perſiſted in concealing them, ordered him to be kept a priſoner. The officers to whoſe charge he was delivered, put him into fetters, together with Meſſrs. Court and Walcot, who were likewiſe ſuppoſed to know ſomething of the treaſures; the reſt of the ſurvivors, amongſt whom were Meſſrs. Cooke and Mills, were told they might go where they pleaſed; but an Engliſh woman, the only one of her ſex amongſt the ſufferers, was reſerved for the ſeraglio of the general Meer Jaffier. The dread of remaining any longer within the reach of ſuch barbarians determined moſt of them to remove immediately, as far as their ſtrength enabled them, from the fort, and moſt tended towards the veſſels which were ſtill in ſight; but when they reached Govindpore in the ſouthern part of the company's bounds, they were informed that guards were ſtationed to prevent any perſons from paſſing to the veſſels, on which moſt of them took ſhelter in deſerted huts, where ſome of the natives, who had ſerved the Engliſh in different employments, came and adminiſtered to their immediate wants. Two or three however ventured, and got to the veſſels before ſun-ſet. Their appearance and the dreadful tale they had to tell were the ſevereſt of reproaches to thoſe on board, who, intent only on their own preſervation,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. ſervation, had made no efforts to facilitate the eſcape of the reſt of the garriſon: never perhaps was ſuch an opportunity of performing an heroic action ſo ignominiouſly neglected: for a ſingle ſloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in ſpite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who ſuffered in the dungeon.

But the trepidation on board of all the veſſels had been ſo great, that, having ſailed in the morning in order to proceed lower down the river, the fire from the fort of Tannah, where the enemy had again mounted ſeveral pieces of cannon, drove a ſnow and a ſloop aſhore; on which the reſt returned to the ſtation they had quitted at Govindpore, where they remained until the 24th, when they were joined by two ſhips from Bombay, which came up the river, and had ſuſtained the fire of Tannah without any hurt. Encouraged by this example and reinforcement, the fleet again weighed anchor, and proceeding with better conduct, paſſed the fort of Tannah with the loſs of only two laſcars: on the 25th they paſſed Buzbuzia, another fort twenty miles lower down, where the enemy were only preparing to mount cannon: here another veſſel was ſtranded by bad navigation: on the 26th they arrived at Fulta, a town with a market, which is the ſtation of all the Dutch ſhipping. The ſoutherly monſoon which prevailed at this time rendering it impoſſible to quit the river, it was determined to remain at Fulta, if not driven away by the Nabob, until the ſeaſon changed.

Mean while the Nabob's army were employed in plundering Calcutta, where the booty, although ſufficient to gratify the common ſoldiery, produced nothing that anſwered the expectations which had urged the Nabob to get poſſeſſion of the ſettlement. Moſt of the inhabitants, excepting Omichund, had removed their valuable effects; but in his treaſury were found 400,000 rupees, beſides many valuable effects. Moſt of the merchandizes provided in the country had been ſhipped to different ports before the month of April, after which time veſſels cannot go out of the river. None of the company's ſhips were arrived from England; and none of thoſe belonging to private merchants were returned from their voyages; and the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

greateſt part of the commodities imported in the preceding year were ſold; neither had the goods providing at the aurungs for the enſuing ſeaſon been brought to Calcutta; ſo that the whole amount of the merchandizes remaining in the ſettlement did not exceed in value the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds; which was much diminiſhed before they had paſſed through the rapine of the ſoldiery, and the embezzlement of the officers appointed to manage the plunder. The Nabob, irritated by the diſappointment of his expectations of immenſe wealth, ordered Mr. Holwell and the two other priſoners to be ſent to Muxadavad, in hopes that they would at laſt diſcover where the treaſures of the ſettlement were buried. This order was executed by his officers with all the ſeverity that the fear of cauſing the death of the priſoners would admit. They were put into an open boat, without ſhelter from the intenſe ſun and heavy rain of the ſeaſon, fed only with rice and water, and loaded with irons, notwithſtanding their bodies were covered with painful boils; a criſis by which all who ſurvived the dungeon recovered of their fever. In their paſſage up the river, they received 1756.

ſome refreſhments from the Dutch ſettlement at Chinchura; and both the French and Dutch at Coſſimbuzar adminiſtered to them all the offices of humanity which their guard would permit, who, on their arrival at the capital, choſe a cow-houſe for the place of their confinement.

It could ſcarcely be imagined that the Nabob, after ſuch flagrant injuries, ſhould ſuffer the remains of the colony to abide within his dominions, in expectation of reinforcements. But there always reigned ſo much confuſion in his mind, that he rarely carried his ideas beyond the preſent appearance of things; and, ſoothed by the compliments of his courtiers into a belief that the reduction of Calcutta was the moſt glorious and heroic atchievement that had been performed in Indoſtan ſince the days of Tamerlane, he imagined that the Engliſh nation would never dare to appear again in arms in his country; and, having written letters full of theſe commendations of himſelf to Delhi, he neglected to purſue the fugitives,

and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. and determined to avail himſelf of the terror of his arms againſt his rival and relation, the Phouſdar of Purneah.

To perpetuate the memory of his victory he ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to Alinagore, ſignifying *The Port of God*; and, leaving a garriſon of 3000 men, and Monickchund to command in the place, he departed with the reſt of his army on the ſecond of July. Two or three days before his departure he publiſhed leave to ſuch as had eſcaped the dungeon to return to their houſes in the town, where they were ſupplied with proviſions by Omichund, whoſe interceſſion had probably procured their return. But this indulgence was rendered of ſhort duration by the intemperance of a ſerjeant, who in a fit of drunkenneſs killed a Moorman. This happened on the laſt of June, on which the ban was publiſhed againſt every European who ſhould be found in the territory. All fled immediately to the French, Dutch, and Pruſſian factories, from whence at different times moſt of them repaired to the fleet at Fulta.

As ſoon as the Nabob's army had croſſed the river near Hughley, he ſent a detachment to the French, and another to the Dutch ſettlement, threatening to extirpate them both, if they did not immediately pay him a large ſum of money: but, after receiving many ſubmiſſive aſſurances of their pacific diſpoſitions, he conſented to releaſe the Dutch for the ſum of 450,000 rupees, and the French for 100,000 leſs; which difference, it is ſaid, he made becauſe the French had ſupplied him with 200 cheſts of gunpowder, as he was marching to Calcutta. At the ſame time he releaſed Mr. Watts and Mr. Collet, who had hitherto been led priſoners in his camp, and conſigned them to the care of the Dutch governor at Chinchura, from whom he took an obligation to produce them whenſoever they ſhould be demanded. On the 11th he arrived at Muxadavad, from whence he iſſued orders, commanding the ſeizure and ſequeſtration of all the effects and merchandiſes belonging to the Engliſh, or their tenants, in all parts of his dominions. However, finding that no diſcoveries could be obtained concerning the treaſures which he ſuppoſed to be buried in Calcutta, he, on the 16th,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

16th, in compliance with the frequent interceſſions of the widow of Allaverdy, releaſed Mr. Holwell and his two companions, ſignifying their deliverance in perſon, as he was paſſing by the ſhed of their confinement. They immediately repaired to the Dutch factory, where they were received with much hoſpitality, and from thence proceeded to Chinchura. 1756.

Mean while, the fleet remained at Fulta, where they were joined by ſeveral other veſſels from the ſea. The company's agents likewiſe from the ſubordinate factories at Dacca, Jugdea, and Ballaſore, having on the firſt alarm eſcaped from theſe reſidencies, reſorted to the fleet. For ſome time no proviſions could be procured; but as ſoon as the Nabob's army left Calcutta, the country people venture to ſupply them.

The want of convenient ſhelter, as well as the dread of being ſurprized, obliged them all to ſleep on board the veſſels, which were ſo much crowded, that all lay promiſcuouſly on the decks, without ſhelter from the rains of the ſeaſon, and for ſome time without a change of raiment; for none had brought any ſtore away: and theſe hardſhips, inconſiderable as they may ſeem, were grievous to perſons, of whom the greateſt part had lived many years in the gentle eaſe of India. But ſufferings which the hardieſt cannot reſiſt enſued: for the lower part of Bengal, between the two arms of the Ganges, is the moſt unhealthy country in the world; and many died of a malignant fever, which infected all the veſſels.

But, inſtead of alleviating their diſtreſſes by that ſpirit of mutual good-will, which is ſuppoſed to prevail amongſt companions in miſery, every one turned his mind to inviduous diſcuſſions of the cauſes which had produced their misfortunes; although all ſeemed to expect a day when they ſhould be reſtored to Calcutta. The younger men in the company's ſervice, who had not held any part in the government, endeavoured to fix every kind of blame on their ſuperiors, whom they wiſhed to ſee removed from ſtations, to which they expected to ſucceed. At the ſame time, the members of the council accuſed one another, all concurring to lay the ſevereſt blame upon the governor; and theſe examples gave riſe to the ſame

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. ſpirit of malevolence amongſt thoſe who could derive no benefit from their invectives, beyond the vanity of their temporary importance.

The conduct of the military operations was void of method, ſubordination, diſcipline, and ſkill. All the out-poſts were at too great a diſtance from the fort; only the three or four neareſt buildings ſhould have been occupied: all beyond them blown up, or the floors of their upper ſtories ruined. The walls of all the incloſures within the aim of muſket-ſhot from the fort, ſhould have been demoliſhed, and the rubbiſh removed. A ditch and paliſade ſhould have been carried on, if time admitted no more, at leaſt in the weakeſt parts, round the fort, eſpecially along the warehouſes to the ſouth. Shells ſhould have been thrown wherever the enemy aſſembled or took poſt, and reſolute ſallies ſhould have been made in the night into their open quarters, which in ſuch a multitude muſt have been many. By theſe means the defence might have been protracted ten days, during which, if the Nabob could not be appeaſed, the arrival of the ſhips of the ſeaſon would have ſecured the retreat of the defenders and their families without danger. Although nothing of theſe operations was executed, the neglect of them was not imputed; but cowardice in general was reproached to thoſe who firſt left the ſhore, and with little decency, by thoſe who accompanied, or followed their flight, and all aſſembled at Fulta, excepting three or four, were in one or other of theſe predicaments.

The cauſes to which the reſentment of the Nabob was imputed, were more vague, but caſt, if poſſible, more blame. The paper, which was ſigned by Mr. Watts immediately after he was made priſoner at Coſſimbuzar, was urged as a proof that the government of Bengal had been defrauded of vaſt ſums by the abuſe which the company's agents had made of the *duſtucks* or paſſports for trade, which, it is ſaid, had been commonly ſold to the Indian merchants reſiding in the ſettlement, who were not intitled to that privilege: but, although this fraud was ſometimes committed by the indigent and profligate, the greateſt part of the Engliſh commerce was carried on by men, whoſe character and fortune placed them beyond the neceſſity or ſuſpicion of ſuch a meanneſs: ſo that this practice could not have been either ſo frequent or injurious to the revenues of Bengal,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Bengal, as the rapacious miniſters of Surajah Dowlah might have made him believe; more eſpecially ſince the Nabob Allaverdy never accuſed the Engliſh of ſuch illicit practices. The other article ſigned by Mr. Watts, concerning the protection given to the ſubjects of the Nabob, was likewiſe inſiſted on; although for fifteen years before Kiſſendaſs, the government had never claimed any perſons who took up their reſidence in Calcutta. However, theſe reflections carrying againſt no one in particular, it was boldly aſſerted, that the protection of Kiſſendaſs, which certainly did contribute to the Nabob's reſentment, had been purchaſed by large bribes: but this accuſation was abſurd, becauſe they muſt have come through his hoſt Omichund, whom the preſidency regarded as the firſt, though latent cauſe of all their calamities, and puniſhed accordingly. It was likewiſe aſſerted, that the governor, Mr. Drake, had written an inſolent letter to the Nabob, in anſwer to his order for demoliſhing the fortifications; and that he ſent a meſſage of defiance to him by the ſpy who brought the letter concerning Kiſſendaſs: reports, for which no evidence was produced. 1756.

There is ſufficient teſtimony to believe that the ſagacity of Allaverdy, reflecting on the fates of Nazirjing and Chunderſaheb, the ſubſequent war in Coromandel, and the late reduction of Angria, and comparing theſe military exploits of the French and Engliſh with the former humility of their condition in the Mogul's dominions, ſhould have adviſed his young ſucceſſor, Surajah Dowlah, to watch the military meaſures of all the European ſettlements in Bengal, and to ſuffer no increaſe in their garriſons, nor addition in their fortifications, and to cruſh immediately whichſoever of them ſhould manifeſt any ſymptom of defiance, or confidence in their own ſtrength; but at the ſame time to give every encouragement to their commercial views, not only as an eſſential benefit to the province, but likewiſe as the beſt ſecurity of their dependance on his government. This admitted, the diſorderly brain of Surajah Dowlah, his exceſſive cowardice, his tyrannical ideas, and the inſtigations of his minions, repreſenting Calcutta as one of the richeſt cities in the world, ſufficiently account for his incapacity to diſtinguiſh the neceſſary ſeaſon of carrying the advice of his predeceſſor into execution, and for his inflexible perſeverance in a reſolu-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. tion which flattered the puſillanimity and other vices of his own mind.

The Engliſh at Fulta, notwithſtanding their wrangles, agreed to acknowledge the authority of the governor, and of ſuch others as had been members of the council at Calcutta, who in the beginning of July deputed Mr. Maningham, one of the members, with a military officer, to repreſent their condition to the preſidency of Madraſs, and to ſolicit the expedition of an armament to their aſſiſtance. With them our narrative returns to the coaſt of Coromandel.

WAR OF COROMANDEL. ALL was loſt before the preſidency of Madraſs even received intelligence of the danger; for the letters, adviſing the ſurrender of Coſſimbuzar, did not arrive until the 15th of July. The experience of former embroilments between the European ſettlements and the government of Bengal, ſuggeſted hopes that the Nabob would, as his predeceſſors, be appeaſed with a ſum of money. But whether this or the worſt ſhould happen, it was deemed neceſſary, in either caſe, to ſend a reinforcement without delay; in the one, to render the ſettlement more reſpectable to the Nabob; in the other, to afford refuge to ſuch as might have eſcaped the calamities of war.

The ſquadron under the command of Admiral Watſon, and the Delaware, one of the company's ſhips lately arrived from England, chanced at this time to be in the road of Madraſs: but, as it would have been highly imprudent to ſend away, or divide the ſquadron until the laſt extremity, a detachment of 230 men, moſtly Europeans, were ſhipped on board the Delaware, under the command of Major Kilpatrick. They ſailed on the 20th of July, and on the 5th of Auguſt arrived letters from the fugitives at Fulta, with details of the capture of Calcutta, which ſcarcely created more horror and reſentment than conſternation and perplexity.

We have ſaid that the preſidency was at this time preparing to ſend a detachment of 300 Europeans with deputies to Salabadjing, who had ſolicited this aſſiſtance to rid himſelf of the French army under the command of Mr. Buſſy. The government of Pondicherry, as ſoon as they received intelligence that Mr. Buſſy had

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

taken poſſeſſion of Charmaul, and that the maintenance of this poſt againſt their enemies was the only probability of a reconciliation with them, reſolved to ſend the ſuccours, which Mr. Buſſy, foreſeeing the event, had long before requeſted, when he ſeparated from Salabadjing at Sanore. Accordingly, 500 Europeans and a train of field artillery were embarked on one of the French company's ſhip's called the Favorite. The ſhip ſailed on the 15th of July, the very day that the preſidency of Madraſs received the firſt intelligence of the diſtreſſes in Bengal: the troops were to be landed at Maſulipatam, from whence they were to march to Golcondah. 1756.

Hitherto the French influence in the government of Salabadjing had been regarded as the evil which threatened the moſt danger to the Engliſh concerns in India, and the removal of it had been the conſtant object of their attention; but it now became an immediate conſideration, what reſpect ought to be paid to this view, compared with the neceſſity of reinſtating the loſt affairs in Bengal.

Letters from England dated in the month of Auguſt of the preceding year had informed the preſidencies in India, that a war with France ſeemed inevitable, and that hoſtilities would in all probability commence very ſoon after the diſpatch of thoſe letters; which moreover gave intelligence that the French were preparing to ſend a fleet of 19 ſhips of war, with 3000 regular troops, from Breſt to Pondicherry. On this it had been determined to make many improvements and additions to the fortifications of Madraſs; but as no particular work was yet compleated, what was done had rather weakened than augmented the ſtrength of the place.

The troops maintained by the Engliſh and French governments on the coaſt of Coromandel were at this time nearly equal, each conſiſting of about 2000 Europeans, and 10,000 Sepoys, who on both ſides were ſeparated in different garriſons and ſituations in an extent of 600 miles. The detachment of 500 men ſent to Maſulipatam had diminiſhed the French force ſerving in the Carnatic, to be by this number, leſs than what the Engliſh had in the province, excluſive of their troops to the ſouth of the Coleroon; nor had the French as yet any ſquadron in India to oppoſe that under the command of Mr. Watſon;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. Watſon; but it was imagined that their expected armament would give them as deciſive a ſuperiority at ſea, as on ſhore.

On the other hand, a privation of the Bengal inveſtments for three years would ruin the Engliſh company; and if the ſettlements there were not immediately recovered, the French upon the arrival of their armament would urge and aſſiſt Surajah Dowlah againſt any future attempts of the Engliſh to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in his dominions; in which caſe, an expedition to recover them would require a large and ſpecial armament from England; where, perhaps, the national exigencies in other parts of the world might not allow a force adequate to this ſervice; and where, at all events, the equipment could not be made but at a much greater expence than would be incurred by employing the force at this time ready on the coaſt of Coromandel. At the ſame time the national honour required immediate reparation, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance.

Nevertheleſs there prevailed in ſome of the members of the council a ſtrong propenſity, at all events, to aſſiſt Salabadjing. The partizans of this opinion inſiſted, "that, as a force ſufficient to encounter the Nabob of Bengal with any probability of ſucceſs, ſubſtracted from Madraſs, would leave the Engliſh in Coromandel totally incapable of reſiſting the French after the arrival of their armament; it was more expedient to ſend the 50 gun ſhip of Mr. Watſon's ſquadron, and deputies, with a power to treat with the Nabob. If the negociation ſhould prove unſucceſsful, the ſhip, with the force under Major Kilpatrick, were to make depredations and repriſals; and, if they could, were to retake and maintain Calcutta. By this expedient, Coromandel, it was ſaid, would be preſerved, Salabadjing might be properly ſupported againſt Mr. Buſſy, and Mr. Watſon avoiding the encounter of the French ſquadron until his own ſhould be reinforced from England, might then meet them on equal terms." Theſe arguments would have appeared ſpecious any where but in India. They were oppoſed by one of the members of the council, who, having reſided nine years in the company's ſervice at Calcutta, knew the ſtrength and inſolence of the Mooriſh government in Bengal, believed that nothing but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

vigorous hoſtilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or reparation, and conſidered the force propoſed as unequal even to the retaking of Calcutta: he therefore inſiſted "that it ought to be ſufficient to attack the Nabob even in his capital of Muxadavad; at leaſt, a battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many Sepoys as could be tranſported, not leſs than 1500: that as the ſquadron, if divided, would be of little ſervice any where, the whole ſhould proceed to Bengal; that ſuch an armament would ſoon decide the conteſt; that after peace was made, the ſquadron, with a large part of the troops, might return to the coaſt, and arrive in the month of April; before which time, the nature of the Monſoons rendered it improbable that the French armament, ſince it had not yet appeared, would be able to make their paſſage to the coaſt. In the mean time the detachment ſent to the relief of Mr. Buſſy had deprived the government of Pondicherry of the means of making any attempts in the Carnatic, which the force of Madraſs could not eaſily fruſtrate." This opinion, after many and repeated objections, became at laſt the unanimous ſenſe of the council. 1756.

This reſolution was communicated to Admiral Watſon, who, after conſulting his council of war, conſented to it. Some difficulties aroſe about the diſpoſition of the captures which might be made by the ſquadron; but this was ſoon adjuſted by an agreement, that whatſoever property ſhould be taken which had belonged either to the company, or to Engliſh individuals, or even to natives, who were tenants of the company when the Nabob commenced hoſtilities, ſhould be reſtored without diminution to the proprietors; but that whatſoever ſhould be taken which had never belonged either to the company, or to ſuch as were under their protection, ſhould become without participation or reſerve the property of the ſquadron.

But other points of equal moment to the ſucceſs of the expedition ſtill remained to be decided; and, indeed, by having been mingled without diſtinction with the more general queſtions, they had helped not a little to perplex and protract the deliberations of the council. Theſe points were: Who ſhould command the land forces? What

ſhould

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. ſhould be the extent of his authority in military operations, and in negotiatiohs with the Nabob? In what dependance or relation he ought to ſtand to the late governor and council of Calcutta? How far their authority as a preſidency ought to be maintained or impaired?

Each of the remaining council of Bengal had written ſeparate letters to the preſidency of Madraſs, in which ſuch miſdemeanours and miſconduct were reciprocally imputed to all the others, that, if no allowance had been made for the prejudices of exaſperated adverſity, it would have been abſurd to intruſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the company's affairs to thoſe, who, by their own accounts, had ruined them; and, indeed, enough of the cauſes and progreſs of the calamities in Bengal were not at this time ſufficiently developed, to exempt the late preſidency of Calcutta from much blame. The difficulty of deciding concerning their authority ſuggeſted to Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madraſs, a deſire to go himſelf to Bengal as commander of the army, and with full powers, as the company's repreſentative in all other affairs: but he wanted military experience, nor had the council authority to give ſo extenſive a commiſſion to any individual. Colonel Adlercron then claimed the military command, offering to go with his whole regiment; but he wanted experience in the irregular warfare of India, and his powers were independent of the company's agents. The climate of Bengal was ſo adverſe to an aſthmatic diſorder, with which Colonel Lawrence was afflicted, that it was thought he would be diſabled, from that inceſſant activity requiſite to the ſucceſs of this expedition, of which the termination was limited to a certain time. Colonel Clive was therefore choſen to command the troops. To aſſure the exertion of the moſt vigorous hoſtilities until peace was made, and then the return of the troops in April, it was reſolved to inveſt him with independent power in all military matters and operations, and in conſequence to furniſh him with money, and empower him to draw bills. It was, however, reſolved to acknowledge Mr. Drake and the former members of the council, as a preſidency, with full powers in commercial and civil affairs, and to remit them likewiſe a large

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

a large ſum of money. Mr. Manningham, who had been ſent from Fulta as their repreſentative, objected ſtrongly to the powers given to Clive, as derogating from the authority of that preſidency, and contrary to the inſtitutions of the company. Two months paſſed in debates, before theſe final reſolutions were taken, and then the embarkation began. The ſloop of war belonging to the ſquadron had been diſpatched ſome time before, to inform the Engliſh at Fulta of the intended armament, and to exhort them not to quit the river in deſpair of aſſiſtance. 1756.

The ſquadron conſiſted of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Saliſbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fire-ſhip; to which were added, as tranſports, three of the company's ſhips, and two ſmaller veſſels. On board of this fleet were embarked 900 Europoans and 1500 Sepoys; 250 of the Europeans were of Adlercron's regiment; the reſt, the beſt men of the company's troops. It was reſolved to ſend more Sepoys as conveyances ſhould offer. Admiral Watſon hoiſted his flag in the Kent; and Admiral Pocock in the Cumberland. Colonel Clive embarked in the Kent; he carried letters written by Salabadjing the Soubah of the Decan, and Mahomedally Nabob of Arcot, as well as from Mr. Pigot, exhorting Surajah Dowlah, to make immediate reparation for the injuries, and calamities which the Engliſh had ſuffered from his unprovoked reſentment. The inſtructions to Clive recommended the attack of Muxadavad itſelf, if the Nabob continued obſtinate; and the capture of the French ſettlement at Chandernagore, if the news of a war with France ſhould arrive whilſt the troops remained in Bengal. The fleet ſet ſail on the 16th of October, and were out of ſight the next day.

This effort to recover the ſettlements in Bengal left the forces of Madraſs too much diminiſhed to detach to ſuch a diſtance as Golcondah a body of troops ſufficient to aſſiſt Salabadjing effectually againſt the French army with Mr. Buſſy; and as a few would be of no ſervice, and might be loſt, it was reſolved to ſend none. In the mean time the French army were maintaining their ground in Charmaul.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. On the ſame evening that they took poſſeſſion of this poſt, detachments were ſtationed in two others; the one was a large habitation called *Gauchmaul*, ſtanding in a ſpacious and walled encloſure, almoſt oppoſite to Charmaul, about 400 yards on the other ſide of the river Mouſſi; in this poſt were lodged 300 Sepoys. The other was an edifice called *Daudmul*, built on a riſing ground very near the weſtern ſide of Charmaul, which it overlooked. It was an ancient and very ſingular ſtructure, conſiſting of two ſtories of arched maſonry, each ſtory diſpoſed in ſeveral ranges of arches, and the upper covered by a terraſs ſtrong enough to endure the ſervice of cannon. Four twelve pounders were mounted on this terraſs, and the adjoining ſtreets and avenues were barricaded: the guard here, beſides the artillery men, was 500 Sepoys, with ſeveral European officers of experience.

On the 6th of July, the day after the army entered Charmaul, 1000 Sepoys, with all the European cavalry and ſix field pieces, went out in the evening with intention to beat up the Morratoes in their camp, which continued in its firſt ſituation, about ſeven miles to the weſt; but they had taken the alarm, and abandoned the camp before the detachment arrived. The next night another detachment with more ſucceſs beat up one of their parties in a garden on the eaſtern ſide of the town. The French troops now took poſſeſſion of all the magazines in the city which belonged to the government, and likewiſe carried away all the cannon which were mounted on the walls, not that they wanted artillery, but in order to withdraw them from the enemy. The interval between the ranges of building and the tank in Charmaul was planted with rows of palmira and coco-nut trees; which were now cut down, and with them and other materials, ſcaffolds were erected againſt various parts of the walls, to ſerve as ſtations for muſketry.

On the 8th, another detachment with ſix field-pieces marched out in open day, and cannonaded the whole body of Morratoes, which hovered around for ſome time, until ſome of their horſes were killed. In the evening, the Morratoes quitted their former ground, and en-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

camped within three miles of the city under the rock and fortreſs of Golcondah, probably with an idea of protection from the guns of the fortreſs; but Candagla, one of their generals, who commanded 2000 horſe, encamped with them at the bank of the river about half way between Golcondah and the city, where they were the next night beaten up by a detachment of 500 Sepoys with the huſſars. They fled, leaving many of their horſes picqueted in the camp, and even the military drums and cymbals of their commander: but the French detachment did not loſe a man. 1756.

The rainy weather prevented any more ſallies for ſeveral days: mean while the numbers of the enemy increaſed greatly. The Phouſdars, or, as they are commonly called, the Nabobs of Kanoul and Condanore, came each with 3000 Pitans well mounted: other chiefs of the ſame rank, and others of inferior, as well Mahomedan as Indian, brought their troops: for every tributary and dependant in the vaſt viceroyalty of the Decan had been ſummoned. But ſeveral of theſe chiefs, eſpecially Kanoul, privately aſſured Mr. Buſſy they did not intend to act effectually againſt him.

On the 10th arrived Jaffier Ally Khan, much exaſperated at the death of his nephew, with 3000 horſe, 3000 foot, and the firſt diviſion of artillery, conſiſting of 20 pieces of cannon. The main body of the army with which Salabadjing and Shanavaz Khan remained, moving only four miles a day, was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance. Jaffier Ally immediately held a council of war, in which it was reſolved to ſtreighten the blockade of Charmaul, and to begin by taking poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts in the city itſelf.

Mr. Buſſy received immediate intelligence of this council; he had hitherto refrained from diſtreſſing the inhabitants; but now, in order to deter the enemy from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the city, he poſted a detachment at an edifice ſtanding in the high ſtreet, and called *Charminarets*, or the four towers; it was a ſquare piazza of arches, having at each end a tower 60 feet high, with balconies at the top, from which the Mahomedan prieſt calls the people to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. prayers; ſome miſchief might be done with muſketry from theſe balconies, and the loop-holes, which gave light to the winding ſtairs; but there were no means of employing artillery in the tops, for they were vaulted; nor within, for there were neither floors or landing-places; nevertheleſs ſeveral ſmall pieces of cannon were pointed out of the loop-holes, from a conviction that the enemy would not immediately diſcern their inutility. Mr. Buſſy then informed Jaffier Ally, that if any of his troops entered the city, he would deſtroy the whole with fire; and this menace ſtopped his intention; he however ſtationed an advanced detachment where Candagla had encamped, which was beaten up and diſperſed the next night by a party of 50 Europeas and 500 Sepoys. The rains immediately after, falling again heavier, and laſting longer than before, hindered all enterprizes in the field for a fortnight.

Some months before Mr. Buſſy had commiſſioned the French agents at Surat to levy a body either of Abyſſinians or Arabs, whom, as being of more courage and endurance, he intended to diſcipline as the choiceſt of his Sepoys. Six hundred had been collected, and were on their march, when Mr. Buſſy arrived at Hydrabad, and the enemy hearing of their approach detached Janogee Nimbulcar with his 3000 Morratoes to intercept them. The Morratoes met them on the road ſome miles on this ſide of Aurungabad, and harraſſed them continually for three days; during which they killed fifty; one hundred and fifty diſperſed, and the remaining four hundred, worn out with fatigue, ſurrendered: Janogee returned with his priſoners to the camp, and confined them in the fortreſs of Golcondah, but treated them well.

The weather having cleared on the 26th, a detachment with three field-pieces marched in the evening, and at midnight attacked that part of the enemy's camp, where they kept their artillery; the multitude of bullocks in this quarter, ſcared by the firing, encreaſed the confuſion of the troops: the fort of Golcondah took the alarm and fired all its cannon at random; but two of the French field-pieces breaking down, ſtopped the detachment from purſuing their ſucceſs,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſucceſs, and they returned, having ſpiked up only three of the guns in the enemy's camp. 1756.

The next day came up 4000 Sepoys under the command of Murzafabeg. This man commanded the Sepoys of the detachment with which Mr. Buſſy firſt marched into the Decan in 1751. The next year he left Mr. Buſſy when at Beder, and, raiſing a body of Sepoys on his own account, took ſervice with Balagerow, whom he left when before Seringapatam in 1755, and went over to the Myſoreans; from thence he went to the Nabob of Sanore, and was in this place when inveſted in the beginning of the preſent year by Salabadjing and Balagerow. Having during his command of the French Sepoys gained the attachment of moſt of their officers by largeſſes and other compliances, he had ever ſince continued a correſpondence amongſt them, whenever they were in the field, in conjunction with, or near, the armies in which he was ſerving, as Mr. Buſſy had experienced in the campaigns of Myſore and Sanore. This quality, and the military experience which he was ſuppoſed to have acquired whilſt in the French ſervice, induced Shanavaze Khan to hire him, as ſoon as it was known that Mr. Buſſy had determined to make a ſtand at Hydrabad. Murzafabeg, as ſoon as engaged, made forced marches before the main body, and ſent his emiſſaries forward: and on the very day of his arrival at Hydrabad, a whole company of French Sepoys, who went out into the plain under pretence of exerciſing, marched away, their firelocks ſhouldered, and joined him at Golcondah.

The next day the whole army moved from hence with twenty pieces of cannon under his direction, and at noon appeared to the weſtward within a mile of Charmaul. The infantry and artillery took poſſeſſion of all the eminences; and the cavalry drew up in the intervals, where the ground was plain. Immediately 250 of the French battalion and 1000 Sepoys, with ſix field-pieces, marched out to try them, whilſt the reſt remained in their poſts ready to act as occaſion ſhould require; and two pieces of cannon were mounted on the tower in the N. W. angle of Charmaul, which commanded a view of the field. The detachment deſpiſed the enemy ſo much, that they

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. they ventured to ſeparate into three diviſions, and each with two of the field-pieces advanced againſt different bodies of infantry, at a conſiderable diſtance from eaeh other. The cavalry every where flung themſelves between, and continually ſurrounded the three diviſions, whoſe deſtruction to a ſtranger would have ſeemed inevitable; and indeed nothing but the firm reliance on the general diſcipline could have warranted the hazard, or have ſurmounted the danger; but with this advantage and the dexterity of the field-pieces, each diviſion either ſufficed to its own defence, or, when preſſed, received aſſiſtance from one of the others. In the different evolutions the enemy's cavalry were often within reach of the two guns at Charmaul, of which even the random ſhot did execution, whilſt the enemy's cannon were fired, although continually, with very little effect. Their infantry did nothing but ſhift from ſafe ground to ſafer, and fire with fear. In this variety of fights the engagement laſted five hours, and did not ceaſe until the ſun was ſet; the French troops fired 35000 muſket cartridges, and 900 from their field-pieces; 125 of the enemy's horſes were counted dead on the plain; by which the total of their loſs muſt have been conſiderable. That of the French was ſlight; ſix Sepoys killed, and thirty wounded: of the Europeans none killed, and only four wounded.

Two days after, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, came up Salabadjing himſelf, and the main body of the army. A council was immediately held, in which Murzafar Khan propoſed a general aſſault on Charmaul. This deliberation was in a few hours communicated to Mr. Buſſy, who immediately demoliſhed ſeveral of the adjacent houſes; but the attack was not made. The intrigues of Murzafar Khan had already pervaded the whole body of Sepoys, and the greateſt part of them had promiſed him to deſert with their arms, the firſt time they ſhould be led into the field: their correſpondence was diſcovered; and determined Mr. Buſſy to make no more ſallies.

By this time reinforcements were approaching. Mr. Moracin, the French chief of Maſulipatam, on the firſt advices of the rupture at Sanore, had collected 160 Europeans and 700 Sepoys, which, with five field pieces, marched in the middle of July, under the command of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of Mr. Law, the ſame officer who capitulated at Seringham in 1752; 1756.
but when arrived at Bezoara, about 40 miles inland, exceſſive rains detained them here ſeveral days. In the interval the Favorite arrived at Maſulipatam with the troops from Pondicherry, of which, all in condition, marched immediately; but were ſo much retarded by the rains, and the inundations of the Kriſtna, that they did not arrive at Bezoara until the 3d of Auguſt, when the whole, now 480 Europeans, 1100 ſepoys, and 11 field-pieces, proceeded, and arrived on the 10th within fifteen leagues of Hydrabad.

The miniſtry of Salabadjing determined to intercept this reinforcement: all the Morratoes, 12000, other ſmaller bodies amounting to 4000, in all 16000 cavalry, with infantry of various denominations and commands, to the number of 10,000, were ordered on this ſervice. Mr. Buſſy, as uſual, received information what troops were appointed; he was perſonally acquainted with all the commanders, had been of uſe to ſeveral of them, and had lately received ſome marks of good.will from Janogi and Ramchundur, who commanded 6000 of the Morratoes. He therefore propoſed a conference, which was accepted by ſeveral of theſe chiefs, who repaired in the night to a tent pitched on the other ſide of the river near Gauchmaul, where he met them unattended and alone. Wanting poſitive knowledge of what paſſed in this interview, we conjecture that he wrought upon them by promiſes of greater advantages, if he ſhould be reſtored to his former influence in the government of Salabadjing, than they could expect, either from the gratitude of Shanavaze Khan, or the friendſhip of the Engliſh, who, it was believed, were to take the place of the French, in the army and councils of the Decan. They promiſed not to act againſt the reinforcement with any efficacy, and only as much as might be neceſſary to ſave appearances, confirmed theſe aſſurances by their oaths, and gave Mr. Buſſy the diſtinctions and colours of their reſpective banners, of which he immediately diſpatched information to Mr. Law, as enſigns from which he would have nothing to fear.

The reinforcement continued their march on the 11th, and had now to paſs a tract of mountainous country covered with rocks and thick

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. thick woods, which they entered, marching in a file of four abreaſt. The advanced guard were 400 ſepoys, under the command of an officer named Mahmood Khan. After marching five hours, in which they had only advanced nine miles, ſome parties of the enemy were deſcried forward in the road; on which Mahmood Khan, as if impatient to attack them, quickened the pace of the Sepoys. The captain of the grenadiers, whoſe company followed next in the line, ſent orders to him to halt, which he diſregarded; and as ſoon as the Sepoys were out of ſight, ſome irregular firing was heard: ſoon after came a meſſenger, requeſting the grenadiers would advance to their aſſiſtance, who he ſaid were ſurrounded by the enemy; but the captain having ſuſpicions ſent forward ſcouts, who diſcovered the banners of the Sepoys mixing quietly with thoſe of the enemy. This treachery was effected by the intrigues of Murzafar Khan, who was here in perſon, and immediately began to attack the French line with theſe very Sepoys, and the whole of the infantry of Salabadjing's army ſent on this ſervice, which was committed to his direction. Beſides the uſual and lighter arms a part of the infantry weilded 2000 *caytocks*, a fire-arm frequently made uſe of in Europe in the early times of gun-powder, and then called a wall-piece; but at preſent rarely uſed, excepting in Indoſtan and the eaſtermoſt parts of Aſia: it is a gun eight or ten feet in the barrel, carrying a ball of one, two, or three ounces; and under the middle of the barrel is fixed by a ſwivel, either one iron ſpike, or two, which open croſsways, and being ſtuck in the ground ſupport the piece, and aſſure its aim: it carries far point blank, but the larger ſizes are ſo unweildy, that two men are required to move and manage them, and they can ſcarcely be fired quicker than a piece of cannon. Parties were continually detached to diſlodge theſe caytocks, and whatſoever other troops were annoying the line from the rocks and thickets on either hand. At noon the line came to open ground, where they halted; and the fall of a heavy ſhower of rain damaged the enemy's powder, and put an end to their attacks.

They

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

They retired to a hill half a league distant, and took possession of a village at the foot of it, called Gorampally, which the French troops marched before day-break to attack, and found all the enemy's cavalry in the field, by whom they were soon surrounded. Ramchunder and Janogee, according to their promises, acted only in shew, which Mr. Law admired, and could not account for, not having yet received the information concerning them frm Mr. Bussy; but Candagla, who had rejected his proffers, acted more efficaciously, attacking the baggage in the rear, and dispersed the whole train of oxen on which it was laden. The troops in the village made little resistance, and the reinforcement rested there during the remainder of the day. Hitherto only one European and three or four Sepoys had been killed, and twelve of both wounded, but by the flight of the coolies and the scaring of the oxen all their provisions were lost, and the troops were obliged for their meal to kill some of the draught-bullocks of the artillery. 1756.

At noon Mr. Law received the letter from Mr. Bussy, with information of such of the enemy's banners as did not intend to act vigorously, and at seven in the evening renewed his march. The next stage was Meliapore, 15 miles from Gorampally, and the whole way through difficult defiles. The enemy with unusual alertness, although it was night, sent forward all their infantry to line the thickets; and Mr. Law, as the use of the field-pieces greatly retarded the march, only opposed the enemy with platoons, which were detached to wheresoever the fire came from. At seven in the morning the line arrived at Meliapore, and took post in a ruined mud fort near the town. Only two men had been killed, and three wounded; but all were exhausted with fatigue, and every carriage wanted repair; and the next march was more difficult than any of the former. It was therefore resolved to remain at Meliapore until the men were entirely recovered; but this repose led them into reflections, always dangerous when troops are in dangerous circumstances: and very soon the whole body were persuaded that they had done all that was possible, and that it now behoved the army of Charmoul to act likewise, and march to their relief. The officers,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. inſtead of repreſſing, caught, the deſpondency, and prevailed on Mr. Law to diſpatch a letter to Mr. Buſſy, expreſſing their doubts and anxiety concerning the farther progreſs of the reinforcement.

In the mean time the news of Mahmood Cawn's defection had been ſpread with exaggeration through the main camp at Golcondah, and encouraged the miniſtry to ſend more troops againſt the reinforcement. Mr. Buſſy, to repreſs this intention, ſent in the night of the 12th a ſtrong party, conſiſting entirely of Europeans, to beat up the advanced guards of the camp, and the attack was made with much ſucceſs; but on the ſame night he received the letter from Mr. Law, which encreaſed his perplexity; becauſe he could not truſt his Sepoys in the field where their ſeducer Murzafacawn acted, nor could he without equal imprudence ſend a number of Europeans ſufficient to make their way to Meliapore. Judging, however, from his own experience in various conjunctures, he deemed the reinforcement ſtrong enough to accompliſh the remaining, as they had the preceding part of the march, provided the officers led them with intrepidity; and in this conviction he wrote to Mr. Law, commanding him, in *the name of the King*, to march immediately, and at all events, on the receipt of the letter. Not doubting, likewiſe, that the miniſtry of Salabadjing, if they ſhould hear of the deſpondency of the reinforcement, would make an utmoſt effort in this time of deciſion, unleſs deterred by the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions, he the next day pitched his own tent, which was very conſpicuous, and encamped with 150 Europeans and 300 ſepoys, on the ſtrand above the bridge on the other ſide of the river Mouſſi. The numbers were ſtudiouſly magnified, and, with the preſence of Mr. Buſſy in the field, inſpired ſuch a variety of apprehenſions concerning his deſigns in the camp at at Golcondah, that they even recalled the detachments they had ſent the day before.

The peremptory order from Mr. Buſſy at Meliapore arrived in the morning of the 14th, and Mr. Law immediately iſſued orders to march. The reinforcement, although they had remained four days and three nights at Meliapore, had not got the reſt they wanted; for the fort was in ſeveral parts open, and the enemy had har-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

raſſed them continually with ſkirmiſhes, even by night as well as day. At nine at night they began their march, the preparations for which had been perceived, and gave the enemy time to make their own. The road for the firſt four miles winded through defiles in the rugged rock, over which carriages could not paſs without attention to every turn of the wheel. The enemy in ſeveral places felled the wood acroſs the road, and all their infantry were in poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous ſtations before the French troops entered the defiles; and their fire, eſpecially from the caytocks, was much better directed than againſt the former marches. Men began to fall in the firſt diſcharges; no general rules of action could be obſerved; to get onward was the only principle; it was now become fortunate for the French line that they had no baggage, and nothing to defend but themſelves and their artillery; which, although a great encumbrance in the defiles, was to be their beſt reſource when out of them. A large body of the enemy's cavalry, led by Candagla the Morattoe, followed the line into the defile, and through the night endeavoured to retard the march by their din and clamours, but as ſoon as it was light, acted with more efficacy: for, as many as the road permitted charged the rear, although the guard conſiſted entirely of Europeans, and had two field-pieces: it was commanded by D'Arambure, an officer of proved gallantry, and next in rank to Mr. Law. Still repulſed, the cavalry ſtill renewed their onſets. Europeans were cut down, and Morattoes ſhot at the very muzzles of the guns. At ſun-riſe the van of the line came to the iſſue of the defile, againſt which the enemy had planted all their cannon, 20 pieces; behind which appeared all the cavalry which had not followed in the rear: but they ſeemed to rely on the artillery more than on themſelves, which was ſo ill ſerved, that it neither interrupted the troops in iſſuing out of the defile, nor afterwards from forming in the opening; when the field-pieces, as they came out, were turned to ſcour the thickets behind, and ſoon drove away what parties of the enemy were ſtill moleſting the remaining part of the line. Whilſt the troops were forming, the enemy's cavalry and cannon in the front haſtened onward, to paſs a ſmall river called

1756.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. Cingoram, about a mile from the thickets, and drew up on the other ſide. The cavalry, with Candagla, followed the French troops as they marched towards the river; the approach to which on both ſides was a deſcent. All the field-pieces were ordered to remain on the hither-bank, until the reſt of the troops had paſſed; and this ſervice was likewiſe committed to D'Arambure, who judiciouſly divided their fire againſt the enemy on the other ſide, and thoſe in his rear, which kept both at a diſtance, until the whole of rank and file had croſſed and formed, and were able to defend themſelves againſt the enemy on that ſide; when the cannon were ſent over one by one, during which the remaining continued to awe the enemy on the ſide they ſtood, againſt whom every piece, as ſoon as it landed on the other ſide, was likewiſe pointed; and parties of the battalion likewiſe waded into the ſtream ready to reſcue the laſt pieces. But the cavalry had already ſuffered too much at a diſtance, to venture this nearer riſque, and all the loſs which the French line ſuſtained, after leaving the thickets until they had paſſed the river, was by the caytocks and other fire-arms of the enemy, ſheltered wherever they found ſafe cover. The country forward from the river, although not plain, was open, and the French troops were animated with new alacrity by the view of the ſpires of Hyderabad, which now appeared in ſight. The whole of the enemy's cavalry moved on as they, and ſurrounded them on all ſides, but made no effectual attacks; for thoſe who were willing, were diſpirited by the backwardneſs of the great body of Morattoes commanded by Rumchunder and Janogee Nimbulcar, who acted faintly according to their engagements with Mr. Buſſy. At length, at five in the afternoon, the reinforcement arrived at the town of Aydnagur, ſituated ſix miles from the river Cingoram, and the ſame diſtance from Hyderabad. They had been 18 hours without reſpite in march and action; during which 25 Europeans, of whom two were officers, were killed, and 65 wounded. The Sepoys ſuffered more. The enemy, it was ſaid, loſt 800 horſes and more than 2000 men: the French fired 40,000 muſket-cartridges, beſides their field-pieces.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

At Aydnagur they found ſome ſcanty proviſions, of which they were in much need: at nine in the evening, Mr. Buſſy received intelligence of their arrival, and immediately detached 140 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, with carriages, to bring the ſick and wounded, and 20 mules, laden with proviſions ready dreſſed. He at the ſame time detached another party, to give alarm to the camp at Golcondah, in order to prevent them from ſending any troops to interrupt the march of thoſe proceeding to Aydnagur, who arrived there at four in the morning without moleſtation. At ſix all were in march again from Aydnagur, and at ten arrived at the city of Hyderabad, having met with no interruption, nor even ſeen any of the enemy in the way; for they had all been recalled during the night to the camp at Golcondah. Mr. Buſſy received the reinforcement with the acknowledgements due to their perſeverance and valour; and they were ſcarcely arrived, before he received a meſſenger ſent on a dromedary by Salabadjing with propoſals of peace, and aſſurances that he had ordered all hoſtilities to ceaſe. Mr. Buſſy anſwered, that he was not averſe to a reconciliation, but that his reinforcement was arrived, and he feared nothing the Soubah's army could do. 1756.

The negociation nevertheleſs continued. Mr. Buſſy demanded, that Murzafar Khan and the late deſerter Mahmood Khan ſhould be delivered up to him. Salabadjing replied, that as a prince he could not, without loſing the confidence of the whole world, ſurrender any perſons whom he had received into his ſervice and pay, but that he ſhould not impede any means that might be employed to make them priſoners. The conjuncture did not admit of any ſtipulation for the removal of the miniſter Shanavaze Khan. Jaffier Ally Khan, the old Nabob of Rajahmundrum, came and made his ſubmiſſions to Mr. Buſſy, blaming himſelf much for having taken part with men, whoſe views and underſtandings, he ſaid, he had now every reaſon to deſpiſe. Janogee Nimbulcar delivered the Arabs and Abyſſins he had confined in the fortreſs of Golcondah, but kept their arms. Every thing being ſettled, Mahomed Huſſein, the king's Decan, accompanied by the principal lords of the court,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. court, visited Mr. Bussy in his tent on the 20th, and the same day Mr. Bussy proceeded, with an escort of 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, to pay his respects to Salabadjing, who received him with the distinctions of an officer in the Mogul government, second only to himself. The interview was courteous, and the protestations solemn. No hints were given of the late disagreements, and future measures were concerted with much seeming confidence. New patents were immediately prepared, and letters dispatched through all the governments of the Decan, to destroy the impressions which had been made by those written during the rupture.

Thus ended this distress; the greatest in which Mr. Bussy had been involved since his command in the Decan. Nor would his perseverance and resolution alone have sufficed, without the sagacity of his character, and the influence of his reputation.

Besides the provisions which were laid in store, the army at Charmaul was constantly supplied with cattle for the shambles, and forage for the horses, oxen, camels, and elephants, by bands of a people called Lamballis, peculiar to the Decan, who are continually moving up and down the country with their flocks, and contract to furnish the armies in the field. The union amongst all these bands renders each respectable even to the enemy of the army they are supplying; but they are not permitted to deal with places besieged; nevertheless Mr. Bussy surmounted this objection, by bribing the Morratoes, who, for the sake of marauding, undertook the patroles of Salabadjing's army, to let the Lamballis pass in the night, and it was especially concerted, that the convoys should come in on the nights when the French troops made sallies on the enemy's quarters.

But money was equally necessary, and the want of it had well nigh reduced him to quit Charmaul; for he had exhausted the public, his own, and all he could borrow on his own credit, and had no means of raising more, excepting by giving rescripts on the revenues of the four ceded provinces; but most of the renters and polygars of those countries were, in the present conjuncture, encouraged to withhold them by the letters which they received from the ministry of Salabadjing, and still more by the practices of Ibrahim Cawn,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Cawn, the governor of Chicacole, who, although raiſed by Mr. Buſſy to this poſt, from the command of a company of Sepoys, diſavowed the French authority, and declared himſelf only ſubject to Salabadjing, as ſoon as he heard that the French army had ſtopped at Hyderabad; on the news of which, the bankers, who had hitherto ſupplied Mr. Buſſy, agreed that it was not ſafe to advance money on theſe reſcripts, nor on any other ſecurity which he might offer: but Vizeramrauze, the Rajah of Vizianagur in Chicacole, judging with more ſagacity than Ibrahim Ally, ordered his agents at Golcondah to aſſure Mr. Buſſy of his fidelity and the regular payment of his tributes; and one night, when little expected, and moſt wanted, a man came to Charmaul, and, being permitted to ſpeak in private with Mr. Buſſy, delivered with the meſſage of Vizeramrauze a ſum of gold, as much as he could carry concealed under his garments. It was ſufficient for the preſent want, and the ſame man afterwards furniſhed more as neceſſary. 1756.

On the day of the reconciliation, Murzafer Khan and the deſerter Mahmood Khan moved, and encamping with their Sepoys in a ſtrong ſituation at ſome diſtance from Golcondah, where they relied on the aſſurances of protection which they had received from the wife of Salabadjing, who held the firſt rank in his ſeraglio. Mr. Buſſy nevertheleſs ſent out parties on ſeveral nights to ſurprize them, and Mahmood Khan was taken; but from conſideration of his former ſervices, and the good-will borne to him by the French Sepoys in general, his life was ſpared. Murzafer Khan maintained his ground ſome weeks longer, until his Sepoys began to mutiny for want of pay, when ſome of them proffered Mr. Buſſy to deliver him up, who ſent a party to receive him; but a little while before the party arrived, he eſcaped with a few attendants, and went to Poni, where he entered again into the ſervice of Balagerow, by whom he was ſome time after put to death, for a conſpiracy.

No other military operations happened during the reſt of the year at Golcondah. Shanavaze Khan continued to manage the affairs of the government as duan; and Mr. Buſſy interfered little in his

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. his purpoſes, having taken the reſolution to proceed, with the greateſt part of the troops under his immediate command, to repreſs the inſurrections, and regulate the government, in the ceded provinces. On the 16th of November, he began his march, with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys, leaving 100 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys with Salabadjing at Golcondah, who towards the end of the year prepared to proceed to Aurengabad.

The armament to Bengal had not only deprived the preſidency of Madraſs of the means of diſtreſſing the French affairs in the Decan, but left them without the power of making any military efforts in the province of Arcot. No preſſing occaſions had required the ſervice of their forces in the field in this part of the dominions of their ally, the Nabob Mohamed Ally; but the confuſions which had induced the preſidency to ſend Mohamed Iſſoof into the MADURA and TINIVELLY countries had not ſubſided, when his miſſion itſelf produced new diſturbances.

This officer with Maphuze Khan, and their reſpective troops, remained at Chevelpetore during the months of June and July, and all the adjoining Polygars had either made their ſubmiſſions, or ſeemed willing to be quiet. He then requeſted Maphuze Khan to march out of the country, and proceed with his troops to Arcot, according to the injunctions of his brother the Nabob, who would be ready to ſettle accounts with him, and pay what arrears might be due to his ſoldiery. Maphuze Khan acquieſced without objection, and Mahomed Iſſoof ſent with his camp the 18 pounder he had brought from Tritchinopoly, that it might be depoſited in Madura, becauſe it encumbered his march up and down the country; and a company of Sepoys went to take care of the 18 pounder on the road. He then allotted ſix companies to garriſon Chevelpetore, and guard the adjacent country; and with the reſt, about 2000, in which were included thoſe levied by the Nabob and ſent to Maphuze Khan, he proceeded from Chevelpetore on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and on the 10th arrived at the town of Tinivelly.

By this time the preſidency of Madraſs had made arrangements for the management of theſe countries, and concluded an agreement with Moodilee,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Moodilee, the native of Tinivelly, who came to Madraſs on this purpoſe in the month of April. The ſouthern and more fertile diſtricts, which in former times belonged to the kingdom of Madura, had by various alterations and appropriations been annexed to the government, and intermingled with the rent-rolls, of Tinivelly; and the greater Moravar, during the confuſions which prevailed ſince the year 1750, had made encroachments on the weſt: ſo that what remained at this time under the ancient denomination of Madura, and under the immediate juriſdiction of the city, did not extend in any direction above 40 miles, and, in moſt, much leſs; which, being commanded on the weſt and north by mountains and Polygars, and bound on the eaſt by the woods of Moravar, was in every part expoſed to depredations from the wild inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The land of the territory is likewiſe in many parts incumbered with plots of rock, and, where free, the ſoil, except in a few diſtricts to the ſouth, is of laborious and expenſive cultivation. From theſe detriments and defects, the annual revenue of the whole territory ſeldom exceeds 120,000 rupees; at the ſame time that the maintenance of the city, its garriſon, and other military poſts in the country, raiſe the expences to triple this ſum. On the other hand, the country now rated under Tinivelly is of much greater extent and fertility, commonly yielding a revenue from 11 to 1,200,000 rupees a year; but ſhould Madura and its diſtricts be in the hands of an enemy, the country of Tinivelly would be conſtantly expoſed to the moſt ruinous attacks, and could receive no ſupport from Tritchinopoly; which renders it neceſſary to maintain the one at a certain loſs, as the only means of ſecuring the advantages which may be derived from the other. The family of Moodilee, having for 100 years been employed in farming diſtricts in both countries, had, in this long courſe of time, rented every part, and knew the properties of each. He accordingly refuſed to undertake the diſtricts of Madura, but offered to rent the country of Tinivelly for three years, at the annual rent of 1,100,000 rupees, clear of all expences, to be paid at three periods in each year: for which purpoſe he was to be inveſted with the uſual authorities of juriſdictions, 1756.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. civil and criminal: he obliged himſelf to maintain not leſs than 1000 of the company's Sepoys, under the command of ſuch officers as the preſidency ſhould appoint; and engaged to produce, within three months from the contract, the ſecurity of ſubſtantial *ſhroffs*, or money-changers, for the regular payment of the ſtipulated ſums. The agreement was concluded in the beginning of July; immediately on which Moodilee appointed agents, and ſent orders to place flags with the company's colours, in the cultivated lands; and ſoon after proceeded himſelf to adminiſter his office in perſon.

Mahomed Iſſoof, on his arrival at Tinivelly, found that the agents of Moodilee had, in the beginning of their occupations, been overruled and inſulted by Meir Jaffier, who had hitherto managed the country for Maphuze Cawn. The diſpute indeed had ceaſed, but the grudge ſtill remained: and to prevent any farther effects, Mahomed Iſſoof ordered Meir Jaffier to depart immediately to Madura, but permitted him to take three field-pieces which belonged to him, and whatſoever retinue he choſe: he at the ſame time detached five companies of Sepoys to reinforce the garriſon of Madura, and ordered them to protect and watch Meir Jaffier and his people on the road. They had not proceeded two days, when unexpected intelligence ſtopped their march.

On the arrival of Maphuze Cawn from Chevelpetore, all the cavalry in his ſervice were aſſembled in the city of Madura; their number was 2000, all of good quality, for he had diſbanded the leſs effectual. The day after his arrival, the Jemautdars in a body ſurrounded his houſe, and declared that he ſhould not move out of it, until their arrears were paid, which, by their own account, amounted to 700,000 rupees. They were headed by the governor Daniſhmend Cawn, who from this time was better known in the country by the name of Berkatoolah, although not the ſame officer who defended Trinomalee in 1753. The company's Sepoys in the garriſon wondered at theſe proceedings, diſcourſed of them, and ſuſpected that the tumult was concerted, as a pretence to keep poſſeſſion of the city; for Maphuze Cawn might have been ſtopped any where elſe, as well as at Madura: their opinions being known, and their fidelity

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

unſhaken, the Jemautdars of the cavalry ſeized the commanders of the three companies, and having confined them, diſarmed the common men, and turned them out of the town; but the next day releaſed the officers, on recollection that no advantage could be derived from their detention, and that they might, by continuing in the city, learn what it was not wiſhed they ſhould know. As ſoon as they were gone, the brother of Myana came into the city from the woods of Nattam with 2000 colleries, a conſiderable ſtock of proviſions, and ſome money; in return for which ſervice, the Jemautdars gave him the town of Tirambore and the pagoda of Coilguddy, in which they had ſome troops. The ſuddenneſs and facility with which theſe operations paſſed, ſufficiently ſhewed that meaſures had been previouſly concerted for the ſucceſs of the rebellion. The poſſeſſion of Madura, the principal object of the conſpiracy, being ſecured, it was not thought neceſſary to diſſemble any longer. Invitations were ſent to every Polygar in the country to join. A man mounted on an elephant was received in ceremony at Madura, bringing a patent, as from the Nabob, appointing Maphuze Cawn to the government: and parties ſent into the neighbouring diſtricts pulled and tore down with deriſion the Company's flags, which had been planted by the orders of Modilee, according to the cuſtom of the country, on the lands appropriated to cultivation. 1756.

The Sepoys which had been turned out of Madura, ſent meſſengers with an account of what hapened to Mahomed Iſſoof, who had not entertained a ſurmiſe, when he received intelligence, of the revolt. He inſtantly diſpatched orders to the detachment marching to Madura, to halt, which they had already done; and to ſeize Meir Jaffier and his effects. He appointed Jemaul Saheb to remain with 1000 Sepoys at Tinivelly, and proceeding himſelf with the reſt, about 700, joined on the road the detachment he had ſent forward, which the Sepoys coming from Madura had joined before. On the 10th of Auguſt he encamped at Secunder-maly, a ſtrong poſt three miles to the ſouth of Madura: his whole force conſiſted of 1500 Sepoys and ſix field-pieces; but, not having a piece of battering cannon ſince he had deprived himſelf of the 18 pounder, he wiſely

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. judged that it would be deſtruction to no purpoſe to have attempted an eſcalade againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers as were in the city; for even the colleries fight well behind walls. The day after his arrival ſome cavalry advanced near his poſt; but were driven back by a few diſcharges from the field-pieces, with the loſs of two men. Skirmiſhes of this kind paſſed every day after, and on ſome without any loſs on either ſide. On the 13th of September the renter Modilee arrived in the camp with two companies of Sepoys, which had eſcorted him from Tritchinopoly through the countries of the two Moravars, and the next day he continued his journey towards Tinivelly.

The Pulitaver, Catabominaigue, and the other Polygars of Tinivelly, took time to conſider how they ſhould act in conſequence of the revolution at Madura, and the Jemautdars there, not finding them ſo ready to join as they had expected, began to think of preſerving ſome openings to a reconciliation with the preſidency. Accordingly they wrote letters apologizing for the revolt, and aſcribed it intirely to their neceſſities for want of pay: and lowered their demands to 400,000 rupees. All the force which could be ſpared from the immediate ſervice of the Carnatic being at this time required for the recovery of the Company's ſettlements in Bengal, the preſidency empowered Captain Calliaud at Tritchinopoly either to treat with the Jemautdars, or to employ ſuch other means as he ſhould judge expedient to recover Madura. On this authority Captain Calliaud ſent his interpreter from Trichinopoly to Maphuze Cawn, who, in the very firſt conference, unable to keep his temper, avowed that he thought himſelf very ill uſed by the appointment of another renter, and that he would never give up Madura, until the Tinivelly countries were granted to him on the ſame terms as they had been let to Moodilee. The interpreter ſeeing no likelihood of accommodation with him, tried with the Jemautdars, offering to pay 50,000 rupees immediately, although he had brought no money, and 150,000 more after they ſhould have evacuated the city. The Jemautdars agreed to theſe terms and went to Mahomed Iſſoof's camp in order to obtain his confirmation, who not thinking himſelf ſufficiently authorized,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

authorized, adviſed them to wait, without departing from the agreement, until it could be ratified by Captain Calliaud; to which they conſented. Captain Calliaud approved of the terms, but added as an indiſpenſible condition that Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah ſhould be delivered up with the city. To this likewiſe the Jemautdars ſeemed to have no objection; on which orders were diſpatched to Moodilee to ſend money and bills for the amount of the agreement without delay from Tinivelly. Theſe various negotiations and correſpondences employed 30 days, during which ſeveral events happened which contributed to change the ſtate of affairs. 1756.

The family of Moodilee by their occupation of renting the countries had formed connections with moſt of the Polygars dependant on Tinivelly, more eſpecially with the Pulitaver and Catabominaigue; and on his invitations the Pulitaver and ſeveral others met him on the road. Catabominaigue and others ſent their agents; all came, as uſual, with conſiderable retinues, and in the midſt of this multitude, Moodilee entered the town of Tinivelly on the 27th of September, and proclaimed his commiſſion. But the Colleries of the Polygars, whom no conſideration can reſtrain from thieving, committed night robberies in the town and adjacent villages. Several of them were taken and puniſhed by the Company's Sepoys; on which others ſtole the effects of the Sepoys themſelves, who, irritated as much by the inſult as the loſs, transferred their reſentment on Moodilee, becauſe he ſuffered the Polygars to remain in the town, and continued to treat them with civility. At the ſame time the troops of Travancore renewed their incurſions into the diſtricts about Calacad; and Nabey Cawn Catteck, who had concealed himſelf ever ſince the defeat in which Moodemiah was killed, now appeared again, made overtures of reconciliation to Maphuze Cawn, which were accepted; and having enliſted 400 of the horſe, which Maphuze Cawn had diſbanded, kept traverſing the country between Madura and Tinivelly. Theſe diſturbances, and the diſſention between the renter Moodilee and the Company's Sepoys, had already deterred the bankers from furniſhing him with the ſums neceſſary for the commencement of his own buſineſs, at the time that he was called upon to ſupply

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. the money for the payment of the Jemautdars at Madura. All he could diſpatch immediately was 20,000 rupees, which ſtopped on the road from an apprehenſion of being intercepted by Nabey Cawn Catteck; and it was ſome days before he could obtain authentic bills of exchange for the amount required.

Mean while the Jemautdars having the power in themſelves, had taken no pains to conceal their negotiation from Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, who, having no other means to overſet it, employed intrigue. There was, among the Jemautdars, one named Seer Cawn, a man of art and ſpirit, attached to Berkatoolah; he had hitherto gone with the reſt, with the view alone of leading them back, whenſoever the opportunity ſhould offer. No money coming on ſeveral days in which it was expected, Seer Cawn ſuggeſted to his comrades, that the interpreter had amuſed them with the negotiation in order to cover ſome other deſign, perhaps the ſurprize of the city, by Mahomed Iſſoof's troops at Secunder Maly; and adviſed them to think of a reconciliation with their friends rather than truſt any further to thoſe whoſe views they did not know. Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah improved the effects of theſe ſuggeſtions by laviſh promiſes, which prevailed, and immediately after the reconciliation 500 horſe marched to join thoſe with Nabey Cawn Catteck.

Notwithſtanding this change, the interpreter ſtill remained in the city with hopes of renewing the negotiation, on which Captain Calliaud reſolved to go to Nattam himſelf, to be nearer at hand to give the neceſſary inſtructions; and, warned by the late diſappointment, he took with him from Tritchinopoly an agent belonging to the houſe of Buckanjee, the principal *ſhroff* or banker in the Decan, whoſe word was every where eſteemed as ready money. Arriving at Nattam on the 25th of October, he was met there by the interpreter, and an officer lately ſent by the Nabob from Arcot to treat with the Jemautdars. The officer repreſented that neither Maphuze Cawn nor Berkatoolah were in reality averſe to an accommodation, but inſiſted that the preſidency ſhould give their guarantee for the terms, ſince neither of them would truſt the Nabob: that Berkatoolah, who was rich, required only protection for his perſon, family, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and effects; but Maphuze Cawn, a proviſion adequate to his rank. 1756.
On this information Calliaud ordered the interpreter to renew the propoſal of paying the Jemautdars, and pledged his own word to Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah; but inſiſted that Maphuze Cawn ſhould immediately accompany him to Tritchinopoly. Both ſeemed ſatisfied, and Maphuze Cawn made preparations as if he intended to proceed to Nattam the next day; but this day brought on the change of the monſoon, with ſuch ſevere and tempeſtuous weather, that nothing could ſtir abroad. The fort of Nattam had no ſhelter againſt the ſky, and the rains holding without intermiſſion, Captain Calliaud apprehenſive that the roads might become impaſſable, and keep him longer than he ought in prudence to remain out of his garriſon, left Nattam the next day, and reached Tritchinopoly on the 30th, where a day or two after came the interpreter, the Nabob's officer, and a Jemautdar ſent by Maphuze Cawn, to explain his own demands. He requeſted to be placed in the government of diſtricts, any where in the Carnatic, from which he might appropriate 200,000 rupees a year for his own maintenance; and alledging that he had been obliged to ſell every thing he had, to ſatisfy in part the demands of his troops, he aſked, but without inſiſting, for 20,000 rupees to furniſh himſelf again with neceſſaries. Captain Calliaud diſmiſſed the Jemautdar with aſſurances, that theſe terms ſhould be complied with, and ſet out himſelf for Madraſs, in order to obtain the confirmation of the preſidency, and to explain to them the general ſtate of affairs in the ſouthern countries.

At this time the expedition to Bengal had carried away one half of the Engliſh force in the Carnatic, and intelligence of the declaration of war with France increaſed the neceſſity of every caution: in conſequence of which Captain Calliaud on the ſecond day of his journey met letters from the preſidency, with poſitive orders not to quit his garriſon without their expreſs permiſſion; on which he immediately returned to Tritchinopoly.

Mean while, the diſſention between the Company's Sepoys and their renter at Tinivelly had encreaſed, and had produced evil conſequences. Moodilee by his contract was only obliged to furniſh the

pay

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. pay of the Sepoys employed by himſelf; but Mahomed Iſſoof by a wrong interpretation, imagined that Moodilee was obliged to maintain the whole number whereſoever employed; and moreover to diſcharge the arrears of their pay, of which two months were due on his arrival in the country. In conſequence of this miſtake, Jemaulſahab, who commanded the Sepoys in Tinivelly, demanded the amount, and on Moodilee's refuſing to pay it, confined him under a guard for ſeveral days; during which he ordered the Pulitaver and the other Polygars to quit the town, with threats of ſevere puniſhent if they remained any longer. They departed immediately; but inſtead of returning to their homes, the Pulitaver went to Nabey Cawn Catteck and offered him his aſſiſtance, both in men and money; and by their united repreſentations, Catabominaigue was induced to join their league. At the ſame time the troops of Travancore kept their ground, and continued their depredations in the diſtricts dependant on Calacad. The hopes of the advantages which might be derived from theſe confuſions, were much more agreeable to the diſpoſition of Berkatoolah, than the ſucceſs of his negotiation with the Engliſh, by which he was to obtain nothing more than the pardon of his offences; and in the middle of November, as ſoon as the ground was ſufficiently dry, to march, he went from the city, and put himſelf at the head of the 500 horſe, which had gone out before, and were now joined to thoſe of Nabey Cawn Catteck, and the troops of the Polygars. The whole force amounted to 10,000 men, of which 1000 were horſe. They were aſſembled about 40 miles to the ſouth of Madura, and inſtead of proceeding directly to the ſouth, in the open country, ſtruck to the eaſt into the diſtricts of Catabominaigue, a part of whoſe woods extend within a few miles of the town of Tinivelly. Iſſuing from thence at night before their approach was known, they entered the town at day-break by ſeveral avenues, which were weakly guarded: for Moodilee a few days before had marched with the greateſt part of the Sepoys and his other force, about twenty miles to the ſouth-eaſt, in order to protect the diſtricts of Alwar Tinivelly, againſt which he had been led to believe the enemy deſigned to bend their attack. The enemy remained

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

mained two days in Tinivelly, plundered much, but committed no cruelties; and during this delay, Moodilee regained the fort of Palamcolah, which ſtands on the other ſide of the river about three miles from the town. The fort is ſpacious, but the ramparts were in ruins, nevertheleſs capable of reſiſting an enemy, which had no battering cannon. Matchlocks and muſketry were fired without any miſchief for two days, during which the cavalry ravaged the country round. Mahomed Iſſoof, who ſtill continued at Secundermaly, before Madura, received no certain intelligence of the enemy's deſign until four days after they were in motion; he immediately ſtruck his camp and proceeded towards Tinivelly, and they hearing of his approach collected all their parties and advanced to give him battle. The two armies met on the 1ſt of December at Gangadoram, about twenty miles north of Tinivelly. The inferiority of numbers was much more than compenſated by ſuperior ſkill; the Company's Sepoys faced the enemy on every ſide with advantage of ſituation and diſcipline, and the field-pieces were fired with much execution againſt the cavalry, whoſe fortunes depending on the preſervation of their horſes, they quitted the conteſt and the field. The next day Mahomed Iſſoof proceeded to Tinivelly, and from thence marched into the deſolated diſtricts, in order to give heart to the inhabitants, and recall them to their occupations. The Polygars returned to their woods, and Berkatoolah with his cavalry to Madura; but Nabey Cawn Catteck went to Chevelpetore, and not having means to attack the fort, in which were ſome Sepoys, attempted to eſcalade the pagoda in the town; on which one of the Bramins went to the top of the high tower over the gateway, and after a ſhort but loud prayer of execration, threw himſelf headlong to the pavement, which daſhed out his brains; the enemy, although Mahomedans, were ſo much afraid of incurring the general deteſtation of the country, if their attempts againſt the pagoda ſhould incite any more acts of ſuch enthuſiaſtic devotion, that they immediately retreated out of the town. 1756.

Whilſt Captain Calliaud was in expectation of a concluſive anſwer from Maphuze Cawn's agent, he received intelligence of the new confederacy, and their operations, and of Berkatoolah's departure

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. from Madura to partake in their hoſtilities: nevertheleſs, ſome hopes of reconciliation ſtill remained; for ſome of the Jemautdars, although the leſſer number, were averſe to the turbulent proceedings of the others, and wiſhed an accommodation on the terms which had once been ſo nearly concluded: he therefore determined to make another trial, and ſent Mr. William Rumbold, a lieutenant of his garriſon, who talked the languages of the country, together with the interpreter, to renew the negotiation. They were eſcorted by a company of Sepoys, and arrived at Madura on the third of Decembet, and on the next day came into the town Berkatoolah, with his cavalry, which had been beaten by Mahomed Iſſoof.

Maphuze Cawn received Mr. Rumbold with much civility, and in a private conference acknowledged his errors, apologized for his conduct, and promiſed to accompany him to Tritchinopoly; but neither of them ſuſpected that a perſon had been placed behind a curtain to liſten to their converſation. About an hour after the viſit, the Jemautdar Seer Cawn, with a body of horſe, beſet Maphuze Cawn's houſe, and made him a priſoner; and after a meſſage, which was not complied with, ſent 30 horſemen to force Mr. Rumbold out of the city; who, having no means of reſiſtance, obeyed, and rejoined his eſcort, which he had left at a choultry on the other ſide of the river. As ſoon as he was gone, Seer Cawn aſſembled all the Jemautdars, whom he perſuaded that Maphuze Cawn intended to ſell them and the city. When they were ſufficiently inflamed, Berkatoolah came in, and war was determined: but, whilſt they were deliberating on the manner of conducting it, came a letter from Mr. Rumbold, threatening the utmoſt vengeance of the Engliſh nation for the indignity which had been offered to its repreſentative in his perſon; and the immediate return of Mahomed Iſſoof with all the Company's Sepoys was held out as an earneſt of this reſolution. The Jemautdars, ſtartled at the expreſſions of indignation in Mr. Rumbold's letter, agreed to invite him to return. He refuſed, without public reparation; of which they permitted him to dictate the mode; conformable to which, Maphuze Cawn, with all the Jemautdars, came the next morning to the choultry, made many apologies, and

conducted

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

conducted him back to the city: where, on entering the gate, he was saluted by the discharge of all the cannon on the ramparts, which were only 13 pieces. The negotiation was renewed on the same terms as before; and it was agreed to wait until the guarantee of the presidency for the terms required by Maphuze Cawn and Berkatoolah, should arrive from Madrass. But three days after this preliminary was settled, Nabey Cawn Catteck, with his horse, came from Chevelpetore, and immediately on his arrival offered to furnish 40,000 rupees for the present subsistence of the cavalry of the Jemautdars, if they would relinquish all treaty with the English, and send Mr. Rumbold away. On the bustle occasioned by this proposal, Mr. Rumbold went to Maphuze Cawn, who wept, and in his anguish broke his seal, that he might not be obliged to affix it any more to acts he did not approve. From Maphuze Cawn's he went to Berkatoolah's, where he assembled and harangued the Jemautdars, who, after various discussions, consented that the articles to which, they had before acceded should be immediately drawn up in both languages and executed by all parties: it was now night, and to do this required some hours; for every Jemautdar was to sign. This while was employed with much assiduity by Nabey Cawn Catteck, who now offered to supply 3,500 rupees a day, which, being fully sufficient for the maintenance of the whole body of cavalry, prevailed; and Mr. Rumbold was advised to take care of himself, as all the roads would soon be stopped. He accordingly went out of the city the next morning, as if he had something to regulate concerning his escort of Sepoys; with whom he set off at midnight, and reached the fort of Nattam without interruption, when, being out of danger, he proceeded more leisurely to Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of December. Thus ended the third unsuccessful attempt to get possession of Madura by negotiation, in all of which the contumelious conduct of the Jemautdars was not the effect of sudden exigencies, but the result of a plan formed by Berkatoolah to lead them to such extremities of affront, as should preclude all hopes of reconciliation with the English. That such was their situation he easily convinced them, 1756.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. as ſoon as Mr. Rumbold was gone, and then declared he intended not only to maintain the city, but likewiſe to recover the whole country for Maphuze Cawn. Theſe reſolutions were not unanimouſly approved, but the diſſenters were by far the ſmaller number; and letters of invitation were immediately diſpatched to all the Polygars, to Hyder Naig the Myſore general, and to the King of Travancore. A few days after, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck went with 500 horſe to the Pulitaver's place. The commander Mahomed Iſſoof, on receiving the ſummons of Mr. Rumbold, had returned from the diſtricts he was viſiting to Tinivelly; where leaving as before 1000 Sepoys, he proceeded with the reſt, about 1,800, towards Madura. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, reſolved to accompany the greater force, and, beſides his uſual retinue, was attended by 100 good horſe, which he had lately levied. They arrived on the 16th of December at Gangadorum, where Mahomed Iſſoof hearing of Mr. Rumbold's departure from Madura, halted to obſerve the motions of the enemy, and remained there until he received information that Nabey Cawn Catteck and Berkatoolah had paſſed to the Pulitaver's, on which he proceeded to Chevelpetore, and encamped there, in order to awe the Polygars in this part of the country from joining the enemy.

During the march Moodilee ſent one of his relations, named Algapa, to negotiate a reconciliation with the Pulitaver, and offer ſome diſtricts as the fee of his alliance. The Pulitaver, who never refuſed or kept his word on any occaſion, ſent an agent with Algapa to the camp at Chevelpetore, and at the ſame time ſent his troops to join Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck. The agent, under the uſual pretext of doing honour to his embaſſy, was accompanied by two or three hundred colleries. Mahomed Iſſoof entirely diſapproved of the intercourſe, as he knew the Pulitaver's character, and that ſome of his people were at this very time plundering to the weſtward of Tinivelly. Unfortunately, during this mood of indignation, five of the agent's colleries were taken, ſtealing oxen and horſes belonging to the camp, and being brought to Mahomed Iſſoof, he immediately put them to death, by blowing them off from the mouth of a cannon; a ſanguinary exe-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

cution, not unfrequent in Indoſtan, and in this caſe atrocious. The agent, with all his retinue of Colleries, immediately ran away from the camp; and their injury determined the Pulitaver, perhaps for the firſt time in his life, to act with ſome good faith toward thoſe with whom he was connected. But knowing the irreſolution of Maphuze Cawn, he, with his uſual cunning, was afraid of truſting him in Madura expoſed to the overtures and negotiations of the Engliſh, and inſiſted that he ſhould come from thence to Nelletangaville, and remain at all times under his own ward. In conſequence, Berkatoolah, who was with the Pulitaver, ſent for Maphuze Cawn, who, in the end of December, went from the city with 500 horſe. Thus cloſed the year in the countries of Madura and Tinivelly. 1756.

Between Tanjore and Tondiman the quarrel had continued, notwithſtanding the retreat of the Tanjorine army in the preceding year: but the letters of the preſidency of Madraſs, and the ſubtle delays of Monacjee, again prevented the renewal of hoſtilities until the end of June, when the forces of Tanjore were required to revenge another quarrel. The Daniſh ſettlement at Tranquebar had requeſted an enlargement of their bounds, which the king refuſed, and the Danes ſoon after, on the pretence of ſome outrages from his officers, attacked two pagodas in the neighbourhood. One they took, and whilſt they were employed before the other, were attacked themſelves at a diſadvantage by a large detachment of horſe and foot from Tanjore, who killed 40 of them, and wounded 100; on which the reſt retreated to Tranquebar: a negotiation enſued, which, by the interpoſition of the preſidency of Madraſs, was concluded in the middle of Auguſt. In September began the great and long feaſt of the king and his gods, which conſumed the month. In October, the approach of the rains gave Monacjee a pretence to keep the army in quarters; and after they ſet in, it was impoſſible to move until they were over. The king then inſiſted, and Monacjee proceeded againſt Killanelly Cottah, of which Tondiman had taken poſſeſſion in conſequence of the ſurreptitious ceſſion made to him the year before by Monacjee, who had clandeſtinely affixed the King's ſeal to the grant. It ſtands 40 miles s. by w. of Tanjore, and was ſtronger than any place which Tondiman

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. Tondiman had taken before: and the Tanjorines had made very little progreſs in the attack at the end of the year.

The French had not, during the year, meddled, excepting by private inſtigations, in the quarrels of the ſouthern countries. The Rheddy, whom they had reſtored at Terriore, failed, as before, in his tributes; on which they ſent a party of 50 Europeans from Seringham, which were joined by another from Pondicherry, who removed him, and reinſtated the other, who likewiſe had before been once appointed and once depoſed. This expedition was finiſhed in the beginning of February, but the party from Seringham remained at Terriore to watch the tributes in future. In July 100 Europeans were taken from Seringham, to compleat the detachment ſent with Mr. Law to the relief of Mr. Buſſy at Charmaul. By theſe ſubſtractions, which were not replaced, the garriſon at Seringham, which before was ſuperior, remained at the cloſe of the year only equal in Europeans to that of Tritchinopoly, each having about 330; but 200 more were ſent thither from Pondicherry on the 9th of December: and 500 Sepoys were raiſing at Terriore, in order to equal the number in Tritchinopoly, which were 1500. Thus ended the year 1756 in Coromandel.

END *of the* SIXTH BOOK.

BOOK

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

BOOK VII.

WE ſhall now relate the progreſs and operations of the armament ſent for the recovery of the ſettlements in Bengal. 1756.

The fleet ſailing on the 10th of October, met the currents ſetting ſo ſtrongly from the North, that they were driven in the firſt twelve days after their departure, ſix degrees of latitude to the ſouth of Madraſs; and by this time the northern monſoon, during which the wind blows from the N. W. had gathered ſtrength. In this ſeaſon the only way to get Bengal, is to ſteer acroſs the bay to the ſhore of Tannaſery and Arracan, along which the currents ſlacken, and ſometimes even tend to the northward; and milder weather than in the middle of the bay enables the veſſel to gain the latitude of the ſands at the eaſtern mouths of the Ganges; from whence tides help acroſs to the road of Ballaſore, and from hence aſſure the entrance into the river Hughley. Attempting this paſſage with much adverſe weather, Admiral Watſon, on the 10th of November, ordered the allowances of proviſions and water to be retrenched. Two days after, the fire-ſhip, unable to ſtem the violence of the monſoon, bore away to Ceylon; and the Marlborough, one of the company's, ſailing very heavily, was left on the 16th by the reſt of the fleet, which arrived in the ſoundings off Point Palmeiras on the firſt of December. But the Cumberland and Saliſbury not having kept the wind ſo well as the others, ſtruck on the dangerous ſand which extends ſeveral miles from that point out to ſea: both, however, floated again; but the Cumberland bore away to Vizagapatam.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. The Kent and Tyger gained the road of Ballaſore, where they waited for the ſpring tides until the 9th, when they proceeded under the conduct of Engliſh pilots into the river, and arrived on the 15th at Fulta. Here they were joined, on the 20th, by all the other veſſels, excepting the Cumberland and the Marlborough, the abſence of which greatly impaired the force of the armament: for the Cumberland was not only the largeſt ſhip in the ſquadron, but had likewiſe on board 250 of the European troops; and the greateſt part of the field artillery had been imprudently ſhipped on board of the Marlborough.

The detachment with Major Kilpatrick had arrived at Fulta on the ſecond of Auguſt; but were not deemed a force ſufficient to riſque hoſtilities; and the veſſels before aſſembled there being too much crouded to receive them on board, they were obliged to encamp in the ſwampy grounds near the town, where ſickneſs prevailed amongſt them ſo much, that of the whole detachment, which was 230 when ſent, one half were dead, and of the remainder not more than thirty men were able to do duty when Admiral Watſon arrived.

The rainy ſeaſon, which began whilſt the Nabob was before Calcutta, prevented him after his return to Muxadavad from reaſſuming his former intention of attacking his relation the Phouſdar of Purneah until the month of October. He then marched to that country: when the two armies encamped in ſight of each other, the Phouſder, a head-ſtrong youth, ſaw the general Meer Jaffier with a party reconnoitring, and miſtaking his enſigns for the Nabob's haſtened with the foremoſt of his cavalry to attack him, and was killed in the onſet. The country of Purneah ſubmitted immediately after his death, and the Nabob returned in triumph to his capital: where, ruminating on the exceſs and apparent ſecurity of his fortunes, he continued to imagine, that the Engliſh would never venture hoſtilities in his dominions; to which preſumption his ignorance did not a little contribute; for he was often heard to ſay, that he did not believe there were ten thouſand men in all Europe. His miniſters, however, had convinced him, that his revenues would be much

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

much diminiſhed by the loſs of the Engliſh trade: which had determined him to permit their return; but under the ſame reſtrictions as they were ſubject to in the reign of Jaffier, before their embaſſy to Delhi. On hearing of the arrival of the armament, he ordered his whole army to aſſemble at Muxadavad, and prepared to march to Calcutta. The governor of this place, Monickchund, having foreſeen the war, had been diligent in improving his garriſon, had fortified Buz-buzia, and had begun to erect a fort, which he called Aligur, on the bank of the river oppoſite to Tannah; but only part of the rampart commanding the river was finiſhed. The Phouſdar of Hughley purchaſed two ſhips, which he loaded with bricks, intending to ſink them in the narrow paſs of the river between Tannah and Aligur. 1756.

Before the arrival of the armament, letters from the court of directors in England, had appointed Mr. Drake, with three other members of the council, to act as a ſelect committee, in the conduct of all political and military affairs. They had already aſſociated Major Kilpatrick, and as ſoon as the fleet arrived at Fulta, they added Mr. Watſon and Colonel Clive to their board. The letters which Clive had brought from Madraſs, accompanied by one from himſelf and another from Mr. Watſon, full of threats, were ſent open to Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, in order to be forwarded to the Nabob. Monickchund replied that he dared not ſend letters written in ſuch menacing terms; and on receiving this anſwer, it was determined to commence hoſtilities. The abſence of the troops on board the Cumberland was in ſome meaſure ſupplied by the recovering men of Kilpatrick's detachment, and by a company of ſeventy volunteers, who embodied themſelves at Fulta.

All the ſhips and veſſels, as well thoſe which were juſt arrived, as thoſe which were before aſſembled at Fulta, left this place on the 27th of December, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia. This fort Mr. Watſon determined to attack the next day; and, as it was ſuppoſed that the garriſon would defend it but a very little while, it was reſolved to lay an ambuſcade, in order to intercept their retreat towards

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. Calcutta. All the men of Adlercron's regiment who were arrived, being 120, remained on board the ſhips of war. The reſt of the battalion, 500, with all the Sepoys, and two field-pieces, landed, and at ſun-ſet marched from Mayapore, under the command of Colonel Clive, and under the conduct of Indian guides. The field-pieces, with a tumbril of ammunition, were drawn by the troops: for the council at Fulta, through dread of the Nabob's reſentment, had not ventured to provide any bullocks either of draught or burthen. The guides, in order to prevent diſcovery, led the troops at a diſtance from the river, through a part of the country, which was uninhabited indeed, but full of ſwamps, and continually interſected by deep rivulets, which rendered the draught and tranſportation of the three carriages ſo tedious and laborious, that the troops did not arrive until an hour after ſun-riſe at the place of ambuſcade. This was a large hollow, which in the rains might be a lake, ſinking about ten feet below the level of the plain: it lay about a mile from the river, a mile and a half north-eaſt of Buz-buzia, and half a mile to the eaſt of a high-road leading from this place to Calcutta. The eaſtern, and part of the ſouthern bank of the hollow, were ſkirted by the huts and encloſures of a village, which ſeemed to have been abandoned ſome days before. The grenadiers and 300 Sepoys were detached from the hollow, to take poſſeſſion of another village on the bank of the river adjoining to the northern wall of the fort of Buz-buzia; where, it was ſuppoſed, that their appearance would induce the garriſon to miſtake them for the whole of the Engliſh troops on ſhore; and that in conſequence of this notion they would retreat along the high road, inſtead of the bank of the river. The company of volunteers were detached, and poſted themſelves in ſome thickets near the high road, but on the farther ſide from the hollow, towards which it was intended that their fire ſhould drive the fugitive garriſon. The reſt of the troops remained with Colonel Clive, and concealed themſelves, ſome in the hollow, and others in the adjoining village, and the two field-pieces were placed on the north-ſide of the village. The troops being exceſſively fatigued, were permitted

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

mitted to quit their arms, in order to get reſt; every man laid himſelf down where he thought beſt, ſome in the village, others in the hollow; and from a ſecurity which no ſuperiority or appearances in war could juſtify, the common precaution of ſtationing centinels was neglected. In a few minutes they were all aſleep. It happened that Monickchund, the governor of Calcutta, had come the day before to Buz-buzia, with 1500 horſe, and 2000 foot. This officer had no courage, but much circumſpection; and ſome of his ſpies had followed the Engliſh from Mayapore, and had obſerved all their motions in the morning. 1756.

About an hour after the troops had lain down to ſleep, they were awakened by the fire of ſmall arms on the eaſtern ſide of the village, into which, at the ſame time, a multitude of matchlock men were diſcovered advancing with reſolution. All the ſoldiers, whereſoever ſcattered, hurried on the alarm into the hollow, in which their arms were grounded, about 60 yards from the encloſures on the eaſtern bank; here they formed the line as faſt as they could; but, unfortunately, the artillery-men, inſtead of repairing to the two field-pieces, which would have protected the whole, ran to ſeek protection themſelves from the line. During this confuſion, the enemy, meeting no reſiſtance, advanced and took poſſeſſion of the eaſtern bank; from whence, under the ſhelter of various covers, they kept up a continual, although irregular fire, wounding ſeveral, and killing an enſign. Colonel Clive, apprehenſive of a panic, ſhould he order the troops to march out of the reach of the enemy's fire, commanded the line to ſtand firm, and detached two platoons, one from the right, the other from the center, oppoſite to which the enemy's fire was ſtrongeſt. Of the platoon from the center eight men were killed by one volley, before they gained the bank; the reſt nevertheleſs returned the fire, and then forced their way with their bayonets into the village; where they were joined by the other platoon, which had ſucceeded with the loſs of only three men. This intrepidity quelled the enemy's courage, who no longer appeared in bodies, but ſhifted in ſmall parties from ſhelter to ſhelter, firing rarely, and with little effect; however, ſome officers on horſeback expoſed themſelves

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1756. ſelves with much reſolution, endeavouring to rally their men; but in vain. In the mean time, the company of volunteers, as ſoon as they heard the firing, marched back from the high road, and reſcued the field-pieces, of which ſome of the enemy had taken poſſeſſion, but did not know how to uſe them. Upon this, the artillery-men returned from the line to the field-pieces, and immediately began to fire them into the village, which ſoon drove all the enemy out of it, who fled as faſt as they could to join a large body of horſe, which was now diſcovered advancing from the ſouth towards the hollow: but, on perceiving the fugitives coming from the village, this cavalry halted at the diſtance of half a mile. On this the Engliſh troops, with the field-pieces, formed regularly on the plain, and advanced towards the enemy, who were commanded by Monickchund. They ſtood ſeveral ſhot from the field-pieces, until one chanced to paſs very near the turband of Monickchund, who immediately gave the ſignal of retreat by turning his elephant, and the whole body marched away to the north-eaſt and returned to Calcutta. Had the cavalry advanced and charged the troops in the hollow, at the ſame time that the infantry began to fire upon the village, it is not improbable, that the war would have been concluded on the very firſt trial of hoſtilities.

As ſoon as the enemy retreated, the troops marched to the village on the bank of the river, from whence the detachment poſted there, was advancing to join them. By this time the Kent, having outſailed the other ſhips, anchored before Buz-buzia, and alone ſilenced the cannon of that fort; but the troops having already undergone ſo much fatigue, it was determined to defer the aſſault until the next morning. They paſſed the reſt of the day in the village, without giving or receiving any moleſtation, and in the evening were joined by 250 ſailors from the ſquadron. One of theſe having got drunk, ſtraggled, at eight in the evening, to the ditch of the fort, which he croſſed, and ſcrambled up the rampart; where, finding no centinels, he hollowed to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the fort; on which they quitted their poſt, and joined him on the rampart, when they found the place evacuated,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the enemy having abandoned it as ſoon as it grew dark enough to conceal their retreat. Several guards of Sepoys proceeded immediately to poſt centinels round the walls; and whilſt this was doing, ſome other ſailors, who were likewiſe very drunk and had got into the fort, ſuppoſed ſome of the Sepoys to be ſome of the enemy's men who had not eſcaped; and in this notion fired their piſtols, and killed Captain Campbell, an officer of the company's troops. 1756.

The operations of the morning at the hollow, irregular and imperfect as they were, changed the contemptible opinion which Monickchund and his ſoldiery had conceived of Engliſh troops, from their own ſucceſs at the taking of Calcutta; and on his return from Buz-buzia to that place, he remained there only a few hours, and leaving 500 men to defend the fort, went away with the reſt of his command to Hughley, where having likewiſe communicated his own terrors, he proceeded to carry them to the Nabob at Muxadavad. On the other hand, the reſolution and activity with which the enemies matchlock men began their aſſault on the village, impreſſed moſt of the Engliſh officers, and many of the common men, with a much higher opinion of the troops of Bengal than they deſerved.

The ſloop of war had been ſent forward ſome days before, and anchored in ſight of the forts of Tannah and Aligur, where her appearance had deterred the governor of Hughley from ſending the ſhips laden with bricks, which he had intended to ſink in the paſs. The fleet left Buz-buzia on the 30th of December, and anchored on the 1ſt of January between thoſe forts, which the enemy abandoned without firing a ſhot, leaving on the platforms 50 pieces of cannon, which they had brought from Calcutta, many of which however were not mounted. The next morning, Colonel Clive, with the greateſt part of the Europeans and Sepoys, landed and marched along the high road from Aligur to Calcutta; and at nine o'clock the Kent and Tyger anchored before the Engliſh fort; but for want of wind could not immediately preſent their broadſides; during which diſadvantage the enemy cannonaded them briſkly from the line of guns on the brink of the river, killing nine men in the Kent, 1757. January.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. January. Kent, and ſeven in the Tyger; but their fire ſlackened as that from the ſhips increaſed; and before eleven they deſerted the fort, and ſoon after the town; when a detachment ſent from the ſhips, under the command of Captain Coote, hoiſted the Engliſh colours in the fort; for the troops with Colonel Clive were not yet arrived. The next day Admiral Watſon put Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council, in poſſeſſion of the government.

The greateſt part of the merchandizes belonging to the company, which were in the fort when taken, were found remaining without detriment; for this part of the plunder had been reſerved for the Nabob; but every thing of value belonging to the inhabitants had been removed out of the ſettlement: ſome of the beſt houſes had been demoliſhed, and others damaged by fire; in the middle of the fort a moſque was erected with the materials of ſeveral buildings which had been pulled down to make room for it; but no alterations had been made in the fortification. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monickchund; they were indeed moſtly of the lower ranks of people; for his rapacity had deterred ſuch as were known to have property from truſting themſelves within his reach.

Whatſoever joy the Engliſh inhabitants might feel at their reſtoration to the town, it was ſoon allayed by the contemplation of the ruined ſtate of their habitations, and of the poverty to which they were reduced, having no means to procure themſelves ſubſiſtence, but their uſual allowances from the company.

Mr. Drake, notwithſtanding his adverſities, had retained ſome correſpondents, and the company's money ſome ſpies, from whom he received intelligence as ſoon as he arrived at Calcutta, that the town of Hughley was in great conſternation, and that it would be ſome time before the Nabob's army would march from Muxadavad; upon which the committee reſolved to attack Hughley without delay. The twenty-gun ſhip, the ſloop of war, and three other veſſels, were appointed to this ſervice; and on board of them embarked 150 Europeans, being thoſe of Adlercron's regiment, with 200 Sepoys; they ſailed on the 4th of January, and hoped to reach Hughley in one tide;

©C-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

tide; but the twenty-gun ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand-bank, which ſtopped their progreſs for five days. On the 10th they arrived at Hughley. 1757. January.

This town lieth about 23 miles above Calcutta, adjoining to the north part of the Dutch ſettlement of Chinchura, from whence it extends three miles on the bank of the river: at the northern extremity of the town is a fort, which was at this time garriſoned by 2000 men: 3000 more had been ſent from Muxadavad to guard the town, but theſe retreated as ſoon as the Engliſh troops landed; remaining however within a few miles. The veſſels battered the fort until night; and although the breach was ſcarcely practicable, it was determined to ſtorm it before break of day. A falſe attack was made at the main gate, whilſt Captain Coote with the other diviſion, accompanied by ſome ſailors, mounted the breach before they were diſcovered by the garriſon, who no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh on the ramparts, than all of them quitted their poſts, and fled out of the leſſer gate. Three Europeans and ten Sepoys were killed in the attack. On the 12th Captain Coote, with 50 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, marched to the Bandell, a large village three miles north of the fort, where they deſtroyed ſeveral granaries of rice, and in their return were ſurrounded in the village by the fugitive garriſon, and the troops which had been ſent from Muxadavad, from whom they diſengaged themſelves without loſing a man. On the 16th a party proceeded in boats ſome miles to the northward, and deſtroyed ſeveral more granaries on each ſide of the river, and on the 19th the Europeans, with the ſmaller veſſels, returned to Calcutta.

During this expedition to Hughley, news arrived from Aleppo, that war had been declared between Great Britain and France in the preceding month of May. There were 300 Europeans, and a train of field artillery at Chandernagore: and the ſelect committee of Calcutta expected that they would immediately join the Nabob, with whom, it was thought, that the Engliſh force, great as it was, would then be unable to cope, and in this perſuaſion they determined to treat with him. Accordingly Colonel Clive wrote a letter to the *Seats* at Muxadavad requeſting them to act as mediators; but news

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. January. of the attack upon Hughley arriving at the ſame time, exaſperated the Nabob and all his officers ſo much, that he immediately began his march, and the *Seats* were afraid to appear as friends to the Engliſh; they however deputed their ableſt agent Rungeet Roy to attend the Nabob, and ordered him to correſpond with Colonel Clive. The merchant Omichund likewiſe accompanied the Nabob's army. This man, anxious to recover his ſhattered fortunes, had followed him from Calcutta to Muxadavad, where ingratiating himſelf with Moonloll, who although no public miniſter, had more influence than all of them together, he ſoon acquired a degree of confidence and intimacy with the Nabob himſelf; who nevertheleſs reſtored with a very ſparing hand his effects which had been ſeized in the general plunder and confiſcation of the Engliſh property. Omichund being likewiſe proprietor of moſt of the beſt houſes, and having many other intereſts in Calcutta, was ſolicitous to regain his former influence amongſt the Engliſh, by promoting the pacification.

In the mean time the Engliſh had not been negligent in making preparations to oppoſe the Nabob's approach to Calcutta, for they had fortified a camp with ſeveral outpoſts around it, about a mile to the northward of the town, and half a mile from the bank of the river. The ſituation was well choſen; for a large lake, which commenceth about two miles to the eaſtward of the Morattoe ditch, and adjoins to marſhes which extend to the ſea, rendered it impoſſible for an enemy coming from the northward to enter the company's territory without paſſing in ſight of the camp; and at the end of the month the field artillery of the army was compleated by the arrival of the Marlborough, which had the greateſt part on board. On the 30th, the Nabob's army began to croſs the river, about 10 miles above Hughley. Their approach immediately deterred the villagers from bringing any more proviſions either to the town or camp, and all the natives who had been hired for the ſervices of the army, deſerted. The want of bullocks ſtill continued, and there was but one horſe either in the camp or town, and this had been brought from Madraſs. However, the apprehenſions of the French joining the Nabob, were in a great meaſure removed; for they, inſtead of this reſolution, which

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

which it was certainly their intereſt to have taken without delay, refuſed him their aſſiſtance, and propoſed to the Engliſh, that the two nations ſhould engage by treaty not to commit hoſtilities againſt each other in Bengal during the continuance of the war in Europe. Nevertheleſs, Colonel Clive deſpaired of victory over the Nabob, although unaſſiſted by the French force; and yielding to the advice of Rungeet Roy, wrote a letter to the Nabob on the 30th of January propoſing peace. The Nabob anſwered with expreſſions of cordiality; but continued his march. As he approached, an Armenian, named Petrus, brought and carried ſeveral meſſages; and on the 2d of February, the Nabob deſired to confer with deputies, and promiſed to ſend paſſports for them in the evening; but no paſſports came; and the next morning at day-break, the villages to the north-eaſt were ſeen in flames, and ſoon after the van of his army appeared advancing in full march towards Calcutta. Their way was along a high road, which runs for a mile north and ſouth, until it reaches the head of the lake, where was a bridge of maſonry, from whence the road turns and continues in the direction of eaſt and weſt, almoſt in a ſtreight line for two miles until it joins the N. E. part of the Morattoe ditch: ſo that if the bridge had been retrenched, and a detachment with two field-pieces poſted there, the enemy muſt have paſſed between this poſt and the camp: but Colonel Clive, perhaps not imprudently unwilling to divide his force, and equally ſo to break off the negotiation with the Nabob, ſuffered the troops in ſight to paſs unmoleſted; who ſpread themſelves without the Morattoe ditch, and a body of their *Louchees*, or plunderers, who are armed with clubs, paſſed into the company's territory about noon, and attacked the houſes of the natives in the northern part of the town; but a detachment which had been poſted at Perring's redoubt, ſallied, and, killing ſome of them, returned with 50 priſoners; which deterred the enemy from making any more incurſions during the reſt of the day. In the plain, troops after troops, in different intervals, followed the firſt that appeared; and in the afternoon a large body, with cannon and coolies, began to intrench themſelves in a large garden on the right hand of the road, midway

1757. January. February.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection: Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. February. between the bridge and the Morattoe ditch, and about a mile and a half to the ſouth-eaſt of the Engliſh camp. On this inſult, Colonel Clive immediately marched with the greateſt part of his troops, and ſix field-pieces; as they approached, the enemy fired upon them from nine pieces of cannon, and ſeveral bodies of their cavalry drew up on each ſide of the garden, of which the attack appeared ſo hazardous, that Clive reſtrained the action to a cannonade, which continued only an hour, that the troops might regain the camp before dark: three Sepoys and two artillery men were killed, and about ten of the enemy's horſe.

The next morning, the main body of the enemy's army appeared advancing in the ſame road as the van had paſſed, and a letter was received from the Nabob, deſiring that the deputies would come to Nabob-gunge, a village ſix miles to the north of the camp: on which Mr. Walſh and Mr. Scrafton were immediately ſent; who when they arrived at Nabob-gunge, found that the Nabob had quitted it ſome hours before; on which they followed in the track of the army, and in the evening arrived at his quarters, which he had taken up in a garden belonging to Omichund, ſituated in the north-eaſt part of the company's territory, within the Morattoe ditch. Here they were introduced by Rungeet Roy to the prime miniſter Roydoolub, who ſuſpecting that they intended to aſſaſſinate the Nabob, deſired to examine whether they had piſtols concealed, and then inſiſted that they ſhould quit their ſwords; but finding that they would not ſubmit to this humiliation, he conducted them to the Durbar, where the Nabob was ſitting in full ſtate, accompanied by all his principal officers: many others of inferior degree, ſuch as were of the largeſt ſtature, and bore the greateſt marks of ferocity in their countenances, had likewiſe been ſelected to attend on this occaſion; who, to appear ſtill more terrible, were dreſſed in thick ſtuffed garments, with enormous turbans, and during the audience ſat ſcowling at the deputies, as if they only waited the ſignal to murder them. The deputies began by expoſtulating with the Nabob for entering the company's limits, whilſt he was amuſing Colonel Clive with offers of peace, after which they delivered a paper containing

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

taining their propoſals, which the Nabob read, and having whiſpered to ſome of his officers, deſired the deputies to confer with the Duan, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly. As the deputies were going out, Omichund, who had been preſent at the audience, adviſed them to take care of themſelves; adding, with a very ſignificant look, that the Nabob's cannon was not yet come up. The deputies ſuſpecting that the Nabob intended to detain them priſoners, ordered their attendants to extinguiſh their lights; and inſtead of going to the tent of the Duan, haſtened along the high road within the Morattoe ditch to Perring's redoubt, and from thence to the camp. 1757. February.

Their report determined Colonel Clive to attack the Nabob's camp in the morning. At midnight 600 ſailors armed with firelocks were landed from the ſhips of war; the battalion of Europeans were 650, the artillery-men 100, the Sepoys 800, the field-pieces 6 ſix-pounders. The order of march was a line advancing in half-files, that is three men abreaſt: half the Sepoys marched before, and half behind the battalion of Europeans; in the rear were the field-pieces with the artillery-men and Laſcars, and all the ſailors. To leſſen the incumbrance of carriages, there being no bullocks to draw them, the Laſcars carried the ammunition of the field-pieces on their heads; and to deter them from flinging away their loads and taking flight, they were guarded on all ſides by a part of the ſailors; other ſailors were allotted to draw the field-pieces, and the reſt of them marched as they could, immediately behind the rear diviſion of Sepoys; Colonel Clive kept in the middle of the battalion. Of the Nabob's army, a part, with the general Meer Jaffier, were within the Morattoe ditch; and moſt of theſe encamped near Omichund's garden, as a protection to the Nabob, who lay there; but much the greateſt part encamped between this ditch and the lake, overſpreading all the ground between, without method or order. A little before the dawn of day, the Engliſh line came upon their advanced guards, ſtationed in the ditches of that part of the high road which leads from the bridge at the head of the lake, to the Morattoe ditch. Theſe guards, after firing their matchlocks, and diſcharging ſome rockets, ran away: but one of the rockets ſtriking the cartouch-box of one of the Sepoys,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. February.

ſet fire to the charges, which blowing up, communicated the miſchief to ſeveral others, and the dread of catching this fire threw the whole diviſion into confuſion: fortunately none of the enemy were at hand to take advantage of it, and Captain Coote, who marched at the head of the grenadiers, immediately in the rear of the Sepoys, rallied them; and reſtored the line of march. By this time it was day-light, when a very thick fog, peculiar to the mornings of this ſeaſon of the year in Bengal, began to overſpread the ground. The line proceeded without farther interruption, until they came oppoſite to Omichund's garden, when they heard the ſound of horſe coming upon them on the full gallop from the right; on which they halted. This cavalry was a body of Perſians excellently mounted, and ſtationed as an outguard to the Nabob, under that part of the Morattoe ditch, which encloſes Omichund's garden: they were ſuffered to come within thirty yards before the line gave fire, which fell heavy, and killing many of them, the reſt inſtantly diſperſed in great confuſion. The line then proceeded ſlowly, platoons conſtantly firing on either hand; whilſt the field-pieces in the rear fired ſingle balls forward, but obliquely outward, on each ſide of the line; but all without any immediate object; for the fog prevented any man from ſeeing beyond the ground on which he trod. About a mile to the ſouth of the garden is a narrow cauſeway, raiſed ſeveral feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each ſide; it leads from the eaſt to the Morattoe ditch, and acroſs it into the company's territory. The enemy had barricaded the paſſage; which it was intended to force, and from thence to proceed, as it were, back again, along the high road adjoining to and on the inſide of the rampart, in order to attack the Nabob's quarters at the garden: but as ſoon as the firſt diviſion of Sepoys changed their former direction and began to march along the cauſeway, the field-pieces in the rear, on the right of the line, continuing to fire forward, killed ſeveral of them; upon which the whole diviſion ſought their ſafety in the ditch, on the other ſide of the cauſeway, and the troops who ſucceeded them croſſed it likewiſe, not knowing what to do. As ſoon as this was reported to Colonel Clive, he ordered the whole line to continue croſſing the cauſe-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

causeway, but to halt immediately after they had passed it, intending to form them into some disposition, proper to storm the pass; this brought the whole together into one irregular heap, and whilst Colonel Clive was waiting for the return of two or three officers, whom he had sent to examine the barricade, the troops were unexpectedly assailed by a discharge from two pieces of heavy cannon, loaded with langrain, and mounted within 200 yards, upon a small bastion of the Morattoe ditch, to the right of the barricade, which killed and disabled 22 Europeans; another discharge soon followed, with less, but, however, with some effect. This annoyance instantly overset the resolution of storming the pass; and the line immediately began to extend itself again, as well to present the fewest bodies to the cannonade, as to gain without delay a broad high road, which, about half a mile to the south of the causeway, crosses the Morattoe ditch into the company's territory, and then joins the avenue leading to the fort of Calcutta. But their progress was now continually retarded by the excessive labour and difficulty of transporting the field-pieces; for the ground between the causeway and the road was laid out in small rice fields, each of which was enclosed by a separate bank, so that the field-pieces could only be drawn along the ditches between the banks, and were therefore at every field in a different direction: sometimes, likewise, it was necessary to raise them over the banks into the field, in order to repulse the enemy's cavalry; who after nine o'clock, when the fog cleared, were discovered threatening to the left; ever and anon advancing so near, that it was necessary to detach platoons from the line to repulse them. In the mean time the fire of the enemy's two pieces of cannon continued, and a quarter of a mile to the south of these, two other pieces began likewise to annoy the line from the same rampart. At ten, after much fatigue and action, the troops, having abandoned two of the field-pieces, which had broken down, arrived, and formed in the high-road leading to the avenue, where a body of horse and foot were posted in front to defend the passage across the Morattoe ditch. Several very large bodies of cavalry likewise assembled in the rear, acting with more courage than those in

1757. February.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. February. front, and preſſed hard upon one of the field-pieces, which was gallantly reſcued by Enſign Yorke, with a platoon of Adlercron's regiment. The fire of a few other platoons diſperſed the enemy in front; and the troops being now within the company's territory, might have proceeded along the road on the inſide of the ditch, quite up to Omichund's garden, where the Nabob ſtill remained, ſurrounded by a large body of cavalry; but Colonel Clive thinking that they had already endured too much fatigue, continued marching ſtreight along the avenue to the fort, where they arrived about noon. Twenty-ſeven of the battalion, 12 ſailors, and 18 Sepoys were killed, and 70 of the battalion, with 12 ſailors, and 35 Sepoys, were wounded; two captains of the Company's troops, Pye and Bridges, and Mr. Belcher, the ſecretary of Colonel Clive, were killed; Mr. Ellis, a factor, who with ſeveral other young men in the mercantile ſervice of the company, ſerved as a volunteer, loſt his leg by a cannon ball. The greateſt part of this miſchief was done by the four pieces of cannon from the rampart of the Morattoe ditch. In the evening the troops returned to their camp, paſſing through the town along the ſtreets neareſt to the river, and part of the way within a quarter of a mile of the ſtations of the enemy, who did not moleſt them.

The troops, officers as well as common men, diſpirited by the loſs which had been ſuſtained, and the riſques to which they had been expoſed, as they thought, to very little purpoſe, blamed their commander, and called the attempt raſh, and ill concerted. It was nevertheleſs neceſſary, as well to convince the enemy that their former inactivity did not proceed from fear, as becauſe the difficulty of obtaining proviſions increaſed every hour whilſt the Nabob remained ſo near Calcutta. But it was ill concerted; for the troops ought to have aſſembled at Perring's redoubt, which is not half a mile from Omichund's garden, to which they might have marched from the redoubt, in a ſpacious road, capable of admitting 12 or 15 men a-breaſt, on the left expoſed indeed to the annoyance of matchlocks from ſome encloſures, where, however, cavalry could not act; but their right would have been defended by the rampart

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

rampart of the Morattoe ditch, contiguous to which the road lies; and their only danger would have been in front, from onſets of cavalry, and the diſcharge of what pieces of cannon the enemy had got near the garden. 1757. February.

The Nabob's army was much more diſheartened than the Engliſh. They had loſt 22 officers of diſtinction, 600 common men, four elephants, 500 horſes, ſome camels, and a great number of bullocks. The Nabob himſelf having never before been ſo near the tumult of a battle, regarded the attack of his camp as an effort of uncommon intrepidity, accuſed all his own officers of cowardice, and would have immediately retreated out of the company's territory, had they not promiſed to be better prepared in future. Accordingly his whole army paſſed the ſucceeding night on the watch, firing cannon and muſketry until day-light, in order to encourage themſelves, and to deter the Engliſh from attacking them again.

The next morning Rungeet Roy, by the Nabob's order, wrote a letter to Colonel Clive, complaining of the hoſtilities which he had committed; but making propoſals of peace. To which Colonel Clive, in a letter to the Nabob himſelf, replied, that he had marched through his camp with no other intention than to convince him of what the Engliſh troops were capable, who, he ſaid, had cautiouſly hurt none, excepting ſuch as had oppoſed them; but that he was willing to renew the negotiation. The Nabob, inſtead of reſenting the ſcoff, ordered Rungeet Roy to continue the correſpondence; and under the pretence of acting conſiſtently with his profeſſions of peace, moved his whole army, and encamped about three miles to the north-eaſt of the lake. They paſſed in ſight of the Engliſh camp, and were again ſuffered to proceed without moleſtation.

Meſſages of negotiation continued, brought and carried by Omichund and Rungeet Roy; and, on the 9th of February, a treaty was concluded of the following purport: "The Nabob agreed to reſtore "the Company's factories, but only ſuch of the plundered effects "and monies as had been regularly brought to account in the books "of his government. He permitted the Engliſh to fortify Calcutta "in whatſoever manner they ſhould think expedient; allowed them

"to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. February.

" to coin gold and ſilver in a mint of their own; exempted all " merchandizes paſſing with their *Duſtucks* or paſſports, from tax, " fee, or impoſition; permitted them to take poſſeſſion of the thirty-" eight villages, of which the grant had been obtained by the em-" baſſy in 1717, from the Emperor Furrukſhir; and in general " confirmed all the privileges which had been granted to them by " former emperors ever ſince their firſt arrival in the province." The oaths of the Nabob, Meer Jaffier and Roydoolub, were the only pledges or ſecurity for the execution of the treaty.

On the 11th the Nabob removed a few miles farther to the north, and the next day ſent the uſual ſerpaws or preſents of dreſſes to Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, by Rungeet Roy and Omichund, and propoſed an alliance offenſive and defenſive againſt all enemies. This propoſal was accepted without heſitation, and the article ratified was ſent back the ſame day by Omichund, who was likewiſe intruſted by Colonel Clive to ſound if the Nabob would permit the Engliſh to attack the French ſettlement of Chandernagore; for there was time before the ſetting in of the ſouthern monſoon. The Nabob deteſted the idea; but, dreading an immediate renewal of hoſtilities, temporized; and pretending that Mr. Buſſy from the Decan, and a ſquadron from Pondicherry, were coming to Bengal, he requeſted that the Engliſh would prevent them from entering his dominions; and, as a farther diſguiſe, he requeſted 20 Engliſh gunners to ſerve in his own artillery; he likewiſe recommended, that Mr. Watts might be appointed the company's repreſentative at his court; chooſing him from a perſuaſion that he was a meek man, without guile. The next day he continued his march to Muxadavad, and Colonel Clive having received no poſitive injunction to the contrary from the Nabob, determined to proſecute the enterprize againſt Chandernagore. Accordingly, on the 18th, the Engliſh troops croſſed the river a few miles above Calcutta, and encamped on the oppoſite ſhore; but before this time the French had taken the alarm, and by repeated letters called on the Nabob, as he valued his own ſafety, to protect their ſettlement; their meſſengers found him juſt arrived at Augadeep, 40 miles ſouth of Muxadavad, where he halted, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and immediately wrote a letter, peremptorily commanding the Engliſh to deſiſt from their intention. 1757. February.

In the mean time Mr. Watts ſet out for Muxadavad, and with him were ſent the artillery-men requeſted by the Nabob; he was likewiſe accompanied by Omichund, whoſe conduct in the late negotiation had effaced the impreſſion of former imputations, inſomuch that Mr. Watts was permitted to conſult and employ him without reſerve on all occaſions. They ſtopped on the 18th near Hughley, where Omichund diſcovered that a meſſenger from the Nabob had arrived the day before with a preſent of 100,000 rupees to the government of Chandernagore; that the governor of Hughley, Nuncomar, had received orders to aſſiſt the French, in caſe the Engliſh ſhould attack them; and that a detachment of the Nabob's army was marching from Augadeep to reinforce the troops at Hughley; on which Omichund viſited Nuncomar, and by pompous repreſentations of the Engliſh force, by aſſurances of their protection and favour, and the promiſe of 12,000 rupees to be paid as ſoon as Chandernagore ſhould be taken, won him over to their intereſts; a ſtriking inſtance of the extreme venality which prevails even amongſt the higheſt ranks in Indoſtan; for the annual emoluments of the Phouſdar amounted to 250,000 rupees. On the 21ſt, Watts and Omichund arrived at Augadeep, when the Nabob immediately ſent for Omichund, and, expreſſing much indignation at the intention of the Engliſh to attack Chandernagore, commanded him to anſwer ſtrictly whether they intended to maintain, or to break, the treaty. Omichund told him that the Engliſh were famous throughout the world for their good faith; inſomuch that a man in England, who on any occaſion told a lye, was utterly diſgraced, and never after admitted to the ſociety of his former friends and acquaintance: then calling in a Bramin, who chanced to be attending near the tent, he put his hand on the Bramin's foot, a form of oath amongſt the Gentoos, and ſwore, that the Engliſh would never break the treaty. The Nabob, ſomething appeaſed by this ſolemn declaration, ſaid he would revoke the orders he had given to Meer Jaffier, to march with half the army to Chandernagore; and inſtructed Omichund to aſſure

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. February. Colonel Clive, that the troops which had marched two days before, were not intended to aſſiſt the French. The next day he received a letter from Colonel Clive, aſſuring him that he would not commit hoſtilities againſt the French without his conſent; on which he continued his march to Muxadavad.

Nevertheleſs, Mr. Watts and Omichund did not deſpair of obtaining his permiſſion; and on their arrival at Muxadavad, practiſed with ſuch of the favourites and miniſters as could promote the ſucceſs of their applications. Their ſolicitations created much anxiety and agitation in the court, where the French, from various cauſes, had many friends. Monickchund, and ſeveral other officers of note, had ſhared largely of the ſpoil of Calcutta, and being convinced that nothing would render the Engliſh ſo formidable to the Nabob, as the reduction of Chandernagore, expected to be called upon to refund their plunder as ſoon as that event ſhould happen: Coja Wazeed managed the greateſt part of the French trade in Bengal with great profit to himſelf; and, to the *Seats* Mootabray and Roopchund, the government of Chandernagore was indebted a million and a half of rupees. Theſe various intereſts concurred in counteracting the practices and petitions of Mr. Watts and Omichund, and the remonſtrances of Colonel Clive. The Nabob encouraged all the intrigues which were employed on both ſides; and even often expreſſed himſelf to Mr. Watts and Omichund in terms which implied permiſſion; but every letter which he wrote to Colonel Clive, and ſcarce a day paſſed without one, poſitively forbade the attack. With theſe contradictions he kept the Engliſh councils in ſuſpence until the end of February, when he received intelligence that an army of Pitans had taken Delhi, and intended to conquer the eaſtern provinces of the empire. This news ſtuck him with ſo much conſternation, that he immediately diſpatched a letter to Colonel Clive, requeſting his aſſiſtance againſt this imaginary invaſion of his own dominions, and offered to allow a hundred thouſand rupees a month for the expences of the Engliſh troops.

The government of Chandernagore, at the ſame time that they were ſolliciting the protection of the Nabob, proſecuted their negotiation

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

tiation with the Engliſh at Calcutta, where the ſelect committee, having little hopes of obtaining the Nabob's conſent to attack them, conſented to a treaty of neutrality and pacification in Bengal, and agreed that it ſhould be guaranteed by the Nabob: but when all points ſeemed to be adjuſted, Mr. Watſon refuſed his concurrence, becauſe the act of Chandernagore was not obligatory on Pondicherry; whereas Calcutta treated without reference to a ſuperior power. Colonel Clive was at this time become more anxious than any one to conclude the treaty, and inſiſted, that Admiral Watſon ſhould either ratify it, or proceed immediately againſt Chandernagore, without waiting for the Nabob's conſent. The Admiral rejecting the alternative, altercations enſued, which delayed the execution of the treaty, until Clive received the Nabob's invitation to march to his aſſiſtance againſt the Pitans. On the ſame day a boat from Ingelee brought intelligence of the arrival of three ſhips from Bombay, under the command of Commodore James, which had on board three companies of infantry, and one of artillery, and that the Cumberland, of 74 guns, which had parted from the fleet in the paſſage from Madraſs, was arrived in the road of Ballaſore. With ſuch additions the Engliſh force was deemed capable of taking Chandernagore, although protected by the Nabob's army: Colonel Clive therefore immediately diſmiſſed the French deputies, who were then with him, waiting to ſign the treaty, which was even written out fair, and which they ſuppoſed had been intirely concluded: he at the ſame time wrote to the Nabob, that he would join him as ſoon as the news concerning the approach of the Pitans ſhould be verified, and that he ſhould in the mean time proceed as far as Chandernagore. Accordingly the troops quitted their encampment oppoſite to Calcutta on the 7th of March, while the artillery proceeded in boats, advancing ſlowly, that the Bombay detachment might have time to come up the river, before they entered the French limits. In the interval the Nabob was kept quiet by his dread of the Pitans, and the repreſentations of Nuncomar, who conſtantly aſſured him that the Engliſh had no hoſtile intentions. Nevertheleſs, Admiral Watſon refuſed to attack the French until the conſent of the Nabob was obtained; to whom,

1757. February.

March.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. however, he repreſented, that the government of Chandernagore little deſerved his favour, ſince they had made uſe of his name to ſanctify a treaty which they had no power to conclude; and complained at the ſame time, with ſome menaces, that he had neither made any reſtitution, nor accompliſhed any other part of his treaty with the Engliſh. The Nabob, perplexed with the angry ſtyle of Mr. Watſon's letter, made uſe of theſe words in his anſwer: "If "an enemy comes to you and implores your mercy with a clear "heart, his life ſhould be ſpared; but if you miſtruſt his ſincerity, "act according to the time and occaſion." This letter was ſcarcely diſpatched before his favourites made him change his mind, and write others poſitively forbidding the attack; but Mr. Watſon, conſidering this contradiction as an indignity, ordered the ſhips to move.

The ſettlement of Chandernagore, like that of Calcutta, conſiſted of a territory, a town inhabited by the natives, another by the French, and a fort. The territory, beginning from the ſouthern limits of the Dutch ſettlement of Chinchura, extended two miles along the bank of the river, and about one and a half inland. The fort was ſituated nearly at an equal diſtance, between the north and ſouth extremity of this territory, and about 30 yards from the river. It was a ſquare of about 130 yards, with four baſtions, each mounting 10 guns; ſeveral more were mounted in different parts of the ramparts, and eight upon a ravelin, which ſtood on the margin of the river, before the gateway of the weſtern curtain: all theſe were heavy cannon, from twenty-four to thirty-two pounders; and ſix of ſmaller calibre were planted on the terras of a church within the fort, which overlooked the walls. The French, after they received intelligence of the declaration of war, had begun to dig a ditch, had demoliſhed all the buildings which ſtood within 100 yards of the walls, and uſed the ruins to form a glacis; but neither the ditch nor the glacis were compleated: to ſupply theſe defects, they had erected ſeveral batteries without the verge of the glacis; one of three guns before the gate leading to Chinchura; another of four, in a high road leading from the weſtward to the north face of the fort: to the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March.

ſouthward they had four batteries, three of which were in the principal ſtreets leading to the fort, and the other cloſe to the river, about 150 yards ſouth of the fort, commanded a narrow part of the channel, in which ſeveral ſhips had been ſunk, in order to ſtop the paſſage of the men of war. The garriſon conſiſted of 600 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; but only 300 of the Europeans were regular troops, the reſt being inhabitants of the town and ſailors. They likewiſe expected the aſſiſtance of the troops belonging to Hughley, of which a part were already ſtationed within their bounds; but Nuncomar fulfilled his promiſe to Omichund, and recalled theſe troops as ſoon as the Engliſh appeared in ſight, alledging to the Nabob, that he had withdrawn them in order to preſerve the ſtandard of the province from the diſgrace to which it would inevitably have been expoſed, by aſſiſting the French againſt ſo ſuperior a force as that which was come to attack them.

The detachment from Bombay having joined, Colonel Clive commenced hoſtilities on the 14th of March. In order to avoid the oppoſition of the batteries in the ſouthern part of the town, the troops entered the French limits from the weſtward, along the high road leading to the north face of the fort; detachments from the garriſon were placed in the thickets on either hand, who ſkirmiſhed until three in the afternoon, and then retired to the battery in the road, which lay under command of the north-weſt baſtion. The Engliſh from ſeveral houſes near continued to fire upon the battery with their ſmall arms until night, when the enemy ſpiked up the cannon, and retreated into the fort. The deſertion of this battery rendered the other four to the ſouth, excepting that on the bank of the river, of no uſe, and expoſed them all to be taken in the rear, when the retreat of their guards to the fort would be cut off: to prevent which their guns and men were recalled early the next morning, before the Engliſh troops were in motion to intercept them. At noon the Engliſh army took poſſeſſion of the houſes neareſt to the ſouthern eſplanade, and under their ſhelter ſuffered very little from the fire of the garriſon. The 16th was employed in bringing up the artillery and ſtores, and the next day they began to fire muſketry from the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. the tops of the houſes, and to throw ſhells from ſome cohorns, and a thirteen inch-mortar; this annoyance continued on the 18th: the next day a battery was begun behind ſome ruins, oppoſite the ſouth face of the S. E. baſtion, and, at the ſame time, mounted three pieces of cannon on the enemy's battery cloſe to the river, turning them againſt the ſouth flank and face of the north-eaſt baſtion: this day the ſhips, Kent, Tyger, and Saliſbury, arrived from Calcutta, and anchored about a mile below the fort. The navigation had been extremely difficult, but conducted with extreme precaution and ſkill by Captain Speke, who commanded the Kent. On the 20th the fire from the fort ſilenced the three guns on the battery cloſe to the river, and on the 21ſt they beat down a houſe near the other, the ruins of which buried ſome men, none of whom, however, were mortally hurt. The next day this battery was compleated, and the other repaired: not more than 20 men, Europeans and Sepoys, had been killed and wounded in all theſe operations. In the mean time the narrow channel between the ſhips and the fort had been diligently ſounded, and it was found that the veſſels which were intended to obſtruct their paſſage, had not been ſunk in the proper place. Every thing being ready on ſhore, it was determined to attack with the ſhips the next day; and, indeed, no time was to be loſt; for the Nabob finding himſelf deceived, had continually diſpatched meſſengers, of whom ſix arrived in one day, with letters commanding the *Engliſh* in very imperious and menacing terms to diſcontinue the attack; he had likewiſe ſent forward a part of his army under the command of Roydoolub, who, having advanced within twenty miles of Hughley, halted in conſequence of the repreſentations of Nuncomar, aſſuring him that the French would ſurrender before he could arrive to their aſſiſtance.

During this interval, the Cumberland, in which Admiral Pocock hoiſted his flag, arrived at Ingelee. After ſtriking on the ſand off Point Palmyras, ſhe plied ten days againſt the wind and currents in vain to get round, when the great number of ſick on board, amounting to 266, determined Mr. Pocock to bear away for refreſhment to Vizagapatam, where he found the ſettlement in fears, not ill founded,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

founded, of being attacked by M. Buſſy; and landed ninety of the Company's troops, to reinforce their garriſon. From hence, as the currents ſtill continued ſtrong from the Norward, he ſailed for intelligence to Madraſs, where, at the requeſt of the preſidency, he landed the reſt, one hundred more, and received the ſame number of ſailors belonging to the ſquadron, which had recovered in the hoſpital. There ſtill remained on board 90 rank and file, who were of Adlercron's regiment, and they returned with the ſhip to Ingelee, where the report from Calcutta ſignified, that the three other men of war with Admiral Watſon were proceeding from thence to Chandernagore, of which the attack might be expected every day. There was no time to carry the ſhip up the river; for the pilotage at this ſeaſon requires ſeveral; nor were any boats ſent down to convey the troops with their accoutrements; on which Mr. Pocock, with a ſpirit worthy of an Engliſh admiral, took the Cumberland's barge, and rowing night and day, joined Mr. Watſon a few hours before the morning of the attack, and immediately hoiſted his flag in the Tyger. 1757. March.

This ſhip was appointed to attack the N. E. baſtion of the fort, the Kent againſt the ravelin before the middle of the curtain, the Saliſbury againſt the S. E. baſtion. At ſun-riſe the two batteries on ſhore began to fire, the one againſt the S. E. baſtion with twenty-four pounders, the other againſt the N. E. with three; to which the enemy's fire was much ſuperior until ſeven o'clock; when the Tyger coming oppoſite to the ravelin, before the gateway, her firſt broadſide obliged the enemy to abandon that defence; after which ſhe proceeded, and anchored at the diſtance of 50 yards, directly oppoſite to the N. E. baſtion. The Kent ſoon after let go her anchor oppoſite to the ravelin, but in this inſtant, the fire from the fort killed and wounded ſeveral of the ſailors appointed to manage the ſhip, and a ſhot unfortunately diſabled the commander, Captain Speke; who not being able to continue the directions he intended to give, ſo much confuſion enſued, that the cable, not ſtopped in time, ran out to its end; and the ſhip, inſtead of anchoring oppoſite to the ravelin, fell back ſo far, that her poop appeared beyond the S.E. baſtion, expoſed

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. likewiſe to a flank of the baſtion on the s. w. The enemy, elated with this advantage, kept up ſo hot a fire, that Admiral Watſon, inſtead of attempting to recover his intended ſtation, determined to decide the conteſt where his ſhip lay, which occupying the poſt intended for the Saliſbury, this ſhip anchored 150 yards lower down the river, and remained out of the action, which was maintained entirely by the Kent and Tyger. The cannonade was fierce, every ſhot on both ſides took place; and, at the ſame time, the two batteries on ſhore aſſailed with a croſs fire the two baſtions of the fort, againſt which the ſhips directed their broad-ſides. At nine o'clock, the fort ſhewed a flag of truce, and Mr. Watſon, not to let the enemy ſee the condition of his ſhip, ſent Captain Coote, of the King's regiment aſhore to receive their propoſals; and whilſt meſſages were paſſing concerning the terms of ſurrender, 50 of the beſt ſoldiers of the garriſon, with 20 Topaſſes, and ſeveral officers, quitted the fort, and marched to the northward. At three in the afternoon the capitulation was concluded.

During this action, the Saliſbury received only ſome ſtraggling ſhot, which did little damage, and the fort received as little from her fire. In the Tyger, the maſter and 14 others were killed, and 56 wounded: the Kent received ſix ſhot in her maſts, and 142 in her hull; the firſt lieutenant Mr. Perrot, and 18 of the crew, were killed, and 72 wounded. Amidſt this ſlaughter, it was a general conſolation that the wound of Captain Speke was not mortal, whoſe enterprizing ſpirit, and nautical abilities, had eminently contributed to the ſucceſſes of this ſquadron in India: the ſame ball, which ſtruck the calf of his leg, carried off the thigh of his ſon, a youth of promiſing hopes, who died of this diſaſter. Of the Engliſh troops on ſhore, only one man was killed, and 10 wounded, during this laſt attack; but the fire of their batteries, and of their muſketry from the tops of the houſes, haſtened the ſurrender of the fort, in which 40 men were killed and 70 wounded. The defence was gallant, more eſpecially as none of the garriſon, excepting a few of the officers, had ever before been in ſervices of danger: Mr. Devignes, a Captain of one of the French company's ſhips, commanded the baſtions,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

baſtions, and inſpired his own activity and courage into all who ſerved under him. The immediate reduction of the fort was owing to the ſhips, and of them, only to the two in which the two Admirals hoiſted their flags, whoſe fire did as much execution in three hours, as the batteries on ſhore would have done in ſeveral days; during which the whole of the Nabob's army might have arrived, when the ſiege muſt have been raiſed: otherwiſe the troops alone were ſufficient to accompliſh the ſuccaſs. 1757. March.

At the ſame time that the Nabob heard of the ſurrender of Chandernagore, he received more poſitive, but ſtill falſe, intelligence from Patna, that the army of Pitans, againſt whom he had aſked the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh troops, were in full march to invade the province of Behar, and that they had engaged Balagerow, the general of the Morattoes, to invade Bengal. Frightened by this intelligence he wrote letters of congratulation to Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, expreſſing the ſtrongeſt deſire to remain in friendſhip and alliance with them, and offered the territory of Chandernagore to the Engliſh on the ſame terms as it had been held by the French Company; but he ordered the diviſion of his army, which had marched with Roydulub, to continue at Plaſſy on the Iſland of Coſſimbuzar, 30 miles to the South of Muxadavad. This guard did not accord with his profeſſions; and it was determined to try the ſincerity of them by requeſting him to give up all the other French factories and ſubjects remaining in his dominions. Nothing could be more repugnant to his intentions; for he had ordered his officers to protect the ſoldiers of Chandernagore, who had left the fort during the attack; and by this aſſiſtance they had eſcaped an Engliſh detachment ſent in purſuit of them, and were arrived ſafe at Coſſimbuzar: however, he anſwered Colonel Clive with much civility, though with inconſiſtent excuſes; alledging, that as a prince he could not perſecute the diſtreſſed, and as a feudatory of the great Mogul he could not contribute to the deſtruction of Europeans, who were eſtabliſhed in the province by the permiſſion of ſo many Emperors; as if the ſame reaſons ought not to have prevented him

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. from deſtroying Calcutta. But leſt theſe evaſions ſhould create ſuſpicions, he began to reſtore part of the Engliſh effects, and paid 450,000 rupees in money.

In the mean time, the captors collected the plunder of Chandernagore, which amounted to 100,000l. ſterling. The ſhips returned to Calcutta, where the Kent, infirm before, was condemned as unfit for future ſervice. The ſeaſon was by this time ſo far advanced, that the other ſhips could not get out to ſea before the ſouthern monſoon ſet in. The troops might indeed have been ſent to the coaſt of Cormondel, if they had been embarked, immediately after Chandernagore was taken, on ſeveral veſſels, which were ready to ſail at that time. But Colonel Clive determined, contrary to the orders of Madraſs, to remain in Bengal with the whole army until the month of September; being convinced that the Nabob would never fulfil the terms of the treaty of February, unleſs conſtrained by fear. He therefore, inſtead of leading the army back to Calcutta, encamped on the plain to the north of Hughley, where it was better ſituated either to awe or to act againſt the Nabob.

In this interval Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Coſſimbuzar, had perſuaded the Nabob that a fleet of 40 French ſhips were attacking Bombay. The Nabob elated by this ſuppoſition returned to his former equivocations concerning the treaty. On which Colonel Clive wrote to him, that nothing but his permiſſion to attack the French at Coſſimbuzar could convince the Engliſh that he bore the good will of an ally towards them, and that his dignity might be preſerved by aſſiſting neither ſide. This letter provoked him to exceſs, and amongſt other extravagancies, he ſaid publickly, he would put Mr. Watts to death. But ſoon recollecting the imprudence of this threat; and being as anxious to prevent the Engliſh troops from advancing towards his capital, as he was ſolicitous to preſerve the French for future contingencies, he furniſhed Mr. Law with money, arms, and ammunition, and ordered him to march with all his men, as if proceeding to the weſtern frontiers of Behar; but in expectation of being ſoon recalled to Muxadavad. Accordingly this body of adventurers, conſiſting of 100 Europeans, and

60

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

60 Coromandel Sepoys, with 30 ſmall carriages, and four elephants, paſſed through the city in military array on the 16th of April, and having croſſed the river, proceeded towards Behar. This evaſion however deceived nobody. And Colonel Clive prepared to ſend a detachment in purſuit of them. 1757. March.

The report of the detachment renewed the indignation of the Nabob; he immediately ordered the Engliſh Vacqueel to quit his preſence, and to appear no more at the palace, and ſent two of his officers to Mr. Watts, propoſing this alternative; "either that he "ſhould immediately return to Calcutta; or give an aſſurance under "his hand, that the Engliſh ſhould make no further attempts to "moleſt the French." Mr. Watts refuſed either to retire, or to give the aſſurance, and obtained leave to conſult the preſidency, who ordered him to ſend what treaſure and effects he had collected to Calcutta, as opportunities might offer, but without ſeeming either to fear or to intend miſchief: Colonel Clive alſo detached 40 Europeans to protect the factory, and ſent in ſeveral boats a ſupply of ammunition concealed under rice.

By this time the mutual ſuſpicions between the Nabob and the Engliſh were ſo much increaſed, that Colonel Clive thought a rupture inevitable, and even neceſſary. He therefore perſiſted in his reſolution of ſending a detachment in purſuit of Mr. Law; and having received information that Meer Jaffier, the general of the army, was offended againſt the Nabob, he adviſed Mr. Watts to cultivate his friendſhip.

The ſpirit of rebellion had for ſome time been lurking in the court of Surajah Dowlah; he had impriſoned Monickchund, and upon releaſing, had obliged him to pay a million of rupees as a fine for the effects he had plundered in Calcutta. The Duan Roydoolub, although the firſt civil officer in the ſtate, found his conduct ſubject to the controul of the favourite Moonlol. To the Seats, the Nabob behaved with civility; but they, accuſtomed to the confidence and good ſenſe of Allaverdy, trembled for their wealth, under the caprices of his ſucceſſor; and they had long been connected with

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. Meer Jaffier, who, although he deſpiſed the wretched character of Surajah Dowlah, dreaded the exceſſes of it.

Mr. Watts communicated with Omichund on the ſtate of tempers and reſentments; and they admitted Mr. Scrafton to their councils, who came at this time to Muxadavad in his way to Dacca, and was inſtructed by Colonel Clive to obſerve, whilſt he remained there. Omichund with his uſual buſtle attended every day at the Durbar, and was as aſſiduous in his viſits to the principal officers of the government.

April. On the 23d of April an officer named Yar Khan Latty, by a private meſſage, requeſted to confer with Mr. Watts in ſecrecy. This man commanded 2000 horſe in the Nabob's ſervice, but received a ſtipend from the *Seats* to defend them upon any occaſion of danger even againſt the Nabob himſelf. It is therefore probable that he was now employed by the *Seats* to diſcover the real intentions of the Engliſh towards the Nabob. Mr. Watts ſent Omichund, whom Latty informed, "that the Nabob would very ſoon march with the "greateſt part of his forces towards Patna, againſt the Pitans; and "that he intended to temporize with the Engliſh until his return to "Muxadavad; when he had determined to extirpate them out of "his dominions, into which he had ſworn that they ſhould never "return; that moſt of his officers held him in utter deteſtation, "and were ready to join the firſt leader of diſtinction who ſhould "take arms; that the Engliſh army might, during his abſence, take "poſſeſſion of Muxadavad; and that he, Latty, with his own troops, "would join them in the attempt; when if they would proclaim "him Nabob, he ſhould be ſupported by Roydoolub, and the *Seats*; "he offered in return to enter into any engagements which the "Engliſh ſhould ſtipulate for the advantage of their own affairs." Mr. Watts approved the ſcheme, and communicated it to Colonel Clive, who approving it likewiſe, immediately countermanded the detachment which was ready to march in purſuit of Mr. Law, and wrote a very civil letter to the Nabob.

The day after the conference between Omichund and Latty, Petrus the Armenian, who had been employed between the Nabob and the Engliſh

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Engliſh in February, came to Mr. Watts with the ſame propoſals from Meer Jaffier as had been made by Latty. Meer Jaffier declared, 1757. April.
" that ſelf-defence obliged him to arm, being in danger of aſſaſſi-
" nation every time he went to the Durbar; that the Duan Roy-
" doolub, the *Seats*, and ſeveral officers of the firſt rank in the
" army, whom he named, had engaged to join, if the Engliſh would
" aſſiſt in dethroning the Nabob: if the ſcheme were accepted, he
" deſired that the terms of the confederacy might be ſettled without
" delay, and requeſted that Colonel Clive would immediately break
" up his camp, and ſooth the Nabob with every appearance of pa-
" cific intentions until hoſtilities ſhould commence."

The ſuperior importance of Jaffier gave him the preference over every other pretender who might offer; and as ſoon as Clive received intelligence of his overtures, he went from the camp to Calcutta, and communicated them to the ſelect committe, of which he was himſelf a member. The committee accepted the alliance as the moſt fortunate event which could happen, and inſtructed Mr. Watts what terms to ſtipulate: they were all very advantageous, but one eminently ſo, demanding a reſtitution in money adequate to all the loſſes which had ſuſtained by the Company and individuals by the capture of Calcutta. This council was held on the firſt of May. The next day Colonel Clive returned to the camp, which, in compliance with the requeſt of Meer Jaffier, he immediately broke up; ſending one half of the troops to Calcutta, and the reſt into the fort of Chandernagore. He then requeſted the Nabob to give the ſame proof of pacific intentions by withdrawing the large diviſion of his army, which ſtill lay encamped at Plaſſy, under the command of Roydoolub.

But in this interval the Nabob had been relieved from his fears of the Pitans by intelligence of their retreat from Delhi, which made him leſs ſollicitous to temporize with the Engliſh, and Roydoolub had ſtopped at Cutwah the detachment of 40 Europeans going to Coſſimbuzar; the ſpy, Mooteram, who had been ſent under pretence of ſome compliment to Colonel Clive, gave information, that half the Engliſh army had been privately detached in ſmall parties from the camp,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. April. camp, and were at this very time ſecreted in the factory at Coſſimbuzar. The Nabob believing this intelligence, ſent a mob of ſervants and troops to examine the factory, where they found only eight Topaſſes and 40 Europeans, of which ſome were French deſerters, and the reſt were the Engliſh gunners whom he had borrowed for the ſervice of his own artillery, and had lately returned. Nevertheleſs his ſuſpicions that the Engliſh intended to move towards Muxadavad continued, and induced him to reconcile himſelf with Meer Jaffier; whom he ordered to proceed immediately with 15,000 men, to reinforce Roydoolub at Plaſſey. Believing, likewiſe, that the Engliſh ſhips of war could proceed up the great arm of the Ganges to the northern point of the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, and then come down the Coſſimbuzar river to Muxadavad, he commanded large piles to be fixed acroſs the river at Sootey, about 20 miles above the city. Such was his extreme ignorance. He at the ſame time ordered Mr. Law to remain with his men at Boglipore, half way between the paſs of Tacriagully and Patna; and his officers in Behar were inſtructed to ſupply all their wants.

In this conjuncture Meer Jaffier, fearing that by a refuſal to proceed to Plaſſy, he ſhould turn the Nabob's ſuſpicions upon himſelf, obeyed with appearance of alacrity, and marched from the city on the 29th of April, but left his agent to carry on the correſpondence with Mr. Watts; who, to remove as much as poſſible all ſuſpicious appearances, ordered the detachment which had been ſtopped at Cutwah to return to Calcutta; he at the ſame time diſpatched Mr. Scrafton to the ſelect committee, and on the 6th of May received their reſolutions concerning the treaty with Jaffier, when, in concert with Jaffier's agent, whom we ſuppoſe to be ſtill the Armenian Petrus, they eſtabliſhed poſitive ſums to the articles, ſtipulating monies. The rains detained the agent in the city until the 12th, when he went to Plaſſy, and returned on the 14th, with aſſurances, that Meer Jaffier intirely conſented to all the articles; but requeſted that the confederacy might be kept ſecret from Omichund, whom he regarded as an intriguing Gentoo without fortitude or honeſty.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

This opinion was probably ſuggeſted to him by the *Seats*, who knew the abilities of Omichund, and might apprehend that his influence with the Engliſh would interfere with their own, if he ſhould have a leading part in the intended revolution. This reſtraint very much perplexed Mr. Watts: for Omichund had already been truſted too far, to be now treated with diffidence, without much riſque to the ſcheme, if he ſhould by other means diſcover the real cauſe, why no farther attention was had to the propoſals of Yar Khan Lattee. Mr. Watts ſoon found, that ſuch evaſions as men in his ſituation generally employ, could not elude his ſagacity, and therefore told him the confederacy with Jaffier; but had delayed this confidence ſo long, that Omichund ſaw it was extorted by fear and neceſſity. From this hour implacable hatred aroſe between them, although they co-operated in the conduct of the confederacy. 1757. May.

From his own experience of the practices of Indoſtan, Omichund had no doubt that Mr. Watts would be amply rewarded by Jaffier, if the revolution ſucceeded. At the ſame time he found that no advantage was intended for himſelf, more than reſtitution in common with the other Gentoo merchants of Calcutta, but that he ſhould run the ſame riſques of his perſon as Mr. Watts, which to both were great indeed; and more of his fortune, as being much greater than Mr. Watts's: he therefore claimed a commiſſion of five in the hundred on all the Nabob's treaſures in money, and a fourth part of his jewels. The common people, to whom numbers give no diſtinct ideas, rated them at 45 millions of pounds ſterling, which nothing but idiotiſm could believe; but better enquirers ſuppoſed them to be four millions and a half; on which Omichund's ſhare would have been 675,000 pound ſterling. The audacity of the pretenſion implied malignant art; but it is ſaid he threatened to reveal the conſpiracy to the Nabob, if not complied with. If ſo, the boldeſt iniquity could not go farther. Mr. Watts in his letter on this ſubject intimates, that he had ſome apprehenſions of ſuch a conſequence if Omichund were not ſatisfied. However, in their conference he evaded a poſitive

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. ſitive anſwer, and Omichund was contented by the promiſe of referring his claim to the ſelect committee.

On the 14th he ſent the articles of the treaty, as finally ſettled by himſelf, and accepted by Meer Jaffier, and communicated two other inſtances of Omichund's improbity. The one was, "that "ſoothed by the ſeeming acquieſcence of Mr. Watts to his claim "of commiſſion and a ſhare of the jewels, he had been led to de- "clare that he intended to ſecrete as much as he could of the "Nabob's treaſures from the knowledge of Meer Jaffier, and "to divide this booty with Roydoolub." The other accuſation came from Rungeet Roy, the agent of the *Seats*. "When the "Nabob concluded the treaty of the 6th of February, he em- "powered Omichund and Rungeet Roy to offer 30 thouſand "gold *mohurs*, a coin equivalent to 29 ſhillings, as a preſent to the "Engliſh commanders, and promiſed moreover 200,000 rupees to "be diſpoſed of, as Omichund ſhould think proper; who adviſed "Rungeet Roy to make no mention of the preſent at that time, "and promiſed to divide the 200,000 rupees with him. Rungeet "Roy, impatient to receive his ſhare, had frequently preſſed "the Nabob to ſend the preſent to the Engliſh commanders, and "to iſſue the other money to Omichund. But the Nabob, irritated "by the late proceedings of the Engliſh, and ſafe in his capital, "was no longer inclined to confer ſo coſtly a favour, in every re- "ſpect to his own detriment. Omichund obſerved this repugnance, "and turned it to his own advantage, by telling the Nabob, that "he would be obliged to make the preſent, if he ſuffered Rungeet "Roy to interfere any longer in the Engliſh affairs; but that he "might ſave it, by diſgracing him. The Nabob accordingly with- "held himſelf from any farther communication with Rungeet Roy, "but rewarded Omichund, with orders for the delivery of many of "his confiſcated effects. Mr. Watts, deſirous to put the truth of "theſe informations to the teſt, aſked Omichund if he ſhould de- "mand the 30,000 gold rupees from the Nabob; to which Omi- "chund replied, that ſuch a requeſt would be very improper at this "time, but that he would himſelf conſider of means to get it."

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

A ſtranger, named Govindroy, came on the 3d of May to Calcutta, with a letter as from Ballajerow, the general of the Morattoes, dated from Hyderabad, the capital of Golcondah. In this letter Ballajerow offered to invade Bengal with a hundred and twenty thouſand men, within ſix weeks after he ſhould receive the invitation of the Engliſh governor. No mutual intereſts of great importance ſubſiſting at this time between the Engliſh and the Morattoes, the letter and the bearer were ſuſpected of impoſture. The man was queſtioned, but none in the ſettlement had ſufficient criterions to diſtinguiſh whether his anſwers were pertinent. Mr. Watts was conſulted, and regarded the letter as an artifice invented by the Nabob to try the real diſpoſition of the Engliſh towards himſelf, by their anſwer to Ballajerow. Clive, with his uſual facility of finding expedients in difficulties, adviſed the committee to communicate the letter to the Nabob with the ſemblance of believing its authenticity; whereby, ſhould he have invented it, the artifice would be turned againſt himſelf; and if he had not, no better means could be employed to deceive the ſuſpicions which he entertained of their evil intentions. 1757. May.

This reſolution was taken on the 17th of May, and at the ſame conſultation the committee deliberated on the final terms they ſhould require of Meer Jaffier, and on the conduct they ſhould hold towards Omichund; having before them the treaty as modelled by Mr. Watts, and his letters concerning Omichund. The terms which Mr. Watts had ſtipulated for reſtitution were, to the Company 10 millions of rupees, to the Engliſh and other European inhabitants three millions, to the Gentoos three, to the Armenians one: in all 17 millions of rupees. Three millions were likewiſe mentioned for Omichund; of which we ſuppoſe Mr. Watts had informed him.

The committee really believed the wealth of Surajah Dowlah much greater than it poſſibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nabob Aliverdy had not been ſpent in defending his own dominions againſt the invaſions of ruinous enemies: and even if Surajah Dowlah himſelf had reigned many, inſtead of only one year. In this perſuaſion they increaſed the reſtitution to Europeans from

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. three to five millions of rupees; but allotted only two inſtead of three millions to the Gentoos, and only 700,000 inſtead of one million to the Armenians. But theſe alterations added only 700,000 rupees to the total of the ſums ſtipulated by Mr. Watts for reſtitution. It was then agreed to aſk a donation of 2,500,000 rupees to the ſquadron, and the ſame ſum to the army. A member then propoſed that it ſhould be recommended to Mr. Watts, to aſk a donation from Meer Jaffier to each of the members of the committee; and this likewiſe was reſolved.

They then took into conſideration what conduct they ſhould hold towards Omichund; they were aſtoniſhed at the enormity of his demands, and ſtill more exaſperated at the imputed atrocity of his intentions in caſe of diſappointment; and determined that he ſhould get nothing by the revolution more than reſtitution in common with the other Gentoo merchants of Calcutta; but at the ſame time they deſigned to make him believe that they intended to reward his ſervices. The expedient was ſuggeſted by Colonel Clive. It was, to ſend two treaties, both ſigned by Admiral Watſon and the members of the committee, and in the treaty which was to be delivered to Meer Jaffier, to omit any ſtipulation for Omichund; but, in the fictitious treaty which was to be ſhewn to Omichund, to inſert an article ſtipulating for him a preſent of two million of rupees.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, it became neceſſary that ſome perſon deputed from the committee ſhould confer with Meer Jaffier; but, as he lay encamped at Plaſſy, it was difficult to effect this without raiſing ſuſpicions in the Nabob. It was therefore reſolved that Colonel Clive ſhould write to the Nabob, that he had ſent Mr. Scrafton, in order to communicate a matter of great ſecrecy and importance, which was the Morattoe letter brought by Govindroy. Mr. Scrafton was inſtructed to ſtop at Plaſſy, and to make a viſit, as of ceremony, to Meer Jaffier, whom he was to inform of the purport of the treaty, and of the other requeſts, and to obtain his aſſent to them; he was likewiſe to explain to him the manner in which the committee were acting towards Omichund; and finally

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

finally to adjuſt a plan of operations for the ſubſequent conduct of the revolution. 1757. May.

Colonel Clive undertook to get the treaties prepared with due ſecrecy. The fictitious was tranſcribed upon red paper. But the agent of Meer Jaffier having inſiſted that the King's Admiral ſhould ſign, as well as the company's repreſentatives; and Omichund knowing this, it was neceſſary to the ſcheme of deceiving him, that Mr. Watſon ſhould ſign both. He ſigned the real, but refuſed to ſign the fictitious treaty; on which his ſignature was counterfeited.

On the 19th of May, Clive diſpatched the treaties by a private meſſenger of the country; but, in this ſhort interval, either ſome intelligence from Muxadavad, or his own reflections, changed his notions of the vaſtneſs of Surajah Dowlah's treaſures: and he inſtructed Mr. Watts, that if Meer Jaffier ſhould diſapprove of the great amount of the ſtipulations for money, the reſtitution allotted for the company might be reduced from ten to five millions of rupees.

Mr. Scrafton was ſtopped near Plaſſy by the advanced guards of the camp; he requeſted to be conducted to the quarters of Meer Jaffier; but ſome of the Nabob's ſpies being preſent, they interfered, and inſiſted that he ſhould take the direct road to the capital, where he arrived on the 24th. In the interval between Mr. Watts's letters of the 6th, and Mr. Scrafton's return to Muxadavad, the crafty Omichund had practiſed another trick on the credulity of the Nabob; for, perceiving by his queſtions that his ſuſpicions of the Engliſh increaſed, although he had diſcovered nothing of their project, Omichund, after much artificial heſitation, informed him, as a diſcovery by which he riſqued all his pretenſions to the favours of the Engliſh, that they had lately ſent deputies to Mr. Buſſy in the Decan, inviting him to march into Bengal, and propoſing that both armies ſhould join in dethroning him, when the ſpoil was to be equally divided between them. A little knowledge and underſtanding would have convinced the Nabob, that ſuch an union was im-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. practicable during the war between the two nations, and that it would at any time be incompatible with the intereſt of the Engliſh: nevertheleſs his timidity prompted him to give intire credit to the tale, and he rewarded Omichund for the intelligence, by ordering the ſum of 400,000 rupees, which had been taken from his houſe at Calcutta, to be immediately reſtored to him, together with all his effects, whereſoever confiſcated in the province: he moreover gave him a mandate, ordering the Rajah of Burdawan to repay 450,000 rupees, which Omichund had lent the Rajah ſome years before. At this time Omichund was not certain what proviſion might be made for himſelf in the treaty, and was endeavouring to get all he could from the Nabob clandeſtinely, but without any poſitive intention of undermining the confederacy; for nothing was more likely than his fallacy concerning Buſſy to divert the Nabob from any ſuſpicions of the real deſigns and connexions in which the Engliſh were engaged: but nothing, at the ſame time, was more likely to prevent him from removing his army from Plaſſy, which was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to their ſucceſs.

As ſoon as Mr. Scrafton arrived at Muxadavad, Mr. Watts went with him to the Nabob, to whom Mr. Scrafton delivered a letter from Colonel Clive, which, amongſt others, had the following ſubtle expreſſions. "I have ſent Mr. Scrafton to communicate a matter of "the greateſt importance. Notwithſtanding all that the Engliſh "have ſuffered from you, I give you this laſt proof of my deſire to "live in peace with you. Why do you keep your army in the field? "They diſtreſs all the merchants, and prevent us from renewing "our trade. The Engliſh cannot ſtay in Bengal without freedom of "trade. Do not reduce us to ſuſpect that you intend to deſtroy us "whenſoever you have an opportunity." Mr. Scrafton then communicated the Morattoe letter, at which the Nabob ſeemed much pleaſed; for he had heard of the arrival, and ſuſpected the buſineſs of the meſſenger, who really came from Ballajerow. After ſome pauſe, ruminating on the variety of informations on which he was to form his opinion, he pretended to be convinced that he had ſuſpected the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the good faith of the Engliſh without cauſe: and diſmiſſed Mr. Watts and Scrafton with an aſſurance that he would immediately recall the troops under the command of Meer Jaffier into the city, but would leave thoſe with Roydoolub in the field, in readineſs to join the Engliſh on the approach of the Morattoes: who he ſaid would probably invade his dominions. This unexpected reſolution would have marred the ſcheme, ſince Meer Jaffier would have been as cautious of concluding any thing deciſive, whilſt one half, as whilſt the whole of the army remained in the field. At the next conference Mr. Scrafton repreſented to him, that the Engliſh could not, with common prudence, rely on any of his profeſſions, whilſt ſuch a part of his forces were encamped towards Calcutta. The Nabob meditated ſome time on this argument, and then ſtarting, as a man agitated by ſuſpicion and diſmay, ſaid eagerly, "But ſhould the "Colonel deceive me." But Scrafton removed his terrors by aſſurances, and prevailed on him to iſſue orders recalling his whole army to Muxadavad. 1757. May.

The nearer the confederacy approached to the event, the more did Mr. Watts's apprehenſions of the treachery of Omichund increaſe. Mr. Scrafton therefore undertook to get him away to Calcutta, and under the pretext of ſolicitude for his ſafety, propoſed that Omichund ſhould accompany him thither without delay, alledging, that his age and the habits of his life would not permit him to make his eſcape on horſeback in the hour of confuſion and danger, when the flight of Mr. Watts would convince the Nabob that the Engliſh intended war, and when his utmoſt vengeance would be excited againſt all their adherents. But avarice is the moſt inflexible of the vices; and Omichund, not having received more than half of his plundered money from the treaſury, requeſted Mr. Scrafton to wait until he had got the whole. Mr. Watts imputed this delay to another motive, thinking that he wanted to remain in the city until Roydoolub ſhould return from Plaſſy, that they might ſettle between them the ſcheme of purloining as much as poſſible of the Nabob's treaſures. To counteract his repugnance, whatſoever might be the cauſe, Mr. Scrafton aſſured him, that Colonel Clive intended to employ him as

the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. the principal agent of the Engliſh in their affairs with the future government after the revolution; and that the emoluments of this office would amply compenſate whatſoever he might relinquiſh or loſe by his immediate departure. At length he conſented to go, but it was neceſſary, and ſeemed difficult to obtain the Nabob's conſent, as he relied principally upon Omichund for intelligence concerning the proceedings and views of the Engliſh. But Omichund himſelf ſolved the difficulty, by adviſing Mr. Scrafton to demand of the Nabob the preſent which he had intended to give to the Engliſh commanders at the concluſion of the peace in February; in conſequence of which, the Nabob ſuſpecting the ſecret had been diſcloſed by Omichund, would immediately hold him in as much deteſtation, as he had hitherto regarded him with favour. Accordingly this ſcene was acted. The Nabob denied the promiſe. Omichund pretended to be terrified; and the Nabob being really irritated, told Mr. Scrafton that he might carry him whereſoever he pleaſed.

Mr. Scrafton remained three days longer in the city in expectation of the return of Meer Jaffier from Plaſſy. Meer Jaffier arrived on the 30th, and viſited the Nabob, who, having no further need of his immediate ſervice, treated him with inſolence. The frown of deſpotiſm is always dreadful; and Meer Jaffier returned to his palace, convinced of impending danger, inſomuch that he was afraid of conferring in private with Mr. Scrafton, who viſited him in the afternoon, but received him in the hall of public audience; on which Scrafton left the city that evening.

He was accompanied by Omichund. They proceeded in palanquins; but when Scrafton arrived at Coſſimbuzar, he miſſed his companion; on which he ſtopped and diſpatched meſſengers to the city, who found the old man ſitting at midnight in the Nabob's treaſury, ſoliciting Moonloll for ſome more of the money which the Nabob had ordered to be reſtored to him in reward for his ſtory concerning Buſſy; but finding that Moonloll would give him nothing but promiſes, and preſſed by the meſſengers, he returned with them and rejoined Mr. Scrafton at two in the morning. Continuing their journey, Mr. Scrafton fell aſleep, and waking at day-break, miſſed his com-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

companion again; and not knowing where to ſeek him, ſtopped and waited on the high road until three in the afternoon, when Omichund rejoined him again. He had been to viſit Roydoolub at the camp at Plaſſey, who had told him that no ſtipulation had been made for him in the agreements with Meer Jaffier. Omichund therefore queſtioned Mr. Scrafton with much ſharpneſs and ſuſpicion; but now the truth itſelf ſerved to deceive him; for Mr. Scrafton told him, that Roydoolub could not know any thing of that ſtipulation, ſince Mr. Watts had not yet communicated the treaty ultimately adjuſted by the ſelect committee even to Meer Jaffier himſelf. This appeaſed his anxieties, and they continued the reſt of their journey without interruption. On the 8th they arrived at Calcutta, where Omichund was received by Colonel Clive, and the other members of the ſelect committee, with much diſſembled cordiality, which, however, could not entirely efface the impreſſion which the words of Roydoolub had made in his mind; in conſequence of which he bribed the Perſian ſcribe of the council, to inform him if any deceit to his detriment ſhould appear in the treaty, when ratified by Meer Jaffier in the Perſian language. 1757. May.

The palace in which Meer Jaffier reſided, is ſituated on the ſouthern extremity of Muxadavad, on the iſland of Coſſimbuzar. The Nabob reſided in a palace called Heraut-jeel, in the middle of the city, on the other ſide of the river. Both palaces ſtand on the bank of the river, are fortified with towers, and were provided with cannon. Meer Jaffier, at his return from the Nabob, had requeſted all the officers on whoſe attachment he relied, to keep their troops in readineſs to defend his palace. In the ſame evening he ſent a truſty meſſenger to Mr. Watts, to whom Mr. Watts delivered the two treaties, real and fictitious, together with the ſeparate article of donation to the ſquadron, army, and committee, and explained the intention of deceiving Omichund by the fictitious treaty; requeſting, that all the three papers might be ratified, and returned to him without delay. But Meer Jaffier having promiſed Roydoolub to conclude nothing without his participation, deferred the ratification until his return from Plaſſy; which was, however, only a delay

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. of two days; for Roydoolub came to the city on the third of June. He being informed of the ſtipulations, objected that all the money in the Nabob's treaſury was not ſufficient to anſwer them, and propoſed as a juſt compromiſe, that whatſoever might be found ſhould be equally divided between the Nabob and the Engliſh. Mr. Watts nevertheleſs would not recede from any of the ſums which had been ſtipulated, and repreſented to him, that if an equal diviſion was eſtabliſhed, the Engliſh could not allow the uſual commiſſion of five in the hundred to the officer who ſhould be appointed to manage the buſineſs of the treaſury; but proffered this office with that emolument to him, provided he would conſent to all their demands. This argument prevailed: Roydoolub relinquiſhed his objections, and Meer Jaffier ſigned the treaties on the fourth of June. On the ſame day the Nabob, not from any ſuſpicion of the confederacy, but from his pre-conceived averſion to Meer Jaffier, ordered him to reſign the command of the army to an officer named Coja Haddee.

It ſtill remained neceſſary that Meer Jaffier ſhould take an oath to obſerve the treaties. Mr. Watts therefore propoſed an interview; which Jaffier wiſhed likewiſe; but objected, that they could not meet without great riſque of diſcovery, ſince his palace was ſtrictly watched by the ſpies of the Nabob. However, Mr. Watts, relying on the fidelity of his own domeſticks, and on the manners of the country, went in the afternoon from his own houſe in a covered palanquin, ſuch as carry women of diſtinction, and paſſed without interruption to Jaffier's palace; who, with his ſon Meerum, received him in one of the apartments of his ſeraglio, into which the bearers carried the palanquin. Here they conferred without the riſk of obſervation. Meer Jaffier confeſſed that the number of troops on whoſe ſervice he could entirely rely, did not exceed 3000 horſe; but expected that ſeveral other commanders, whom he knew to be diſſatisfied with the Nabob, would turn againſt him in the day of battle. At all events, he deſired that the Engliſh troops would immediately take the field, promiſing, that if the Nabob ſhould determine to defend the city, he would attack his palace as ſoon as they appeared in ſight: if the conteſt was to be decided by a battle on the plain, he would regulate

5 his

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

his conduct according to the ſtation which he ſhould chance to occupy; if in the van, he would, on the approach of the Engliſh, beat his great drum, diſplay his ſtandard, march off with all the troops under his command, and join them on the right; if on either of the wings, or in the rear, he would diſplay a white flag, charge the main body of the Nabob's army as ſoon as the Engliſh began the attack, and endeavour to take the Nabob priſoner. After theſe explanations, he gave his full aſſent to the terms of the real treaty, and to whatſoever other donations had been ſtipulated; then placing the Koran on his own head, and his hand on the head of his ſon, whilſt Mr. Watts held the papers open before him, he ſwore with great ſolemnity, that he would faithfully perform all he had promiſed. They then reſolved, that Omar-beg, one of his officers who had lately carried ſeveral meſſages between Jaffier and Mr. Watts, ſhould immediately proceed with the treaties to Calcutta; and Mr. Watts returned as he came, undiſcovered. Having brought this dangerous negotiation to a concluſion, no other affairs required his preſence at Muxadavad; but as his retreat would leave the Nabob without a doubt of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, he determined to remain ſeemingly in his power until the laſt extremity, and, in the mean time, to make ſuch preparations as would ſecure his flight. 1757. June.

The public treaty as written in Perſic, and ſigned by Meer Jaffier, is thus tranſlated: "I ſwear by God, and the Prophet, of God to "abide by the terms of this treaty whilſt I have life." Theſe words were written by Meer Jaffier in his own hand, and underſigned by him with his name. The following were as uſual in the hand of a ſcribe. "Treaty made with Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive, and "the other counſellors, Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.—Article I. "Whatever articles were agreed to in the time of peace with the "Nabob Surajah Dowlah, I agree to comply with.—II. The ene-"mies of the Engliſh are my enemies, whether they be Indians or "Europeans.—III. All the effects and factories belonging to the "French in the province of Bengal, the paradiſe of nations, and "Bahar, and Orixa, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. " nor will I ever allow them any more to ſettle in the three pro-
" vinces.—IV. In conſideration of the loſſes which the Engliſh
" company have ſuſtained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta
" by the Nabob, and the charges occaſioned by the maintenance of
" the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.—V. For the
" effects plundered from the Engliſh inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree
" to give fifty lacks of rupees.—VI. For the effects plundered from
" the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty
" lacks of rupees ſhall be given.—VII. For the effects plundered
" from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the ſum of
" ſeven lacks of rupees. The diſtribution of the ſums allotted to
" the Engliſh, Gentoo, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta,
" ſhall be left to Admiral Watſon, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake,
" William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becher, Eſ-
" quires, to be diſpoſed of by them, to whom they think proper.—
" VIII. Within the ditch, which ſurrounds the borders of Calcutta,
" are tracts of land belonging to ſeveral Zemindars: beſides theſe,
" I will grant to the Engliſh company 600 yards without the ditch.
" —IX. All the land lying ſouth of Calcutta, as far as Culpee,
" ſhall be under the Zemindary of the Engliſh company; and all
" the officers of theſe parts ſhall be under their juriſdiction. The
" revenues to be paid by the company in the ſame manner as other
" Zemindars.—X. Whenever I demand the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh,
" I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.—XI.
" I will not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges, be-
" low Hughley.—XII. As ſoon as I am eſtabliſhed in the three pro-
" vinces, the aforeſaid ſums ſhall be faithfully paid. Dated the
" 15th of the month of Ramazan in the fourth year of the preſent
" reign." The treaty, written and ſigned by the Engliſh, contained the ſenſe of all theſe articles, but not expreſſed in the ſame words; and it likewiſe had one more of the following tenor.—" XIII. On
" condition Meer Jaffier Cawn Bahadar ſolemnly ratifies and ſwears
" to fulfil the above articles, We the underwritten do, for and in
" the behalf of the honourable Eaſt India company, declare on the
" holy evangeliſts, and before God, that we will aſſiſt Meer Jaf-

" fier

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

" fier Cawn Bahadar with our whole utmoſt force, to obtain the " Subahſhip of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and " further that we will aſſiſt him to the utmoſt againſt all his ene- " mies whatever, whenſoever he calls upon us for that purpoſe, " provided that when he becomes the Nabob, he fulfils the above " articles." This treaty was ſigned by Admiral Watſon, Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher. The donations to the army, ſquadron, and committee, were written in another treaty. 1757. June.

Omarbeg with the treaties arrived at Calcutta on the 10th, and explained the intentions of Jaffier to the ſelect committee, in the ſame manner as Jaffier had explained them to Mr. Watts. The troops of Jaffier, without the aſſiſtance of others who might join him, were deemed fully ſufficient to aſſure the ſucceſs of the enterprize, provided they acted with vigour. But he had hitherto behaved with ſo much irreſolution, that Clive began to ſuſpect he would fail ſtill more in the hour of danger. However, it was neceſſary either to proceed to immediate action, or entirely relinquiſh the confederacy; for the ſecret had inadvertently been revealed, and began to be the public talk even of the common ſoldiers at Calcutta and Chandernagore. It was therefore determined to commence hoſtilities without delay. Omichund was on the watch to learn the reſolutions of this council, and the real purport of the treaties; but the governor having entertained ſome ſuſpicions of the ſcribe whom Omichund had bribed, only entruſted him with the fictitious treaty, in which the ſtipulation in favour of Omichund was inſerted; who being ſatisfied with the report of the ſcribe, reſolved to proceed with the army to Muxadavad.

On the 12th, the troops which were at Calcutta, with 150 ſailors from the ſquadron, proceeded and joined that part of the army which was quartered at Chandernagore. All the neceſſary preparations had been made, and the whole army began their march from Chandernagore on the next day, leaving 100 of the ſailors to garriſon this fort, that every ſoldier might ſerve in the field. The Europeans with the field-pieces, ſtores and ammunition, proceeded in 200 boats,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. which were towed by the Indian rowers againſt the ſtream; for the tide flows no farther than Hughley. The Sepoys marched in ſight of the boats along the high road made by the Mogul government, and continuing from Hughley to Patna. The Nabob entertaining ſuſpicions of Nuncomar, had lately ſent a new governor to Hughley, who threatened to oppoſe the paſſage of the boats; but the twenty-gun ſhip coming up and anchoring before his fort, and a menacing letter from Colonel Clive, deterred him from that reſolution. As ſoon as the army left Chandernagore, Colonel Clive ſent away two of the Nabob's meſſengers, who were in his camp, with a letter of the following purport: "That the Nabob had uſed every ſubterfuge to evade the accompliſhment of the treaty of February; that he had in four months reſtored only a fifth part of the effects he had plundered from the Engliſh; that he had ſcarcely made peace, before he invited Mr. Buſſy to come from the Decan, and aſſiſt him in extirpating them once more out of his dominions; that the party of French troops, with Mr. Law, were at this very time maintained at his expence within 100 miles of his capital: that he had, on groundleſs ſuſpicions, inſulted the Engliſh honour; at one time ſending troops to examine their factory at Coſſimbuzar; at another, driving their Vacqueel with diſgrace out of his preſence: that he had promiſed a ſum of gold rupees; then denied that promiſe; and then ſent Omichund from the city, under pretence that it was he who had deceived the Engliſh commanders in that buſineſs. On the other hand, the Engliſh had bore all theſe injuries patiently, and had even taken the field to aſſiſt him when alarmed by the approach of the Pitans; but at length ſeeing no other remedy, their army was now marching to Muxadavad, where they intended to refer their complaints to the deciſion of the principal officers of his government, namely Meer Jaffier, Roydoolub, the *Seats*, Meer Murdeen, and Moonloll; to which arbitration it was hoped that he would acquieſce, and ſpare the effuſion of blood."

Monickchund, the late governor of Calcutta, having received ſome hints of the confederacy from Omichund, had proffered his alliance

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

to Meer Jaffier. The *Seats* had ſecured Yar Khan Lattey, and ſeveral other commanders had promiſed their aſſiſtance in the hour of need, although they ſtill appeared dutiful to the Nabob. All theſe, whether Gentoos or Mahometans, confirmed their profeſſions by the uſual oaths of their religions. The Nabob, receiving ſome confuſed intelligence of theſe practices, prepared to attack the palace of Jaffier. Meſſages of threat and defiance paſſed between them from the 8th to the 11th, when letters from Calcutta ſpread a report in the city, that the Engliſh were confederated with Jaffier; to which, however, the Nabob did not ſeem to give credit; but Jaffier concluding that he muſt believe what was ſo true, ſent a meſſage to Mr. Watts, on the 11th, adviſing him to make his eſcape without delay. Mr. Watts was prepared, and all the Engliſh property and ſoldiers had been ſent away from the factory at Coſſimbuzar. Nevertheleſs he determined to wait ſtill longer, in expectation of a letter from Clive authorizing his departure. He, however, immediately ſent away the Armenian Petrus, who had been the moſt confidential of his agents in the conſpiracy, and Jaffier ſent one of his own domeſticks with Petrus; both were inſtructed to preſs Colonel Clive to begin his march. Notwithſtanding ſeveral other warnings, Mr. Watts perſevered until the 13th, when Jaffier informed him there was no longer any ſafety, ſince the Nabob's artillery would begin to fire upon his palace the next morning: upon this Mr. Watts immediately left his houſe in the city, travelling in his palankin towards the Engliſh factory at Coſſimbuzar, where he had lately been ſeveral times on pretence of buſineſs. There remained Mr. Collet, Mr. Sykes, and a ſurgeon, who were to make their eſcape with him, and they had reſided for ſome time at a country-houſe called Maudipore, about two miles to the ſouth of Coſſimbuzar. 1757. June.

Mr. Watts, ſtopping at the factory of Coſſimbuzar, ordered the domeſticks to prepare a ſupper, telling them, that he ſhould return in the evening with thoſe at Maudipore, to which he then proceeded. There was in his retinue an Uſbeg Tartar, named Mirza Shah Buzbeg, who had ſerved many years in different armies, was an excellent horſeman, and on all occaſions void of fear: he had attached himſelf

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. ſelf with much fidelity to Mr. Watts, in return for ſome ſervices which Mr. Watts had rendered him eight years before at Patna, and now accompanied his flight. The four Engliſhmen and the Tartar, armed with piſtols, mounted their horſes at Maudipore about an hour before ſunſet: they were accompanied by ſome dog-keepers leading greyhounds, and each horſeman was, likewiſe, attended his groom on foot. This ſervant in India is, by habit, capable of keeping pace for ſeveral hours with the horſe, although going at a great rate. Having proceeded at a gentle pace on the plain, until they were about ſix miles to the ſouth, they ſent back the dog-keepers, ſaying, that they themſelves would return leiſurely another way. Immediately after this they met two Coſſids, or meſſengers, diſpatched by Colonel Clive, with a letter to Mr. Watts, permitting him to leave Muxadavad, if nothing more required his ſtay. It being now dark they quitted the road, and ſtruck to the left, where the country at ſome diſtance was uninhabited, and covered with thickets, along the ſkirt of which they proceeded to the ſouth, as faſt as they could, until they thought themſelves 30 miles from Coſſimbuzar. They then turned to the weſt, and about midnight came to the village of Aguadeep, ſituated on the bank of the river. At the entrance of the village was a party of the Nabob's horſe, picketed on each ſide of the road in the open air; but this guard was, as uſual at this ſeaſon of the night, ſo faſt aſleep, that not one of them aroſe to enquire who were come amongſt them. Having paſſed to the ſouthern extremity of the village, they diſcovered two ſmall boats, which were only capable of containing the riders. The Tartar, unwilling to loſe his own horſe, undertook to ſave thoſe of his companions, who leaving them with him, immediately went into the boats, and rowed down the ſtream about eight miles, to the point where the Coſſimbuzar and Jelingeer rivers unite: here they found a party of ſoldiers with ſome boats, diſpatched to eſcort them to the army. Having thus eſcaped out of the reach of danger, they took ſome refreſhment, and continued their way before day-break, in the boats with the ſoldiers; and the next day, at three in the afternoon, joined the army at Culnah, a town about 15 miles

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

miles to the north of Hughley. Mr. Watts, immediately on his arrival, ſent back one of his own meſſengers, who chanced to be in the camp, to Muxadavad, with intelligence of his own ſafety, and of the approach of the army. The Armenian Petrus, with the meſſenger from Meer Jaffier, arrived the ſame day. The Tartar, with the grooms, ſoon found a boat in which they embarked, and holding the horſes with the bridles lengthened, ſwam them all ſafely acroſs the river; they joined the army the day after Mr. Watts. 1757. June.

Intelligence of their flight was carried to the Nabob early in the morning after their departure, juſt as he was about to commence hoſtilities againſt Meer Jaffier. The information overwhelmed him with aſtoniſhment and terror; for it convinced him at once of what he had hitherto diſbelieved, that the Engliſh were confederated with Jaffier; and ſeeing now the whole extent of his danger, magnified by his own timidity, he determined, if poſſible, to ſeparate their union; and immediately revoking the orders to attack Jaffier, he employed emiſſaries to treat with him. At the ſame time ſeveral of the Nabob's officers, on whoſe friendſhip Jaffier relied, were exhorting him to a reconciliation; to which he ſeemingly agreed, but, either through ſuſpicion or ſcorn, refuſed to viſit the Nabob. Such an objection at any other ſeaſon would have excluded all further intercourſe; but the Nabob, relinquiſhing his ſtate, went to the palace of Jaffier with a retinue not ſufficient to give umbrage. This viſit produced an agreement, ſanctified, as uſual, by mutual oaths on the Koran. Jaffier promiſed neither to join or give aſſiſtance to the Engliſh in the impending conteſt; the Nabob to permit him as ſoon as peace ſhould be reſtored, to retire unmoleſted out of the province with his family and treaſures. This interview was on the 15th, and precarious as the reconciliation was, it elated the Nabob ſo much, that he immediately wrote in terms of defiance to Colonel Clive, although he had not received the manifeſto fraught with accuſations, which Clive had diſpatched to him on leaving Chandernagore. "He reproached the Engliſh, in the ſharpeſt invectives, "with the flight of Mr. Watts. Suſpicion," he ſaid, "that ſome "trick was intended, had been the real cauſe which had induced "him

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. "him to keep his army ſo long at Plaſſy; but God and the Prophet "would puniſh thoſe by whom the treaty was violated." He at the ſame time ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, to aſſemble with the utmoſt diligence at their former encampments at Plaſſy, and ſent orders to Mr. Law, who was waiting with his party at Boglipore, to come to his aſſiſtance with the utmoſt expedition.

The Engliſh army arrived and halted on the 16th at Patlee, a town on the weſtern ſhore of the river of Coſſimbuzar, about ſix miles above the junction of this with the Jelingeer river. Twelve miles above Patlee, on the ſame ſhore, is the fort of Cutwah; the walls of which were only of mud; but it commanded the paſſage of the river. The governor of this fort had promiſed to ſurrender after a little pretended reſiſtance, and Major Coote was ſent forward on the 17th with 200 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, one field-piece, and a ſmall mortar, to ſummon the place. The town of Cutwah lies about 300 yards ſouth of the fort, and is ſeparated from it by the Agey, a river which takes riſe in the high lands of Berbohin. The detachment landed at midnight, and found the town abandoned; but not being able to make uſe either of the field-piece or mortar, becauſe ſome of their appurtenances had been left behind, remained quiet until day-break, when Major Coote went to the bank of the river, and waved a white flag, which for ſome time was anſwered only by ſhot. However, the governor at length came down to the oppoſite bank, but inſtead of compliance, defied the attack. As ſoon as he was returned into the fort, the Sepoys croſſed the river, and, under ſhelter of a ridge, fired upon the ramparts, whilſt the Europeans marched to the left, in order to ford at ſome diſtance from the fort. As ſoon as the garriſon ſaw them entering the river, they ſet fire to a ſhed of matts, which had been raiſed to protect the walls from the ſun and rain, and as ſoon as all parts were in a blaze, they made their eſcape to the northward. Within the fort, and in ſeveral granaries in the neighbourhood, was found as much rice as would ſuſtain 10,000 men for a year. The main body of the army arrived at Cutwah in the evening, and encamped on the plain; but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

but the next day the rainy ſeaſon began with ſuch violence, that they were obliged to ſtrike their tents, and ſhelter themſelves in the huts and houſes of the town. 1757. June.

The Nabob's troops ſeeing in the impending warfare no proſpect of plunder, as in the ſacking of Calcutta, and much more danger, clamorouſly refuſed to quit the city, until the arrears of their pay were diſcharged: this tumult laſted three days, nor was it appeaſed until they had obtained a large diſtribution of money. Colonel Clive had diſpatched a letter every day ſince he left Chandernagore, informing Meer Jaffier of his progreſs and ſtations, but he had hitherto received only one letter from Jaffier, which arrived on the 17th, and was dated the day before. In this Jaffier acknowledged his ſeeming reconciliation with the Nabob, and his oath not to aſſiſt the Engliſh againſt him; but ſaid, nevertheleſs, that the purport of his covenant with them muſt be carried into execution. This ambiguous communication, at ſo deciſive a time, made Colonel Clive ſuſpect that he might betray the Engliſh, by leaguing with the Nabob, and determined him not to croſs the river into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar until this doubt ſhould be removed. The two next days paſſed in diſappointed expectations of farther intelligence; but, on the 20th, returned the meſſenger whom Mr. Watts had diſpatched to Muxadavad on his arrival at Culnah. He reported, that he had been introduced to Meer Jaffier and his ſon Meirum, in a private court of their palace, into which, as ſoon as they began to queſtion him, came ſome other perſons, whom he ſuppoſed to belong to the Nabob; for, as ſoon as they appeared, Meirum threatened to cut off his head as a ſpy, and the heads of all the Engliſh, if they ſhould dare to croſs the river into the iſland. From this report no conſequences could be drawn; but in the evening arrived two letters from Meer Jaffier, dated on the 19th, one written to his agent Omarbeg, who was in the Engliſh camp, and the other to Colonel Cive. This only mentioned that he ſhould begin his march that day from the city, and that his tent would be either on the left or the right of the army, from whence he promiſed to ſend more frequent and explicit intelligence; having hitherto been deterred by the fear of diſcovery, as guards were ſtationed on all the roads to intercept all meſſengers. His let-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. ter to Omarbeg contained ſeveral particulars of the reconciliation between himſelf and the Nabob, and gave ſome account of the ſtate of the army. But neither letter explained his own deſigns in the field, or propoſed any plan of operations for the Engliſh army. This communication, therefore, although it abated Colonel Clive's ſuſpicions of Jaffier's treachery, did not confirm him in any reliance upon his reſolution or aſſiſtance: and much confounded by this perplexity, as well as by the danger of coming to action without horſe, of which the Engliſh had none, he wrote the ſame day to the Rajah of Burdawan, who was diſcontented with the Nabob, inviting him to join them with his cavalry, even were they only a thouſand. But, recollecting that the princes of Indoſtan never join the ſtandard which doubts of ſucceſs, his anxieties increaſed by the dread of thoſe imputations, to which he foreſaw the preſent caution of his conduct would be expoſed, if, after having engaged the public welfare in a project of ſuch importance and riſque, he ſhould recede from the attempt in the very hour of event. He, therefore, determined to conſult his officers, and aſſembled them the next day in council. They were 20, and he propoſed to their conſideration, "Whether "the army ſhould immediately croſs into the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, "and at all riſques attack the Nabob? or whether, availing themſelves of the great quantity of rice which they had taken at Cut-"wah, they ſhould maintain themſelves there during the rainy "ſeaſon, and in the mean time invite the Morattoes to enter the "province and join them?" Contrary to the forms uſually practiſed in councils of war, of taking the voice of the youngeſt officer firſt, and aſcending from this to the opinion of the preſident, Colonel Clive gave his own opinion firſt, which was, "to remain at Cut-"wah;" and then deſcended to the loweſt according to the ſucceſſion of rank. The Majors Kilpatrick and Grant were of the ſame opinion as himſelf, but Major Coote reaſoned otherwiſe. He ſaid, "that the common ſoldiers were at preſent confident of ſucceſs; "that a ſtop ſo near the enemy would naturally quell this ardour, "which it would be difficult to reſtore; that the arrival of the "French troops with Mr. Law would add ſtrength to the Nabob's "force and vigour to his councils; that they would ſurround the

"Engliſh

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June.

" Engliſh army, and cut off its communication with Calcutta, when " diſtreſſes not yet foreſeen might ruin it as effectually as the loſs " of a battle. He therefore adviſed, that they ſhould either ad- " vance and decide the conteſt immediately, or immediately return " to Calcutta." It is very rare that a council of war decides for battle; for as the commander never conſults his officers in this authentic form, but when great difficulties are to be ſurmounted, the general communication increaſes the ſenſe of riſque and danger which every one brings with him to the conſultation. Thirteen officers were againſt, and only ſeven voted for immediate action. The ſanction of this council in no wiſe alleviated the anxieties of Clive; for, as ſoon as it broke up, he retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he remained near an hour in deep meditation, which convinced him of the abſurdity of ſtopping where he was; and acting now entirely from himſelf, he gave orders, on his return to his quarters, that the army ſhould croſs the river the next morning.

The ſick were lodged in the fort of Cutwah, and at ſun-riſe, on the 22d, the army began to paſs: all were landed on the oppoſite ſhore by four in the afternoon, at which time another meſſenger arrived with a letter from Jaffier, which had likewiſe been diſpatched on the 19th, but had taken bye-roads, and was delayed by other precautions. The purport was, " That the Nabob had halted at Mun- " carra, a village ſix miles to the ſouth of Coſſimbuzar, and intended " to entrench and wait the event at that place, where Jaffier pro- " poſed that the Engliſh ſhould attack him by ſurprize, marching " round by the inland part of the iſland." Colonel Clive immediately ſent back the meſſenger with this anſwer, " That he ſhould " march to Plaſſy without delay, and would the next morning ad- " vance ſix miles farther to the village of Daudpoor; but if Meer " Jaffier did not join him there, he would make peace with the " Nabob." Accordingly the troops proceeded before ſun-ſet, conforming their march to the progreſs of the boats, which, as before, were towed againſt the ſtream; and having, by unceaſing toil, advanced fifteen miles in eight hours, arrived at one in the morning at Plaſſy. The army immediately took poſſeſſion of the adjoining

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. grove, when, to their great ſurprize, the continual ſound of drums, clarions, and cymbals, which always accompany the night watches of an Indian camp, convinced them that they were within a mile of the Nabob's army. His intention to remain at Muncarra, had ariſen from a ſuppoſition that the Engliſh would advance immediately after they had taken Cutwah, and would arrive at Plaſſy before his own could get there; but as ſoon as he found that they were not ſo active, he continued his march, and arrived at the camp of Plaſſy twelve hours before them.

The guards and centinels being ſtationed, the reſt of the troops were permitted to take reſt. The ſoldiers ſlept; but few of the officers, and leaſt of all the commander. On the other hand, the deſpondency of the Nabob increaſed as the hour of danger approached. Sitting in his tent in the evening of his arrival at the camp, it chanced that his attendants quitted him one after another in order to ſay their uſual prayers at ſun-ſet, until they left him quite alone; when a common fellow, either through ignorance, or with an intention to ſteal, entered the tent unperceived, until he was diſcovered by the Nabob; who ſtarting from the gloomy reflections in which he was abſorbed, haſtily recalled his attendants with this emphatic exclamation, "Sure they ſee me dead."

The grove of Plaſſy extended north and ſouth about 800 yards in length, and 300 in breadth, and was planted with mango-trees, in regular rows. It was incloſed by a ſlight bank and ditch, but the ditch was choaked with coarſe weeds and brambles. The angle to the ſouth-weſt was 200 yards from the river, but that to the north-weſt not more than 50. A little to the north of the grove, and on the bank of the river, ſtood a hunting-houſe of the Nabob's, encompaſſed by a garden-wall. The river, a mile before it reaches this houſe, curves to the ſouth-weſt nearly in the ſhape of an horſe-ſhoe, including a peninſula about three miles in circumference, of which the neck, from the ſtream to the ſtream again, is not more than a quarter of a mile acroſs. About 300 yards to the ſouth of the peninſula, began an entrenchment, which Roydoolub had thrown up to ſecure his camp: the ſouthern face, fronting the grove of Plaſſy,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

extended nearly in a ſtreight line, about 200 yards inland from the bank of the river; and then turning to the north-eaſt by an obtuſe angle, continued nearly in this direction about three miles. Within this entrenchment encamped the whole army, of which a part likewiſe occupied the peninſula. In the angle was raiſed a redoubt, on which cannon were mounted. About 300 yards to the eaſt of this redoubt, but without the camp, was a hillock covered with trees; and 800 yards to the ſouth of this hillock and the redoubt, was a ſmall tank or pond; and 100 yards farther to the ſouth was another, but much larger tank: both, as all ſuch public reſervoirs of water in Bengal, were ſurrounded by a large mound of earth at the diſtance of ſome yards from the margin of the water. 1757. June.

At day-break, the enemy's army iſſuing from many different openings of the camp, began to advance towards the grove; 50,000 foot, 18,000 horſe, and 50 pieces of cannon. The greateſt part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the reſt with various arms, pikes, ſwords, arrows, rockets. The cavalry, both men and horſes, drawn from the northern regions, were much ſtouter than any which ſerve in the armies of Coromandel. The cannon were moſtly of the largeſt calibres, 24 and 32 pounders; and theſe were mounted on the middle of a large ſtage, raiſed ſix feet from the ground, carrying beſides the cannon, all the ammunition belonging to it, and the gunners themſelves who managed the cannon, on the ſtage itſelf. Theſe machines were drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of white oxen, of the largeſt ſize, bred in the country of Purnea; and behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to aſſiſt at difficult tugs, by ſhoving with his forehead againſt the hinder part of the carriage. The infantry and cavalry marched in many ſeparate and compact bodies. Forty vagabond Frenchmen, under the command of one Sinfray, appeared at the larger tank, that neareſt the grove, with four pieces of light cannon. Two larger pieces advanced and halted on a line with this tank, cloſe to the bank of the river. Behind theſe poſts 5000 horſe and 7000 foot took their ſtation under the command of Meer Murdeen, and the ſon of Moonlol. The reſt of the army in large columns of horſe and foot extended in a curve from the left

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. left of the hillock near their camp, to the ground about 800 yards eaſt of the ſouthern angle of the grove of Plaſſy: and in this part were the troops of Meer Jaffier, Roydoolub, and Lattee. In all the openings between the columns were interſperſed the artillery, two, three, and four pieces together.

Colonel Clive, viewing the enemy's array from the top of the hunting-houſe, was ſurprized at their numbers, as well as the ſplendor and confidence of their array; but judging, that if his own troops remained in the grove, the enemy would impute the caution to fear, and grow bolder, he drew them up in a line with the hunting-houſe, and facing to the neareſt tank. They were 900 Europeans, of whom 100 were artillery-men, and 50 were ſailors; 100 Topaſſes, and 2100 Sepoys; the artillery were eight field-pieces, all ſix-pounders, and two howitz: the Topaſſes were blended in the battalion with the Europeans, the ſailors aſſiſted the artillery-men. The battalion with three field-pieces on the right, and the ſame number on their left, were in the centre; on the right and left of which extended the Sepoys in two equal diviſions. The other two field-pieces and the howitzes were advanced 200 yards in front of the left diviſion of Sepoys, and poſted behind two brick-kilns. This line extended 600 yards beyond the right of the grove; but the diſtance of the enemy in this quarter, prevented any danger of their falling upon the flank before whatſoever troops were ordered could fall back, and range along the eaſt ſide of the grove. The firſt ſhot was fired by the enemy, at eight o'clock, from the tank; it killed one, and wounded another of the grenadier company, which was poſted on the right of the battalion. This, as a ſignal, was followed by the continual fire of the reſt of the Nabob's artillery on the plain. But moſt of their ſhot flew too high. The two advanced field-pieces anſwered the fire from the tank, and thoſe with the battalion acted againſt the different diviſions of heavy artillery on the plain; but firing out of the reach of point-blank ſhot, hit none of the enemy's guns; nevertheleſs, every ſhot took place, either in one or other of the bodies of infantry or cavalry. But ten for one killed, was no advantage in ſuch a diſparity of numbers, and in half an hour the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Engliſh loſt 10 Europeans, and 20 Sepoys; on which Colonel Clive ordered the whole army to retire into the grove. The enemy elated by this retreat, advanced their heavy artillery nearer, and fired with greater vivacity than before; but their ſhot only ſtruck the trees; for the troops were ordered to ſit down, whilſt the field-pieces alone anſwered the enemy's cannon from behind the bank. Exploſions of powder were frequently obſerved amongſt their artillery. At eleven o'clock Colonel Clive conſulted his officers at the drum head; and it was reſolved to maintain the cannonade during the day, but at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. About noon a very heavy ſhower covered the plain, and very ſoon damaged the enemy's powder ſo much, that their fire ſlackened continually; but the Engliſh ammunition ſerved on. The Nabob had remained in his tent out of the reach of danger, continually flattered by his attendants and officers, of whom one half were traitors, with aſſurances of victory; but about noon he was informed, that Meer Murdeen, the beſt and moſt faithful of his generals, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. The misfortune diſturbed him to exceſs; he immediately ſent for Meer Jaffier; and as ſoon as he entered the tent, flung his turband on the ground, ſaying, "Jaffier, that turband you muſt defend." The other bowed, and with his hands on his breaſt, promiſed his utmoſt ſervices; and returning to his troops and aſſociates immediately diſpatched a letter to Colonel Clive, informing him of what had paſſed, and adviſing him either to puſh forward in the inſtant, or at all events, to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning; but the meſſenger was afraid to proceed whilſt the firing continued. In the mean time, the terrors of the Nabob increaſed continually: Roydoolub taking advantage of them, counſelled him to return to his capital: his advice prevailed, and the Nabob ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments. 1757. June.

Accordingly, about two o'clock, the enemy ceaſed the cannonade, and were perceived yoking the trains of oxen to their artillery, and as ſoon as theſe were in motion, their whole army turned and proceeded ſlowly towards the camp. But Sinfray with his party and field-pieces ſtill maintained his poſt at the tank. This was a good ſtation

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. station to cannonade the enemy from, during their retreat; and Major Kilpatrick impatient to seize the opportunity, advanced from the grove with two companies of the battalion, and two field-pieces, marching fast towards the tank, and sent information of his intention, and the reason of it, to his commander, who chanced at this time to be lying down in the hunting-house. Some say he was asleep; which is not improbable, considering how little rest he had had for so many hours before; but this is no imputation either against his courage or conduct. Starting up, he ran immediately to the detachment, reprimanded Kilpatrick sharply for making such a motion without his orders, commanded him to return to the grove, and bring up the rest of the army; and then proceeded himself with the detachment to the tank, which Sinfray, seeing his party left without support, abandoned; and retreated to the redoubt of the intrenchment, where he planted his field-pieces ready to act again.

As the main body of the English troops were advancing to the tank, that part of the Nabob's army, which in the beginning of the action had formed opposite to the south-east angle of the grove of Plassy, lingered in the retreat behind the rest, and when they had passed the parallel of the grove, halted, faced, and advanced towards the north-east angle. These were the troops of Meer Jaffier; but their signals not being understood, it was supposed that they intended to fall upon the baggage and boats at the grove, whilst the English army were engaged at the tank. Three platoons of the line, whilst in march, and a field-piece, were detached to oppose them, under the command of Captain Grant and Lieutenant Rumbold; and Mr. John Johnstone, a volunteer, managed the field-piece, the fire of which soon stopped the approach of the supposed enemy. Mean while the army being arrived at the tank, got all their field-pieces upon the mound, and from thence began to cannonade into the Nabob's camp; on which many of the troops came again out of the intrenchment, and several pieces of their artillery were likewise preparing to return; on this, Colonel Clive advanced nearer, and posted half his troops and artillery at the lesser tank, and the other half at a rising ground about 200 yards to the left of it. From these stations the cannonade

was

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

was renewed with more efficacy than before, and killed many of the oxen which were drawing the artillery, which threw all the trains that were approaching into disorder. On the other hand, the Frenchmen with Sinfray plyed their field-pieces from the redoubt; and matchlocks from the intrenchments, from ditches, hollows, and every hole or shelter, as also from the bushes on the hillock east of the redoubt, kept up a constant although irregular fire, whilst the cavalry advanced several times threatening to charge sword in hand, but were always stopped and repulsed by the quick firing of the field-pieces. Nevertheless, the English suffered as much in this, as they had during all the former operations of the day. At length the troops of Jaffier appeared moving away from the field of battle, without joining the rest of the Nabob's army; which convincing Colonel Clive who they were, he determined to make one vigorous effort for victory by attacking at once Sinfray's redoubt, and the eminence to the eastward of it, in the cover of which an ambuscade was suspected. Two divisions of the army were appointed to the two attacks, and the main body advanced in the centre ready to support both, and to act, as occasion should offer, of itself. The division on the right gained the eminence without firing or receiving a single shot. At the same time the left marched up to the redoubt, which Sinfray, finding himself again deserted by his allies, quitted without farther resistance, and without carrying off his field-pieces. Thus the whole of the English army entered the camp at five o'clock, without other obstacle than what they met from tents, artillery, baggage, and stores, dispersed around them, and abandoned by an army which out-numbered them ten to one, and were flying before them on all sides in the utmost confusion. 1757. June.

The cause of this sudden panic was the flight of the Nabob, who hearing that Meer Jaffier remained inactive on the plain, and that the English were advancing to storm his camp, mounted a camel, and fled at the utmost pace of the animal, accompanied by about 2000 horsemen. The victory was decided, and was confirmed by the arrival of the messenger with the letter sent by Meer Jaffier at

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. noon; ſoon after came another, whom Colonel Clive immediately returned with a note, requeſting Meer Jaffier to meet him the next morning at Daudpore.

The Engliſh ſoldiers being told, that they ſhould receive a donation of money, received the orders to march on to Daudpore with acclamations, nor ſhewed any deſire to ſtop for the plunder which lay ſpread around them. They halted, however, until the commiſſaries had taken poſſeſſion of as many oxen as ſufficed for all the artillery and carriages of the army: their own being much inferior to the Nabob's. A detachment was ſent forward, under Major Coote, to purſue, or rather to obſerve if the enemy rallied; and the whole army arrived at eight o'clock, and reſted at Daudpore. This important victory was gained with little loſs. Only 16 Sepoys were killed, and 36 wounded, many of whom ſlightly: and of the Europeans about 20 were killed and wounded; of which number, ſix of the killed, and ten of the wounded, were of the artillery, as were likewiſe the only two officers who were wounded during the different operations of the day.

In the morning, Colonel Clive deputed Mr. Scrafton and Omarbeg to conduct Meer Jaffier to Daudpore, who received them with reſerve, and an air of anxiety, as if he apprehended, that the Engliſh reſented his conduct, in not having joined them, conformably to his promiſes; he, however, immediately proceeded with them to Daudpore, accompanied by his ſon Meirum, and his uſual retinue. On entering the Engliſh camp, he alighted from his elephant, and the guard drew out, and reſted their arms, to receive him with the uſual honours. Not knowing the meaning of this compliment, he ſtarted back, as if he thought it a preparation to his deſtruction; but Colonel Clive advancing haſtily, embraced, and ſaluted him Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa, which removed his fears. They conferred about an hour, he making ſome apologies, and the Colonel no reproaches; but adviſed him to proceed immediately to the city, and not to ſuffer Surajah Dowlah to eſcape, nor his treaſures to be plundered. Meer Jaffier returning to his troops, haſtened with them to Muxadavad, and arrived there in the evening, that is, of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the 24th. Colonel Clive then dispatched letters to Roydoolub, Latty, and Monickchund, and to Monickchund he promised that no enquiry should be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta. The army proceeded in the afternoon, and halted six miles beyond Daudpore. 1757. June.

Surajah Dowlah got to the city before the midnight after the battle; and not a few of his principal officers arrived there almost as soon as himself. These he assembled in council. Some advised him to deliver himself up to the English, which he imputed to treachery; others proposed, that he should encourage the army by the offer of great rewards, and appear again at their head in the morning. This he seemed to approve, and, having ordered an immediate distribution of three months pay to the troops, dismissed the council, and retired into the seraglio, where, left to his own reflections and his women, his terrors returned.

The next morning, the 24th, he sent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with their furniture and necessaries, and with them a great part of his own jewels, and some gold rupees: and determined to escape himself in the night; but, having lost all confidence in every officer of distinction, whose fortunes either he himself or his grandfather had made, he intrusted his intentions only to the eunuch who governed his seraglio. The arrival of Meer Jaffier in the evening, although he attempted nothing immediately, hastened the Nabob's departure. Having disguised himself in a mean dress, he went secretly at ten o'clock at night out of a window, carrying a casket of his most valuable jewels, and attended only by his favourite concubine and the eunuch. They got undiscovered into a boat, which the eunuch had prepared at the wharf of the palace: it immediately rowed away to the northward. It was his intention to escape to Mr. Law, and with him to Patna, the governor of which province was a faithful adherent to his family. At midnight, Meer Jaffier was informed of his flight, and immediately sent several parties in pursuit of him. In the morning, the whole city was in confusion, no one knowing what was become of their late Nabob, and not perceiving his station occupied by any other. Moonlol, and several others of the Nabob's familiars, were taken in the forenoon, endeavouring to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. their escape; and the next day the women, with the elephants belonging to the seraglio, which the Nabob had sent away previous to his own departure, were stopped by some of Meer Jaffier's troops at Bogwongolla, a town on the great arm of the Ganges, 15 miles to the N. E. of Muxadavad.

The English army arrived at noon, the 25th, and halted at Maudipoor, from whence Colonel Clive sent forward Mr. Watts and Mr. Walsh, attended by 100 Sepoys: they arrived at three in the afternoon in the city, and visited Meer Jaffier, who then dispatched more parties in pursuit of Surajah Dowlah. Their visit convinced the inhabitants whom they were to look up to as their future lord, and their exhortations, seconded by the vicinity of the English army, encouraged Meer Jaffier to proclaim himself Nabob.

The next day, the 26th, Watts and Walsh visited the *Seats*, where they met Meer Jaffier and Roydoolub, and conferred concerning the payment of the stipulated monies, but Roydoolub insisted pertinaciously that the whole amount of Surajah Dowlah's treasures was not sufficient to supply it. The restitution, with the donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee, amounted to 22,000,000 of Secca rupees, equal to 2,750,000 pounds. But other donations were promised, which have since been the foundation of several fortunes, although not then publicly avowed.

Mr. Watts proposed, that the Seats should supply the deficiency, and repay themselves out of the future revenues. Roydoolub replied, that the Seats could not advance crores of rupees; a crore is 10,000,000. His objections raised as unfavourable prejudices of his character, as were entertained of Omichund; but the next day, the 27th, the deputies had real cause to think evil of him; for the Seats sent Rungeet Roy to inform them, that a consultation had been held in the night, between Roydoolub, Meerum the son of Meer Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussain Cawn, an officer of distinction, in which it was proposed to assassinate Colonel Clive, who intended to have gone to the city that day; but changed his resolution on this notice, and waited all the next at Cossimbuzar for farther information concerning this plot; during which, his apprehensions were

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

were removed, but by what intelligence we do not know. On the 29th in the morning, he entered the city, escorted by 200 of the battalion and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded to the habitation allotted for him. It was a palace and a garden, called Moraudbaug, and spacious enough to accommodate all the troops which accompanied him. Here he was immediately visited by Meerum, with whom he went to the palace of the late Nabob, where Meer Jaffier with all the great officers in the city were waiting for him. In the hall of audience was fixed the *Musnud* or throne, in which Surajah Dowlah used to appear in public. Jaffier, after the first salutation at the entrance, returned towards the inner part of the hall with Colonel Clive, and seemed desirous to avoid the *Musnud*, which Clive perceiving, led him to it, and having placed him on it, made obeisance to him, as Nabob of the provinces, in the usual forms, and presented a plate with gold rupees: he then, by an interpreter, exhorted the great men to be joyful that fortune had given them so good a prince, in exhange for such a tyrant as Surajah Dowlah; on which they likewise paid homage, and presented gold. The next morning Jaffier visited Clive, and conferred with him on the state of the treasury, alledging, as Roydoolub had done, that there was not sufficient to answer all his engagements to the English, but that he was nevertheless ready to agree to any reasonable accommodation. Clive proposed, and Jaffier agreed, to refer the matter to the *Seats*; and, in order to extinguish as soon as possible this brand of contention, they proceeded immediately to the house of the *Seats*, accompanied by Watts, Scrafton, Meerum, and Roydoolub. Omichund, who was attending, followed, thinking himself, at this very time, in as high a degree of estimation with Clive, as any one who had contributed to the revolution; but, on his arrival at the *Seats*, finding that he was not invited to the carpet where the others were in conference, he sat down at a distance near the outward part of the hall. 1757. June.

The treaties, as written in Persic and English, were read, explained, and acknowledged. After much conversation, Roydoolub insisting always on the scantiness of the treasury, it was agreed that one half of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. of the money ſtipulations ſhould be paid immediately; two thirds of this half in coin, and one third in jewels, plate, and effects, at a valuation; but that the other half ſhould be diſcharged in three years at three equal payments: Roydoolub was allowed a commiſſion of five in the hundred on the ſums for reſtitution, which amounted to 17,700,000 rupees, and this was one of the gratuities which had been held out to Omichund. The conference being ended, Clive and Scraſton went towards Omichund, who was waiting in full aſſurance of hearing the glad tidings of his good fortune; when Clive ſaid, "It "is now time to undeceive Omichund:" on which, Scrafton ſaid to him in the Indoſtan language, "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; "you are to have nothing." Theſe words overpowered him like a blaſt of ſulphur; he ſunk back, fainting, and would have fallen to the ground, had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms; they carried him to his palankin, in which they coveyed him to his houſe, where he remained many hours in ſtupid melancholy, and began to ſhew ſome ſymptoms of inſanity. Some days after, he viſited Colonel Clive, who adviſed him to make a pilgrimage to ſome pagoda; which he accordingly did ſoon after, to a famous one near Maulda: he went, and returned inſane, his mind every day more and more approaching to idiotiſm; and, contrary to the uſual manners of old age in Indoſtan, ſtill more to the former excellence of his underſtanding, he delighted in being continually dreſſed in the richeſt garments, and ornamented with the moſt coſtly jewels. In this ſtate of imbecillity, he died about a year and a half after the ſhock of his diſappointment. Grounded on his importance, by knowing the ſecret, he held out the terror of betraying it, to ſecure his own advantages. Whether he would have betrayed it, if refuſed, is uncertain: for part of his fortune was in the power of the Engliſh, and he had the utmoſt vengeance of Jaffier and his confederates to fear. However, the experiment was not to be tried. But, on the other hand, as his tales and artifices prevented Surajah Dowlah from believing the repreſentations of his moſt truſty ſervants, who early ſuſpected, and at length were convinced, that the Engliſh were confederated with Jaffier; the 2,000,000 of rupees

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

rupees he expected ſhould have been paid to him, and he left to enjoy them in oblivion and contempt. 1757.

On the 2d of July, two days after the conference at the *Seats*, news came to the city that Surajah Dowlah was taken, and the report excited murmurs amongſt a great part of the army encamped around. The rowers of his boat, fatigued with exceſſive toil, ſtopped in the night at Rajah Mahal, and the Nabob, with his concubine, took ſhelter in a deſerted garden; where he was diſcovered at break of day by a man of mean condition, whoſe ears he had cauſed to be cut off, when at this place about 13 months before he took the fatal and furious reſolution of returning from his intended expedition againſt Purneah, to the deſtruction of Calcutta. The injured man revealed him to the brother of Meer Jaffier, reſiding in the town, and he to the ſoldiers who were ſeeking him. They hurried him back to Muxadavad with the eager diligence of men who knew the value of their prize; and to recommend themſelves ſtill more to their employers, treated him with every kind of inſolence and indignity compatible with the preſervation of his life. In this manner they brought him, about midnight, as a common felon, into the preſence of Meer Jaffier, in the very palace which a few days before had been the ſeat of his own reſidence and deſpotic authority. It is ſaid that Jaffier ſeemed to be moved with compaſſion; and well he might, for he owed all his former fortunes to the generoſity and favour of Allaverdy, who died in firm reliance, that Jaffier would repay his bounties by attachment and fidelity to this his darling adoption; who, himſelf, to Jaffier at leaſt, was no criminal. Surajah Dowlah proſtrated himſelf, and with exceſſive tremor and tears implored for life alone. But Meerum, the ſon of Jaffier, a youth not ſeventeen, fierce, barbarous, and in his nature cruel as Surajah Dowlah himſelf, inſiſted on inſtant death. Jaffier ordered the priſoner to be removed, and the ſoldiers who had taken led him into a diſtant chamber, one of the vileſt of the palace, which they guarded in expectation of farther orders. Moſt of the principal men in the government were at this time in the palace, ſome to teſtify their reſpects, others to tranſact the affairs of July.

their

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. their offices. All these Jaffier consulted. Some, although they had before trembled at the frown of Surajah Dowlah, now despised the meanness of his nature, more than they had dreaded the malignancy of his disposition: others, for their own sakes, did not chuse to encourage their new sovereign in despotic acts of bloodshed: some were actuated by veneration for the memory of Allaverdy: others wished to preserve Surajah Dowlah, either as a resource to themselves, or as a restraint upon Jaffier: all these proposed a strict but mild imprisonment. But the rest, who were more subtle courtiers, seconded the opinion of Meerum, representing the risques of revolt and revolution to which the government of Jaffier would continually be exposed, whilst Surajah Dowlah lived. Jaffier himself gave no opinion; and Meerum seeing his unwillingness to pronounce, advised him to go to rest; and he himself would take care of the prisoner. Jaffier, pretending to understand these words as if they meant no violence, dismissed the assembly, and retired into the inward apartments of the palace; when Meerum privately sent one of his own menial servants, in whom he most confided, to the guard, with the fatal mandate; which they received with the ruthless alacrity of ruffians who murder for reward. Their boisterous intrusion into the chamber immediately convinced Surajah Dowlah of their purpose, and the instant terrors of death threw him into a strong agony of bitter lamentation. At length he recovered sufficiently to ask leave to make his ablutions, and to say his prayers. A pot of water chanced to be near, which the executioners, impatient to perform their work, hastily threw over his head. The servant then struck with his poignard, and the others finished the massacre with their swords. His mangled remains were exposed, in the morning, through the city, upon an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Allaverdy, where they were buried. The populace beheld the procession with awe and consternation; and the soldiery, having no longer the option of two lords, accepted the promises of Jaffier, and refrained from tumult.

Thus

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Thus periſhed Surajah Dowlah, in the 20th year of his age, and the 15th month of his reign, by the hands of violence, as his father and grandfather had periſhed before him; and by means not unlike thoſe which were employed by both his grandfathers to deſtroy the heir of their benefactor, by whom they, as Jaffier by them, had been promoted from obſcurity to the higheſt ranks of the ſtate. There were found with his ſecretary copies of the letters he had written to Mr. Buſſy in Chicacole, and to Mr. Law in Behar. In one to Mr. Buſſy, dated a few days after he had ſworn to the peace concluded with the Engliſh on the 6th of February, he preſſeth him to ſend 2000 men under the command of truſty officers, and in another invites him to march himſelf with his whole force into Bengal. To Mr. Law he writes ſoon after his departure into Behar, and before the confederacy againſt himſelf began to move, that he is determined to attack the Engliſh, and orders him to return immediately with his party to Muxadavad. Tyrant as he was, if he had reſpected the advice of his grandfather Allaverdy, and not have excited the deteſtation of the Gentoos, at the ſame time that he was rendering himſelf dreadful to the principal Mahomedan officers of his court, the Engliſh would have found no alliance ſufficient to have ventured the riſque of dethroning him: but it is probable that the ſame iniquity of character, which urged him to the deſtruction of Calcutta, would ſoon have called forth other avengers of other atrocious deeds. 1757. July.

The party of Frenchmen, with Mr. Law, advanced from Boglipore as ſoon as they received the laſt ſummons of Surajah Dowlah, but ſo late, that they had not paſſed Tacriagully, when they heard ſome confuſed reports of the battle of Plaſſy, on which Mr. Law halted, waiting for more certain information. Had he immediately proceeded 20 miles farther, he would the next day have met and ſaved Surajah Dowlah, and an order of events, very different from thoſe which we have to relate, would in all probability have enſued. After waiting two days at Tacriagully, Mr. Law received intelligence that he was taken; on which he immediately marched back into Behar, intending to offer his ſervice to Ramnarain, the vice-nabob of the province.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. Of all the Gentoos whom Allaverdy had raiſed to high appointments, Ramnarain ſeems to have been the only one, whoſe gratitude had not been eſtranged by the deſpotic caprices of Surajah Dowlah. But they were connected by the ſame reſentments: for, whilſt Surajah Dowlah was harbouring grudge againſt Meer Jaffier at Muxadavad, Ramnaram was at variance with a brother, and a brother-in-law of Meer Jaffier, who held conſiderable employments at Patna. The knowledge of this animoſity had deterred Roydoolub, although connected with Ramnarain by religion as well as buſineſs, from attempting to gain his concurrence to the confederacy; nor does it appear that Ramnarain knew any thing of it until it was brought to the point of deciſion. In the mean while, he regarded the party with Mr. Law as an important reſource to Surajah Dowlah, in caſe hoſtilities ſhould be renewed with the Engliſh, and had accordingly ſupplied them, although ſecretly, with the means of ſubſiſtance ever ſince they had retreated into his province. The new regency at Muxadavad had, therefore, no reaſon to expect his willing acquieſcence to the revolution, or not to ſuſpect that he would not entertain the party with Mr. Law, and even ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill more by alliances with the neighbouring powers to the weſtward. The beſt means of averting theſe conſequences conſiſted in ſending a detachment expedite and ſtrong enough to deſtroy the French party before they reached Patna, or a force ſufficient to deter Ramnarain from taking them into his pay when they ſhould arrive there.

Meer Jaffier, notwithſtanding the ſeeming acquieſcence of the ſoldiery to his acceſſion, was afraid to truſt any conſiderable body of them at a diſtance, and eſpecially in the precarious province of Behar; but was aſhamed to acknowledge his miſtruſt, which Clive penetrated, and determined to undertake the expedition with the Engliſh troops alone. The detachment conſiſted of 230 Europeans, three companies each of 100 Sepoys, 50 Laſcars, and two field-pieces, both ſix-pounders, and Major Coote was appointed to the command. The baggage, ſtores, carriages, ammunition, and proviſions, were laden in 40 boats, all of which were very ill equipt, whether with rowers

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

rowers or tackle; and, nevertheleſs, were not ready before the 6th of July, when they left Muxadavad; by which time the French party had got half-way to Patna. 1757. July.

The news of the battle of Plaſſy was brought to Calcutta on the 25th of June in a letter from Colonel Clive to Mr. Drake, the governor, who immediately communicated it to the council. The victory was deemed deciſive; and all reſtraints of ſecrecy being now removed, the purport of the treaties were immediately revealed by the members of the council to all they met. In a few minutes all the inhabitants of the town, impatient to hear or tell, were in the ſtreets. The reſtitution of public and private property; the donations to the ſquadron, the army, and individuals; the grants to the company; the privileges to the Engliſh commerce; the compariſon of the proſperity of this day with the calamities in which the colony was overwhelmed at this very ſeaſon in the preceding year: in a word, this ſudden reverſe and profuſion of good fortune intoxicated the ſteadieſt minds, and hurried every one into the exceſſes of intemperate joy; even envy and hatred forgot their energies, and were reconciled, at leaſt for a while, to familiarity and good-will; for every one ſaw that his own portion of advantages was intimately and inſeparably blended with that of every other perſon in the ſettlement.

The preſidency immediately prepared a veſſel to carry theſe welcome tidings to England. Mr. Maningham, who had been deputed from Fulta to Madraſs, chancing to return at this time to Calcutta, was immediately ſent to Muxadavad, where Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, and himſelf, were appointed to act as a committee in the management of all public affairs. Their firſt care was to get the money ſtipulated by the treaties. Roydoolub perſiſted in his aſſertions of the ſcantineſs of Surajah Dowlah's treaſury, and endeavoured to prove them by facts which were not true. At length, after a variety of diſcuſſions and equivocations, the committee by the 6th of July received, in coined ſilver, 7,271,666 rupees. This treaſure was packed up in 700 cheſts, and laden in 100 boats, which proceeded under the care of ſoldiers to Nudiah; from whence they

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. were escorted by all the boats of the squadron and many others, proceeding with banners displayed and musick sounding, as a triumphal procession, to contrast that in which the inhabitants of the Ganges had seen Surajah Dowlah returning the year before from the destruction of Calcutta. Never before did the English nation at one time obtain such a prize in solid money; for it amounted (in the mint) to 800,000 pounds sterling. From real or pretended difficulties, no more money was received until the 9th of August, when Roydoolub paid 1,655,358 rupees; and on the 30th of the same month he delivered gold, jewels, and cash, amounting to 1,599,737 rupees: the three payments amounted to 10,765,737 rupees. The whole sum agreed to be paid, as one half of the stipulations of the treaty, was 11,350,000 rupees: the deficiency, 584,905, was still delayed; but the commission which had been promised was paid to Roydoolub.

During the receipts of the money the committee had likewise attended to the other articles of the treaty. A mint was established at Calcutta, and the first rupees were coined there on the 19th of August. Agents were sent to re-establish the subordinate factories. Mandates from the Nabob were issued for the freedom of the English trade throughout the province, but permitting it only under the usual passport of the company's dustuck, and without exemption from the former prohibitions of dealing in any commodities, excepting such as were imported, or were purchased to be exported to sea. It was difficult to define the limits of the lands ceded to the company, south of Calcutta, for they had never been surveyed by the government: and great quantities of salt being manufactured in the districts nearest the sea, the tenants and renters, who gained much by this commodity, were averse to the introduction of new masters, who, as merchants, might wish to appropriate this trade to themselves: their patrons, resenting the loss of those presents and advantages, which they received for their protection, suggested every obstacle to prevent the Nabob from giving these districts to the English; and prevailed so far, that it was agreed the company should not

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

not exerciſe any authority in them, until all the lands had been ſurveyed, and every man's poſſeſſion aſcertained. 1757. July.

All the proſperities which had been imagined on the news of the battle of Plaſſy were now realized in Calcutta. A committee of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants were appointed to diſtribute the money received for the reſtitution of the loſſes of individuals, and executed the office with much diſcretion and equity. Commerce revived throughout the ſettlement, and affluence began to ſpread in every houſe; but as it is the nature of man to err with great changes of fortune, many, not content with the undiſputed advantages accruing from the revolution, immediately began to trade in ſalt and other articles, which had hitherto been prohibited to all Europeans; and Meer Jaffier complained of theſe encroachments within a month after his acceſſion, which, although checked for the preſent, were afterwards renewed, and at laſt produced much more miſchief than even diſintereſted ſagacity could have foreſeen.

Admiral Watſon barely lived to ſee the effects of thoſe ſucceſſes, to which his conduct had ſo much contributed: he died on the 16th of Auguſt, after five days illneſs, of the malignant fever peculiar at this ſeaſon of the year to the lower climate of Bengal. The frankneſs and integrity of his nature, and his zeal for the honour of his nation, had endeared him to all ranks of his countrymen, whereſoever he appeared in India.

In this interval continual advices had been received from Major Coote of the progreſs of his detachment, which had met with even more interruptions than might have been expected from the inſufficiencies of the outſet. The boats, for want of rowers, could not be towed as faſt as the troops marched on ſhore, which obliged him, before they arrived at the head of the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, to preſs 87 men out of three large trading boats which were coming down the river. On the 10th of July, which was the 4th day after their departure from Muxadavad, the troops, and on the 11th the boats, arrived at Rajahmahal, 40 miles beyond Muxadavad, where a brother of Meer Jaffier commanded; he had ſent 120 horſe to meet the detachment on the road, and promiſed every other kind of aſſiſtance, but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. but afforded none. However, after five days delay, the boats were repaired, but the horſemen refuſed to proceed without two months pay, which Major Coote had neither money or orders to furniſh: he therefore continued his march without them on the 13th, and on the 18th arrived at Boglipore, which is 65 miles from Rajahmahal. Here he received intelligence, that Mr. Law's party had four days before paſſed the city of Patna, which is 55 miles beyond Boglipore. Major Coote left this place on the 19th, and was followed the next day by 60 horſemen, ſent by the governor under the command of his ſon. On the 21ſt, the horſemen, troops, and boats, arrived at Mongheir, which by the road is 35 miles farther. The garriſon, on the appearance of the detachment, who expected to have been admitted into the fort, manned the ramparts, and ſhewed their lighted matches, which obliged the troops to march round the walls. On the 23d they arrived at Burhia, 30 miles farther on. By this time ſo many miſchances had happened to the fleet of boats, ſeveral having been loſt, others ſtranded, and ſome continually breaking from the towing lines, that Major Coote landed the field-pieces and ammunition at Burhia, and the ſame evening proceeded ſix miles farther to Darriapore. At two in the afternoon of the next day the troops arrived at Panarack, 11 miles farther. During this march all the European ſoldiers were holding mutinous language in complaints of their hardſhips and fatigues. Major Coote, impatient to reach Patna, reſolved to reſerve their chaſtiſement until he arrived there, but, as an immediate diſgrace, put them all into the boats, and the ſame evening marched himſelf at the head of the Sepoys 5 miles farther to the town of Bahar. Proceeding with them the next day, which was the 25th, whilſt the Europeans were following at leiſure, he arrived at night at Futwah, which is 26 miles from Bahar, and only ſeven from Patna. During this day's march he received two letters, and they were the firſt, from Ramnaraim, apologizing for the eſcape of the French party, and imputing it to the want of timely notice from Meer Jaffier. Soon after a deputation of his principal officers arrived at Futwah, under the pretence of compliment, but in reality to obſerve the force, and diſcover the inten-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

intentions, of Major Coote. They informed him that Ramnarain had returned only two days before from an expedition againſt two diſobedient chiefs of Moy and Sader, whoſe diſtricts lay about 30 miles ſouth-eaſt of Patna; that immediately on his return he had proclaimed Meer Jaffier Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa; that he had ſent forward 2000 of his troops, horſe and foot, in purſuit of Mr. Law, and that he had diſbanded the greateſt part of the reſt. The next day, the 26th, at ten in the forenoon, the whole detachment, as well as the boats, arrived at the Engliſh factory, which is a ſpacious building ſituated on the bank of the river, juſt without the weſtern wall of the city. Major Coote immediately prepared to viſit Ramnarain, but was prevented by a meſſage, deſiring him to take ſome repoſe, and to defer his viſit until the next day: in the afternoon three Europeans and ſome Sepoys, who were leading ſome cattle to the factory, were, without provocation, aſſaulted and wounded by a number of Peons belonging to the garriſon. Complaint was immediately made to Ramnarain, who ſhewed no inclination to redreſs the outrage; and moreover deſired Major Coote not to viſit him, as was intended, the next day, leſt the ceremonial ſhould give occaſion to quarrels betwixt their reſpective attendants. An Engliſh officer, likewiſe, walking in the town, overheard two men of condition, who did not ſuppoſe him to underſtand their language, talking of a deſign to maſſacre the Engliſh detachment. In the night many of the Europeans got drunk, and 30 of the moſt diſorderly, who had likewiſe been foremoſt in the mutiny on the road, were ſelected, and confined for puniſhment. 1757. July.

The next day Major Coote conferred with Mahmud Amy the brother, and Meer Coſſum, the brother in law, of Meer Jaffier. They informed him that the French party might eaſily have been ſtopped, if Ramnarain had ſo willed; that, on hearing of the death of Surajah Dowlah, he had ſent to Sujah Dowlah, the neighbouring and powerful ſubah of Oude, propoſing to render himſelf independent of Bengal, if Sujah Dowlah would aſſiſt him with his forces, and requeſting him to protect the French party on the frontiers, until it might be neceſſary to recal them to Patna; that Su-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. jah Dowlah encouraged his views, but was prevented by events, which more immediately concerned himſelf, from marching with his army into Bahar. They likewiſe aſſerted that Ramnarain had conſulted his confidents on the means of deſtroying the Engliſh detachment. This information determined the Major to proceed with all expedition to the frontiers of Oude.

The next day the 30 mutineers were tried and flogged; this puniſhment was judged adequate to their offence, becauſe of the great fatigues they had endured: for they had marched from Rajamahol to Patna in eleven days and a half, without the intermiſſion of one day's halt, and the diſtance, meaſured by a perambulator, is 201 miles.

A day paſſed in making preparations for the outſet; but all the attendants of the camp, and many of the boatmen, finding they were to go farther, took fright and ran away; and it was impoſſible to collect others without the aſſiſtance of the government, which Ramnarain promiſed, but did not ſupply half the requiſite number. However in this and the ſucceeding day all the boats, as well as the troops, aſſembled at Bankipore, a garden belonging to the company about five miles from the city, and on the ſame ſide of the river. The next day the detachment moved ſix miles farther to Dinapore, and Auguſt. the day after, which was the firſt of Auguſt, joined the troops which Ramnarain pretended to have ſent forward in purſuit of Mr. Law, with whom they halted at Moneah, a conſiderable town fifteen miles from Dinapore, ſituated at the confluence of the river Soan with the Ganges, where Hybutjung, their commander, refuſed to proceed any farther. The troops of the detachment, with their ammunition; croſſed the Ganges, and marched on the other ſide, whilſt the bullocks, baggage, and attendants, croſſed the Soan, and proceeded along the ſouthern ſide of the Ganges until they came oppoſite to Chuprah, when it took three days to ferry them over; for the bed of the river is in this part three miles broad, and the officer of the diſtrict failed to furniſh the boats and other aſſiſtances he had promiſed. At Chuprah the company have a houſe eſtabliſhed to collect ſalt-petre, of which great quantities are made in this, and ſome

of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of the neighbouring diſtricts. Here intelligence was obtained, that the ſeveral chiefs in this part of Behar had enliſted forces to aſſiſt Ramnarain; and ſpies reported that they had left Mr. Law's party at Benarez, which is by the road at leaſt 140 miles beyond Chuprah, and that they were ſupplied there by Bulwanſing, the Rajah of the diſtrict, who was dependant on Sujah Dowlah the ſubah of Oude. Farther purſuit was evidently vain, but certain of producing immediate hoſtilities with Sujah Dowlah, whoſe territory commenceth at the river Dewah, which diſembogues into the Ganges 18 miles to the weſt of Chuprah. The Major, therefore, reſolved to wait here for farther orders, and on the 12th received a letter from Colonel Clive, inſtructing him, as a ſcheme of Meer Jaffier's, to return to Patna, and endeavour, in concert with Mahmud Amy Cawn, to wreſt the government from Ramnarain. The troops, leaving the baggage to follow, embarked early the next morning; and ſuch is the ſtrength of the ſtream at this ſeaſon of the year, that they arrived at Patna by noon, although the diſtance along the courſe of the river is 44 miles. It appeared to the Major that the only means of executing his inſtructions would be to aſſault the citadel, in which Ramnarain always reſided, and at this time only with 2000 men; but Mahmud Amy repreſented that their force was not ſufficient to inveſt it ſo cloſely as to prevent Ramnarain from eſcaping by ſome of the ſecret paſſages, and propoſed to defer the attempt until he himſelf ſhould be joined by 1500 of Ramnarain's troops, whom he had engaged to deſert. 1757. July.

But by this time Ramnarain had taken the alarm, probably by information from his friends at Muxadavad of the orders ſent to Major Coote and Mahmud Amy, which, confirmed by the haſty return of the detachment from Chuprah, frightened him ſo much, that he now ſpared no attentions to the Major, and received his viſit with much affectation of complacence. Two days after, the Major received a letter from Meer Jaffier, fraught with ſuſpicions that Mahmud Amy had born falſe witneſs againſt Ramnarain, as a pretext for levying forces, with the intention of ſeizing the government for himſelf. Enough has not been diſcovered of the ſecrets

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. August. of Jaffier to account for this abrupt change and contradiction of an opinion, which had hitherto been the greateſt anxiety of his mind. His letter, however, precluded all farther intentions of hoſtility; and on the 22d a conference was held by appointment in the citadel, to diſcuſs and reconcile all differences. Major Coote and the two brothers, Mahmud Amy and Meer Coſſim, came each with ſtrong eſcorts, and Ramnarain was attended by all his principal officers. The two brothers, with the calmneſs peculiar to the manners of Indoſtan, accuſed him of a deſign to aſſaſſinate them, which indeed had been reported in the city; then of his intention to rebel againſt Meer Jaffier, in proof of which they urged his connivance at the paſſage of the French troops through Behar, the oaths he had taken from the officers of his army, his correſpondence and propoſals to Sujah Dowlah. Ramnarain ſolemnly denied all theſe accuſations, and produced a letter he had juſt received from Sujah Dowlah, which indicated no ſuch intentions as were imputed to their correſpondence: he then ſaid, it was true, that he had been attached to the late Nabob, becauſe his fortunes had been raiſed by the princes of his family; but now that Surajah Dowlah was no more, and none of his family remaining worthy or capable of the government, on whom ſhould he ſo naturally wiſh to depend as on Meer Jaffier, whom their common patron, Allaverdy, had raiſed ſo near his own perſon and dignity. He then called a bramin, and, in the preſence of his officers, and a crowd of attendants, ſolemnly ſwore allegiance and fidelity to Meer Jaffier, and friendſhip and goodwill to Meer Coſſim and Mahmud Amy. The two brothers returned the compliment, by taking an oath on the koran that their heart was clear of all ill-will to Ramnarain, and ſhould continue ſo. They then embraced him, and all the three Major Coote, as the mediator of this reconciliation. Nevertheleſs, neither ſide believed the other, but each wiſhed to gain time, and to wait events: for Ramnarain knew that the orders from Muxadavad would prevent Major Coote and the brothers of Meer Jaffier from acting againſt him at preſent; and they knew that he, diſappointed of the aſſiſtance

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ance of Sujah Dowlah, would be ſubmiſſive, until he was better prepared to aſſert independence. 1757. August.

Before this conference Meer Jaffier had determined to recall the detachment; but Major Coote did not receive the orders to return until the beginning of September, and in the interval the troops remained, uninterrupted by any alarms, in the company's factory anjoining to the city. All proceeded in the boats, which left Patna on the 7th of September, and arrived in ſeven days at Muxadavad, although the diſtance is 300 miles.

The confederacies of ambition are as liable to be broken by ſucceſs as diſappointment. Meer Jaffier had many relations; and not only they, but all others who were his adherents or dependants before his acceſſion to the Nabobſhip, thought they had the beſt right to partake of the change of his fortunes; and thoſe, who without previous connexion had acquieſced to the revolution, thought their title better. But the donations to the Engliſh had exhauſted the treaſury, and none of the officers of the government could be removed without infringing the declarations by which Jaffier had obtained the general ſubmiſſion to his ſovereignty, and which Clive had ratified. Some money had been diſtributed amongſt the army of the government, but much leſs than their expectations; and their diſcontent acquired preſumption by the complaints of the whole populace of Muxadavad, who had beheld with deteſtation the gold and ſilver of the capital oſtentatiouſly carried away by foreigners. A large ſum ſtill remained due of the firſt half of the treaty-monies, and the term of the firſt payment of the ſecond half was approaching, for it fell in October; and the committee at Muxadavad were continually preſſing the treaſury for the balance already due.

There is no prince in Indoſtan, who does not try every means to avoid the payment of money, ſtipulated at a diſtant period; and Meer Jaffier imagined his liberalities to individuals, who were the heads of the Engliſh nation, would relax their ſtrictneſs in the public terms. But Colonel Clive had neither aſked, nor ſtipulated for the preſents he had received; and having refuſed every other offer from the various intereſts which compoſed the government, thought their

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. August. obligations mutual, and maintained the independency of his command. Neither Jaffier nor his ſon had ſuſpected this ſternneſs in his character. He not only inſiſted on the payments of the treaty-monies, as they became due, but, when tampered with to approve changes in the army and adminiſtration, which Jaffier wiſhed to make in order to gratify his own favourites, Clive let him underſtand, that he would permit none, as deeming them dangerous to the public tranquillity, and contrary to declarations, ſanctified by his own. Jaffier felt theſe reſtraints with abomination, which turned his head to notions of emancipating himſelf from the aſcendance of the Engliſh; but, warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raiſed him to the ſovereignty, *ſaw the neceſſity of firſt breaking the power of the Gentoos, in whom the Engliſh would find the ſame reſources againſt himſelf,* as he with the Engliſh had derived from them againſt Surajah Dowlah. Roydoolub, as the head of the Gentoo line, was firſt to be deſtroyed; but, dreading the ſagacity of Clive, Jaffier determined to ſet nothing in motion which might awaken his ſuſpicions, whilſt he remained at Muxadavad; and in the interval, both he and his ſon Meerum carried themſelves to him with every appearance of openneſs and confidence, and Clive often partook of the familiarity of their private amuſements.

On the 14th of September, the day after the detachment from Patna arrived at Muxadavad, Clive went away to Calcutta, leaving Watts, Maningham, and Scrafton, to tranſact the company's affairs with the Nabob and his miniſters. The detachment from Patna was ſtationed in the factory at Coſſimbuzar; the reſt of the troops, which had ſerved at Plaſſy, were ſent down the river, and quartered at Chandernagore, as a more healthy ſituation than Calcutta.

We ſhall now return to the affairs of Coromandel and the Decan.

END *of the* SEVENTH BOOK.

BOOK

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

BOOK VIII.

THE presidency of Madrafs received no intelligence concerning the fuccefs of the armament to Bengal, before the 15th of February, between which day and the 22d, advices arrived, by various veffels, of the re-capture of Calcutta, the attack of the Nabob's camp, and of the treaty made with him on the 11th of that month, in which conjuncture Colonel Clive gave hopes that he fhould foon return with a great part of the troops. On the 21ft Admiral Pocock arrived, as we have faid, from Vizagapatam, landed the remaining foldiers of the Company's troops, received 100, the fame number of failors, and failed the next day to rejoin the fquadron in Bengal. 1757. February.

According to the principle adopted on the departure of the armament, the Prefidency had continued to avoid all hoftilities in the Carnatic; but the failure of Lieutenant Rumbold's negotiation with the Jemautdars of Madura, in November, raifed no improbable apprehenfions, that the influence of the government of Pondicherry would, if it had not already, foon infinuate itfelf into their councils, unlefs immediately interrupted by fome exertion; and the dangerous confequences which would enfue, determined the prefidency to revoke the reftraint they had laid on Captain Calliaud not to engage in any military operations from Tritchinopoly; and in the end of the year, they allowed him to employ fuch means as he fhould think expedient, for the reduction of Madura, and permitted him to command the expedition in perfon; they likewife fent feveral officers,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. officers, with ſome ſtores and ammunition, which the garriſon of Trichinopoly could not ſpare without diminiſhing its own complements: they went by ſea to Devicotah, from whence they were to proceed through the Tanjore country.

Captain Calliaud, whilſt waiting for theſe ſupplies, went to Tanjore, as well to obtain troops from the King, as to make peace between him and Tondiman; for Monacjee in the beginning of the year had taken the fort of *Killanelly*, which had been ſo long the object of contention between them; but found the difference, as before, irreconcilable; nevertheleſs, both profered every aſſiſtance in their power. On the 23d of March, he ſet out from Tritchinopoly, with 150 Europeans, including artillery-men, 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, and on the 25th arrived at *Anawaſhul*, a town belonging to Tondiman, 20 miles from Tritchinopoly, where they were joined by 1000 of his horſe, and 100 of his Colleries. On the 29th they arrived on the frontiers of the leſſer Moravar's country, who being likewiſe frequently called the *Nellicotah* Polygar, we ſhall in future diſtinguiſh him from the greater Moravar by that title. Here they expected 500 horſe from Tanjore; but none were arrived, or near. Scouts ſent forward reported, that all the roads and paths in the country before them were obſtructed with trees freſh cut down and ſtrewed acroſs the way, and that numbers of Colleries were every where ready to diſpute the paſſage. Meſſengers were ſent to enquire the reaſon. The Polygar ſaid, that being at enmity with Tanjore, and knowing that Calliaud had aſked the king for a body of horſe, he had barred his woods, being determined not to admit any Tanjorines into his country. Calliaud, being by this time convinced that the King, notwithſtanding his promiſes, did not intend to ſend any, made a merit of rejecting what he was not likely to obtain, and aſſured the Polygar he would not accept of their aſſiſtance; on which all obſtacles were removed, and the troops, after a halt of three days, entered his country on the 4th of March. In ſeven days more, of which they halted during the third at *Mangalum*, they arrived at *Paralachy*, the laſt town they had to paſs in the diſtricts of the greater Moravar,

1 having

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

having received every kind of hoſpitality in the countries of both Polygars. Excepting the feet of a few miſſionaries, this track had never before been trodden by any Europeans. At Mangalum, Calliaud met the brother of the Nellicotah; and at Paralachy, the principal man of the greater Moravar: and learnt from them that the two Polygars and Tondiman had entered into a league to attack the king of Tanjore with all their forces united, on the very next attempt he ſhould make againſt the territories of either of the three. The troops having halted a day at Paralachy, continued their march to Tinivelly, through the open country, in diſtricts belonging to this government. 1757. March.

The Pulitaver, with the Polygars of his alliance, had taken the field in the middle of January, as ſoon as Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville: their force amounted to 10,000 men, and the cavalry of Madura under the command of Berhatoolah, to one thouſand. This army moved by ſlow ſtages to the eaſtward, the Colleries plundering day and night on either hand, and at length encamped before *Panialumcrutch*, at this time the principal reſidence of Catabominaigue, the chief of the eaſtern Polygars, and demanded his aſſiſtance; who, dreading the deſtruction that would follow his refuſal, complied, and joined them with 3 or 4000 men. But the Polygar of *Etiaporum*, the next in importance, made ſome pretence to withhold his troops, for which the Pulitaver was not ſorry; and the army marched from Panialumcrutch directly to Tinivelly, ſtill plundering all the way; but were deterred from attacking the town itſelf, by the activity of the Company's Sepoys ſtationed there under the command of Buſſiponaigue. Returning with their plunder to the northward, they ravaged all the acceſſible and cultivated diſtricts belonging to Etiaporum in revenge for his neutrality; and from hence ſent off a detachment with their booty, amongſt which were 5000 beeves, to Nellitangaville. In this while Mahomed Iſſoof the commandant, and Moodilee the renter of theſe countries, not being certified which way Calliaud would direct his march, expected that he would come in ſomewhere near Madura, and remained at Chevelpetore, under the hills to the weſt, until

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. until they received intelligence that the enemy were marching from Panialumcrutch towards Tinivelly; on which they moved to intercept their return, and beſides other Polygars of leſs note were accompanied by Vaniah of Sevagherry, a very large Collery fort ſituated at the foot of the hills about 20 miles ſouth of Chevelpetore; but the enemy had followed their plunder from Etiaporum, and were arrived at Nellitangaville before Iſſoof could interſect their return: he nevertheleſs, when thus far, remained in the diſtricts mid-way between Chevelpetore and Tinivelly, as the beſt poſition to watch their future movements, until he received orders from captain Calliaud to repair to, and wait for him at this town; in conſequence of which, he proceeded and arrived there on the 28th of February. The enemy no ſooner ſaw him removing to a greater diſtance, than they again came out, and proceeded to Alwar courchy, a town about 20 miles to the weſtward of Tinivelly, where Moodilee had lately thrown up a mud fort, on which he had mounted three pieces of cannon, and placed in it 150 Peons and Sepoys under the command of his nephew, Algapah. The enemy attacked the fort, which, after more reſiſtance than might have been expected, ſurrendered, and Algapah was ſent a priſoner to Nelletangaville. Intelligence of this loſs was brought to Tinivelly on the 4th of March, in the evening, and at 8 o'clock, Mahomed Iſſoof marched with the greateſt part of his own force, and all of the Polygars his allies. At 7 the next morning they came in ſight of Alwar courchy, and were ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's army, of which the cavalry of Madura were moſt to be apprehended. The fight continued in a variety of ſkirmiſhes, until the evening, when the enemy quitted the fort and the field. The Polygar of *Outamalee* had both his legs ſtruck off by a cannon ball, and the general of the Pulitaver's men was likewiſe killed: of their troops 2 or 300 were ſuppoſed to be killed or wounded; of Mahomed Iſſoof's only ſix Sepoys were killed and 30 wounded; however, the action was eſteemed a compleat victory, and to fix it as ſuch in the opinion of the country, he marched forward to *Shenganpetty*, a fort in the hills belonging to the Polygar of Vadagary, ſituated about 16 miles to the north-weſt of Alvar courchy.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The guard abandoned the fort before it was attacked; and Mahomed Iſſoof, leaving 100 Sepoys to garriſon it, diſmiſſed the Polygars, and returned with the renter's and the Company's troops to Tinivelly, where Calliaud with his detachment arrived on the 17th. 1757. March.

The force now aſſembled at Tinivelly was formidable, but could not proceed to action for want of money, which the renter Modilee, from whom it was expected, was not able to furniſh; and the ſhroffs had for ſome time been deterred from ſupplying him by their apprehenſions from the animoſity which exiſted between him and Mahomed Iſſoof. Captain Calliaud with much difficulty reconciled their differences, at leaſt to appearance, and ſo far as to induce the ſhroffs to lend 200,000 rupees, which were immediately diſburſed in diſcharging the arrears due to the troops, and other military expences. The Polygar Catabominaigue was at this time celebrating a great wedding in his family at Panialumcrutch; to which, as uſual, the whole country round was invited, and Moodilee as a principal gueſt. He went, and having long been in habits of acquaintance and buſineſs with the Polygar, fixed him in the intereſt of the company, and concluded an alliance with him againſt the confederates with whom he had lately united, as well as all other enemies. In return, the Polygar requeſted that ſome compenſation might be made to his dependant of Etiaporum, for the ravages which his country had lately ſuſtained in conſequence of his refuſal to join the rebels; and Calliaud, having ſeen the effects as he marched through, remitted a part of the fine due on the hoſtages of Etiaporum, who ſtill remained unredeemed with Tondiman. Whilſt theſe affairs were adjuſting, the ſouthern monſoon ſetting in on the Coaſt of Malabar, broke over the weſtern range of mountains with the utmoſt violence, and deſcending, with the cataracts it had formed, into the plain, deluged the whole country to the eaſtern ſea: the ſtorm, rain, and inundation, continued without intermiſſion for two days and two nights: the harveſts, juſt ripe, were ſwept away, and with them the habitations of the cultivators: the rains continued ſeveral days after the winds had abated; it required many days labour and ſunſhine to drain and dry the ground, and more time to repair the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. March. devaſtation which the agriculture of the country had ſuffered; during which an epidemic ſickneſs broke out, and carried off many of the diſtreſſed inhabitants by ſudden deaths, which the patient ſimplicity and ſuperſtition of their character imputed to the viſitation of a goddeſs, *Lacheme*, coming, they knew not whence, from the North. The ſhroffs, who had lent money to Moodilee on the mortgaged harveſt, would not ſuffer him to depart until they ſaw the country recovering; which obliged Captain Calliaud to remain at Tinivelly ſome time longer, in order to ſuperintend and encourage the various operations which were neceſſary to reſtore the cultivation.

The Preſidency, whilſt waiting the reſult of this expedition, had, howſoever unwilling, been obliged to engage in hoſtilities in the Carnatic. The Nabob, in the beginning of the year, had demanded of his brother Nazeabulla, the governor of *Nelore*, a ſubſidy of 100,000 rupees above the uſual tribute; which the country could afford to pay, having ſuffered little from the diſtreſſes of the war, to which the reſt of the Carnatic had ſo long been expoſed; but Nazeabulla equivocated and apologized. Ichlaſs Khan, the brother of the Nabob's buxey or general, marching at this time with 500 horſe, and other troops, to collect the tributes of the northern Polygars, advanced as far as Serapely, a fort 12 miles ſouth of Nelore, and propoſed an interview with Nazeabulla, who accepted the viſit, giving his oath on the Koran; but requeſted Ichlaſs Khan to come with few attendants, leſt quarrels ſhould ariſe between them and his own. The viſit produced no change in Nazeabulla's excuſes for not paying the money, and Ichlaſs Khan left the city in the evening without harm; but, after it grew dark, his eſcort was attacked by an ambuſcade of matchlock-men in the buſhes near the road, and one of them was killed. The Nabob imputed this outrage to the inſtigation and example of his other brother Maphuze Khan at Madura, and of an adventurer Meerſaeb, who was in poſſeſſion of Elavanaſore, and plundering wherever he liſted. The anguiſh which the Nabob expreſſed at this ſecond rebellion riſing in his own family, determined the preſidency to comply with his earneſt requeſt to reduce

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

duce Nazeabulla; but his troops were not ready to march from Arcot before the 1st of April, although the outrage happened on 21st of February; during which Ichlaſs Khan was waiting for them with his detachment at Kalaſtry, the town of the polygar Damerlah Venketappah-naigue, 70 miles to the s. w. of Nelore. The force from Madraſs was only 100 Europeans, the company of 56 coffrees, and 300 Sepoys, with one 18 pounder, three ſix-pounders, four cohorns, and one howitz. Lieutenant Colonel Ford, of Adlercron's regiment, was appointed to command the expedition. The Sepoys and bullocks proceeded by land. The Europeans and Coffrees, with the artillery and ſtores, embarked on the firſt of April, in a ſhip and a ſloop, which anchored the next afternoon oppoſite to the mouth of the river Kandeler, ſeven miles to the North of Kiſtnapatam, a town of conſiderable trade, from whence they expected the uſual aſſiſtances of the port; but the inhabitants, intimidated by the threats of Nazeabulla, abandoned the town on the appearance of the veſſels, which were employed ſeven days in effecting the diſembarkation with two maſſoolas they had brought from Madraſs. During this interval the Sepoys and bullocks arrived; but coolies and more bullocks were neceſſary before the detachment could move from Kiſtnapatam, and the Nabob's army from Arcot was not near enough to ſupply them before the 22d of the month. 1757. April.

The next day Colonel Forde marched, and on the 25th joined the Nabob's army at Serapely, which was commanded by his brother Abdullwahab, and had been encreaſed by the troops of the polygars Bangar Yatcham and Damerlah Venketappah, and all together amounted to 10,000 men, of which 3000 were cavalry. On the 27th the army encamped before Nelore. This town ſtands about 500 yards to the ſouth of the river Pennar, extending about 1200 yards from eaſt to weſt, and 600 on the other ſides. The walls were of mud, and only the gateways and a few of the towers of ſtone. The parapet was ſix feet high, with many port-holes for ſmall arms, made of pipes of baked clay, laid in the moiſt mud, whilſt raiſing, and afterwards

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. April. consolidating with the mass; the common method of forming these defences in India: the ditch had no water, and was in many parts much choaked by drifts of sand. Nazeabulla, on the approach of Abdulwahab, had gone away with 1500 horse, and left the city to be defended by a resolute officer, with a garrison of 4000 Peons, who were instructed and assisted by 20 Frenchmen, sent from Masulipatam. The English troops encamped along the river in face of the town, the Nabob's and the Polygar's at a distance higher up.

On the 29th, the eighteen-pounder, with the field-pieces, together with the cohorns and howitz, began to fire from the mound of a tank at the distance of 300 yards; but by mistake against the strongest part of the wall, on which, in four days, they made no May. impression. In the night of the 2d of May, all the artillery was moved to a battery erected about 200 yards to the left, and 100 nearer the wall, which in this part was visibly in a ruinous condition. The 18 pounder fired briskly during the next day, and by the evening made a breach which appeared practicable; and hitherto only one man had been wounded by the enemy's fire, which had been very few cannon-shot, but continual from small arms. The next day Abdulwahab summoned the governor, who answered with civility, that he could not deliver the fort to any one without a positive order from Nazeabulla, whose salt he eat. It was therefore resolved to storm the next morning; but, during this interval the garrison had been diligently employed in counterworking the breach. On each side they cut a broad trench through the rampart, and another on the ground within, which joined at right angles with those from the rampart, and enclosed a space of some yards square; these trenches were to be defended by men armed with long pikes, whilst numbers stationed, some along the ramparts, some in various pits dug for the occasion, and others in the adjacent houses, were to annoy the assailants, when on the breach, with stones, arrows, and fire-arms, to which their own pikemen, being intrenched breast-high, would be little exposed. At sun-rise the English troops advanced to the assault. The 300 Sepoys marched first; the company of Coffrees next; the Europeans in the rear. The enemy fired

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

briſkly as the line was approaching, and more eſpecially from the tower on the left of the breach, that Col. Forde ordered a ſix-pounder from the battery, which, at the diſtance of a hundred yards, kept up a conſtant fire on the parapet of this tower, more indeed with the hope of intimidating, than the expectation of doing any detriment: The few firſt Sepoys who got up the breach were immediately ſtopped by the pikes from advancing either forwards, or on either hand, and had ſcarcely diſcharged their muſkets before they were all wounded; on which thoſe immediately behind ran down in confuſion, and the whole body in an inſtant broke; but diſperſed to the right and left of the reſt of the line. The Coffrees, led by Enſign Elliot, took their place without trepidation, and having mounted, maintained their ground on the breach gallantly, endeavouring, after they had fired, to break down the pikes with their muſkets, and even to puſh into the trenches: but in vain, for, in a few minutes, four of them were killed, and thirteen, with Lieutenant Elliot, wounded; on which the reſt were called down. The Europeans, who during this conteſt had remained thronged at the foot of thebreach, now mounted, every man as he ſtood neareſt, without regard to rank, order, or command. This aſſault continued half an hour, during which Capt. Hunt was ſhot with an arrow, Callender and Richard Smith, and Mr. Alexander, the commiſſary, were bruiſed with ſtones, and with them four of the ſoldiers killed, and 27 wounded on the breach, and the enemy ſtill as active as ever; on which Colonel Forde, who was at the foot of the wall, ordered the retreat, which was made with more hurry than became troops who had hitherto behaved with ſo much courage; for every man, inſtead of waiting for his officers and colours, ran as faſt as he could to take ſhelter in the battery, and all paſſed the field-piece without ſtopping to bring it away, until Captain Richard Smith, who, in rotation of duty, brought up the rear, halted with a few of his own company, and afterwards, with the aſſiſtance of ſome of the Nabob's horſemen, who were near, dragged the field-piece to the battery; during which two of his ſerjeants, and two of the horſemen, were wounded from the walls. The Nabob's army, dur-

1757. May.

ing

1757. May. ing the assault, advanced in several bodies against different parts of the town, but their appearance no where withdrew the attention of the garrison from the defence of the breach.

The vent of the eighteen-pounder being run, it was impossible to renew the attack until other battering cannon arrived from Madrass; but Colonel Forde had already been informed by the presidency, that the French troops were acting in the field, and threatened designs which might render it necessary to recall his detachment. By the 13th the wounded were sufficiently recovered to march; and no determination being as yet received from the presidency, Colonel Forde, in compliance with the repeated requests of Abdulwahab, crossed the Pennar with the whole army in pursuit of Nazeabulla, who, it was said, still continued in the neighbourhood: on the 15th they halted at Sangam, a pagoda of note 30 miles west of Nelore, where they were informed that Nazeabulla had quitted the country, and was gone to the French at Condavir; on which the army returned the next day towards Serapely, but by another road, leaving Nelore to the left. On the way Colonel Forde met several letters, signifying the encreasing apprehensions of the presidency; and on his arrival at Serapely, received express orders to return with the utmost expedition to Madrass.

The government of Pondicherry, with the advices of the declaration of war against Great Britain, received orders to refrain from any military operations of risque, until the great armament preparing in France should arrive; which injunctions they had implicitly obeyed: but when they saw Madrass dividing its force, although not stronger than their own, on services at such distance from each other, as Nelore and Tinivelly, they thought they too might attempt some acquisition without much danger. However, they began with great caution. On the 6th of April, the day after the English troops embarked for Nelore, a body of 200 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, which had for some time lain encamped to the westward of Pondicherry, marched under the command of Mr. D'Auteuil, who had lately returned from France; they proceeded, giving out some other objects,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

objects, to cover their real intentions, which were to fall upon Elavanasore by surprize. 1757. May.

This place is situated about 60 miles west of Pondicherry; it consists of a fort and a pettah both standing on a plain, and neither having any difficult defences: the districts are of no great extent, but extremely fertile. Before the truce between Mr. Saunders and Godeheu, it was taken possession of by an adventurer named Meer Allumodean, but more generally known by the name of Meer Saheb, who procured his confirmation from the Nabob, then at Tritchinopoly. Under this sanction, he maintained a much greater force, especially of horse, than the incomes of his government could afford, and supported them by plundering the neighbouring districts, pretending, that the managers of them were attached to the French. In an excursion immediately after the truce in 1755, he plundered all the French districts between Seringham and Pondicherry, when the presidency of Madrass rebuking his proceedings, he made retribution to the French government, who permitted him to keep a small fort he had taken from them in the neighbourhood of Elavanasore, named Oullagellinoor. This cession raised suspicions in the Nabob, who proposed that the English detachment, which escorted him soon after from Tritchinopoly to Arcot, should attack Elavanasore in the way: and again that the English army should proceed against it, in the beginning of the last year, immediately after it had retreated from Velore. On the other hand, Meer Saheb, knowing himself reprobated by the Nabob, and seeing nothing to be got by uniting with the French, thought the mutual enmity between the two his best protection, and paid no respect to either; but increased his force, and continued his depredations on the possessions of both. Besides driving off the cattle, which he afterwards sold to the owners, it was especially his custom to seize on persons of substance, whom he confined until they had paid heavy ransoms. In the month of September, he, in one excursion, swept away 5000 beeves and 6000 sheep, indifferently from the country round; and in the beginning of the present year again plundered

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. plundered the neighbourhood indiſcriminately. The Nabob then pretended to ſuſpect him of being in league with Maphuze Khan at Madura, and Nazeabulla at Nelore; but as ſoon as it was known, that the government of Pondicherry intended to attack Elavanaſore, he requeſted the preſidency of Madraſs to protect him, rather than ſuffer ſuch valuable diſtricts to fall into the hands of the French.

Mr. D'Auteuil advancing by forced marches appeared before Elavanaſore on the 10th; and, whilſt they were encamping, Meer Saheb ſallied with all his cavalry and moſt of his foot, and had well nigh routed the whole of the French force, when he was ſhot through the body: his troops immediately ceaſed the fight, but eſcorted him with much attention back to the fort. D'Autueil, on this trial, ſent to Gingee for reinforcements and cannon; and, in the mean time, prepared to make a regular attack: on the 16th arrived 250 Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, and the battering cannon; but on the ſame day Meer Saheb died of his wound; on which his brother, with the families of both, went away in the night, and the garriſon after their example likewiſe abandoned the fort before the morning.

Reports had prevailed in this part of the country, ever ſince the French troops had taken the field, that they intended to fall upon Tritchinopoly, which, by the abſence of the troops with Captain Calliaud, was left with a garriſon very inadequate to its extent; and even Capt. Joſ. Smith, who now commanded in the city, apprehended and warned the preſidency of this danger. But the force which had taken Elavanaſore was unequal to the enterprize; and D'Auteuil moved back from Elavanaſore to Chilambrum, where he arrived on the 1ſt of May. From hence he marched and encamped on the ſkirts of the woods of Warriorepollam, and ſummoned the polygar to pay his tributes on the ſame pretenſions as Maiſſin had demanded them two years before. The polygar as uſual endeavoured to gain time by diſcuſſions, on which the French attacked one of his barriers, but were repulſed with loſs: however he was frightened

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

frightened by the attack, and agreed to pay 40,000 rupees, but took ſome days to produce the money. 1757. May.

In the mean time, Captain Calliaud, whilſt regulating the affairs of the renter at Tinivelly, acquired intelligence, that the confederates were treating with the Myſoreans at Dindigul for aid againſt the Engliſh and their adherents, the Pulitaver offering to pay down 500,000 rupees, and the Jemautdars of Maphuze Khan to give up the diſtricts of *Sholavanden*, in which are comprized a ſtrong paſs, and the only road, between Madura and Dindigul. Nevertheleſs it was not intended that the country, when conquered, ſhould be given either to the Myſorean or Maphuze Khan: it was to be reſtored to a deſcendant of the ancient kings, who lived in concealment in the country of the greater Moravar: and Maphuze Khan was to have a ſuitable eſtabliſhment in Myſore.

This news encreaſed the neceſſity of attacking Madura as ſoon as poſſible; but the arrangements at Tinivelly were not finiſhed until the 10th of April, on which day, Captain Calliaud began his march from thence, with 180 Europeans, 2,500 Sepoys, ſix field-pieces, and 500 horſe: Mahomed Iſſoof commanded the Sepoys, and Moodilee what horſe were levied by himſelf. Six companies of Sepoys were left for the defence of Tinivelly, and the ſame number in the fort of Palamcotah. On the ſame day, Berkatoolah and Nabey Cawn Catteck ſet off from Nellitangavile, with 500 horſe, leaving Maphuze Khan with the Pulitaver. Skirting along the hills, they halted one evening near the fort of the Polygar Vaniah, of Shevagherry, which ſtood 60 miles s.w. of Madura, and 20 below Chevelpetore. The Polygar, having been attached by Mahomed Iſſoof, ſent out his Colleries, who, in the middle of the night, fell upon this body of cavalry, and with their ſcreams and fireworks diſperſed the whole, and took 40 of their horſes. The fugitives re-aſſembled in the morning, and arrived at Madura on the 17th; from whence Nabey Cawn Catteck immediately went to the greater Moravar, in order to prepare ſupplies of proviſions for the city. On the 20th, the Engliſh army arrived at Secundermally, and lodged themſelves in the pagoda; from whence Mahomed Iſſoof, with a party of Se- *April.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. poys, was detached the next day to reduce the fort of Sholavanden. It is ſituated 10 miles north-weſt of Madura, and, although intended to command the paſs, was of little ſtrength; and the garriſon of 200 peons abandoned it as ſoon as Mahomed Iſſoof appeared; but exceſſive rains, which raiſed the river *Vigee*, prevented him from returning to Secundermally, before the 26th. In this interval, Calliaud received letters from the preſidency, adviſing him of their apprehenſions that the French intended to attack Tritchinopoly; with orders to hold himſelf in readineſs to march to its relief on the firſt notice. By this time, he was likewiſe convinced, that the reduction of Madura was an enterprize of much more difficulty than had been repreſented to him, and ſcarcely feaſible without battering cannon, of which he had not brought any from Tritchinopoly; and, excepting the one which Mahomet Iſſoof himſelf had depoſited in Madura, there was not a ſingle piece in the whole country, of which Europeans would make uſe. However, not to loſe any of the precarious time left him to act, he reſolved to attempt the city by ſurprize. Bamboos were provided, as if for ſome other ſervice, and no one was ſuffered to go in or out of the pagoda until the ladders were made. On the night before the 1ſt of May, all the troops, except a few to guard the baggage and artillery, marched out of the
April. pagoda, and at three in the morning arrived at the watercourſe
May. which runs within 300 yards of the weſtern ſide of the walls.

The inward wall of Madura is 22 feet high, including the parapet, which riſes ſix above the rampart: at the diſtance of every 100 yards or leſs (for exact ſymmetry has not been obſerved) are ſquare towers. The fauſſe-bray is 30 feet broad, above which the outward wall riſes only five feet, but deſcending to the bottom of the ditch is 11 on the outſide. Midway, between every two towers of the inward wall, is a ſimilar projection in the outward, with loop-holes which command the ditch, and flank the intermediate part of the wall, in which are none: but the whole parapet of the inward wall has loop-holes, ſo have ſome of its towers, and the reſt embraſures for cannon. The ſpot choſen to be attacked was the firſt tower on the left-hand of the weſtern gate-way, being the only

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

part where the fauſſe-bray was clear of the thick thorny buſhes, which had not injudiciouſly been ſuffered to over-run it in every other; but the garriſon, truſting to this defence, had entirely neglected the ditch, which, by continual drifts after rain, was almoſt choaked up to the level of the plain. The party allotted to the attack were 100 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys; the reſt of the troops remained in the watercourſe, ready to ſupport the event. Calliaud led the party himſelf, to whom the method of attack was carefully explained, and ſtrict ſilence enjoined. The foremoſt men carried the ſix ſhorter ladders intended for the outward wall; the next, the ſix longer, for the inward; as ſoon as twenty of the party had got into the fauſſe-bray, it was intended that they ſhould immediately take over the longer ladders, which they were to plant, as received, againſt the tower, but not a man was to mount, until all the ſix ladders were fixed, and then no more than three at a time on each ladder. 1757. May.

The firſt ladders were planted, and Calliaud, with the firſt 20 men, had got into the fauſſe-bray, had taken over one of the longer ladders, and had planted it againſt the tower, when their hopes were interrupted by one of thoſe accidents which from their triviality eſcape the moſt attentive precaution. A dog, accuſtomed to get his meals at the meſſes of ſome of the ſoldiers, had accompanied them all the way from Secundermally into the ditch, and, probably from anxiety, at not being able to follow his maſters into the fauſſe-bray, began to bark; which was ſoon anſwered by the barking of another dog on the rampart, and the yelps of both awakened the neareſt centinel, who, crying out "The enemy," raiſed the guard at the gate-way, which repaired immediately to the tower. The ſoldiers in the fauſſe-bray, finding the alarm taken, inſtead of continuing to get over the reſt of the ladders, endeavoured to mount on that already planted, but crowded on it ſo many together, that it cruſhed under them. This communicated the confuſion to thoſe in the ditch, and no one any longer did what he ought. In the mean time, the garriſon increaſing on the rampart hung out blue lights of ſulphur, and diſcovering the whole party

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. began to ſhower on them arrows, ſtones, lances, and the ſhot of fire-arms. On which Calliaud ordered the retreat, which was effected with little loſs, only one man being killed, and another wounded; both were Sepoys, ſtanding on the glacis.

The troops, after taking ſome refreſhment, marched from the watercourſe, and proceeding along the ſouthern face of the town took poſt in a ruined village, about 600 yards from the ſouth-eaſt part of the walls, which in this quarter were of a much ſlighter conſtruction than any where elſe. The diviſion with the artillery and baggage from Secundermally joined in the evening. On the 3d in the morning, a battery conſiſting of three ſix-pounders began to fire on the walls, and continued the two ſucceeding days, without making any impreſſion; on which Calliaud ſent away a company of Sepoys, with a ſufficient number of bullocks, to bring two eighteen-pounders from Tritchinopoly.

The preſidency of Madraſs, whilſt anxious concerning the ſucceſs of the expeditions againſt Madura and Nelore, had received advices, on the 28th of April, from Bengal, by the Revenge, Protector, and Marlborough, belonging to the company, with the welcome news of the capture of Chandernagore, but without a ſingle platoon of the troops which had been ſent in the armament; and, the ſeaſon being now changed, none were to be expected before September. Intelligence of this diſappointment was ſoon conveyed to Pondicherry; and it now appeared, that the French had waited to determine the operations of their own troops by the force which might be ſent back from Bengal to Madraſs. They immediately bared all their garriſons, and, retaining none but invalids in Pondicherry itſelf, enrolled the European inhabitants to man the walls: all theſe parties haſtened to join D'Autueil's camp before Arielore, who, ſending forward a detachment of 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Seringham, followed himſelf with the main body on the 12th of May: his whole force conſiſted of 1000 Europeans, battalion and artillery, 150 Huſſars, 3000 Sepoys, 10 field-pieces, with ſeveral howitzes and cohorns.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The two eighteen-pounders intended for Madura were ſent off from Tritchinopoly early in the morning of the 12th, under the eſcort of two companies of Sepoys; but had not proceeded three miles, before a ſtrong party from Seringham croſſed the Caveri, and marched to circumvent them; which being perceived from the town, Captain Joſeph Smith re-called the guns, and marched out with a conſiderable part of the garriſon to protect them, on which the enemy returned to the iſland. On the 14th the van of their main body, with D'Autueil, arrived, and with the garriſon of Seringham encamped at the Pagodas of Wariore. It was ſome time that captain Smith had expected this viſit, and he had made all the preparations which the means in his power, admitted to receive it: he had filled the ditch round the town with water by the uſual ſluices from the Caveri, nevertheleſs ſeveral rocky parts remained fordable: the parapets both of the outward and inward walls, where-ever decayed, had been repaired: Tondiman and the king of Tanjore, on his application, had ſent, the one 300 Colleries, the other 300 matchlockmen: the Peons entertained by the Nabob's governor, were four hundred: but all theſe men, excepting the Colleries, were only fit for night-watches, nor for that, without being watched themſelves: the Company's were the only troops which could be relied on; they were 150 Europeans rank and file, of which 50 had lately been ſent from Fort St. David, 15 artillery men, and 700 Sepoys; but of the whole few had ſeen much ſervice, for the beſt had been taken away by captain Calliaud. This force would ſcarcely in any time of outward danger have been ſufficient to guard the walls, of which the circuit was 6400 yards; much leſs with the additional ward of 500 French priſoners, who were confined within the town, and from whom more danger was apprehended than from the enemy without: for it was known, and it could not be prevented, that they maintained a correſpondence with their countrymen at Seringham; and indeed the hopes of their breaking looſe during the attack, had been the principal inducement to the preſent attempt againſt the city. More troops were continually

1757. May.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. tinually coming up to Wariore; and on the 15th, the day after the firſt arrived, the enemy began to throw ſhells into the town: during the night ſeveral parties at different times and places advanced to the ditch, not with any intention of ſcaling the walls, but only to keep the garriſon from reſt by repeated alarms. Theſe alerts and the bombardment were continued during the four ſucceeding days and nights; and on the 20th, M. D'Autueil, thinking the garriſon ſufficiently harraſſed, ſummoned Captain Smith in the name of the king of France, to ſurrender the town, and ſpare the effuſion of blood, warning him that he ſhould reſent in the ſevereſt manner any ill uſage which might have been inflicted on the French priſoners. Captain Smith anſwered, that he ſhould maintain the town for the king of England; and that the priſoners had always been treated with more lenity than their practices deſerved. Some hours after, ſpies brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a general aſſault in the approaching night, and at one in the morning the greateſt part of their force advanced towards the weſt face of the town; but a few diſcharges of cannon made them retreat, and the continual vigilance of the rounds, witneſſed by their lights and a variety of military muſick, deterred them from any farther attempt.

By this time ſeveral of the neighbouring Polygars had joined the army before Madura, and were of ſervice in ſupplying the camp with proviſion, as well as by cutting off ſuch as were going to the town, and Captain Calliaud had entered into a negotiation with ſome of the Jemautdars, to deliver up the city, or to aſſiſt in ſurprizing it. Colonel Smith, on the firſt appearance of the enemy's troops on the other ſide of the Coleroon, had diſpatched expreſs meſſengers to him, with the intelligence, which he received on the 11th at three in the afternoon. At ſix, he began his march, with 120 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys, leaving the reſt under the command of Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Iſſoof, whom he empowered to conclude with the Jemautdars.

The troops marched without tents, baggage, or artillery; a few bullocks carried the ſpare ammunition, and ſervants belonging to the commiſſary

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

missary were sent forward to provide the meal at the different places of halt. On the 25th at day-break they arrived and halted at the vilage of Eliapore, nineteen miles from Tritchinopoly. On the road Calliaud had received advices from Captain Smith, that D'Autueil, apprized of his approach, had quitted his first station at the Pagodas of Wariore, and had disposed his troops in a line of communication which extended from the Faquieres tope, round the Five rocks, the Golden, and the Sugar-loaf, to the French rock; by which all access on the southern aspect of the city was precluded. It had also been discovered, that several spies belonging to D'Autueil had mingled with and accompanied the English troops, on which Calliaud ordered them to be narrowly observed by his own, but without appearance of suspicion, intending to make them the instruments of deceiving those by whom they were employed. The troops having taken sufficient rest, and a full meal, marched from Eliapore at two in the afternoon, and at six arrived at Aour, a village in Tondiman's Woods, about 12 miles from Tritchinopoly, where they stopped half an hour. Calliaud then bent his march, as if he intended to come out upon the plain, between the Five rocks and the Sugar-loaf, opposite to the middle of the enemy's line, and advanced in this direction six miles. It was now 8 o'clock, and quite dark, when the French spies, fully persuaded of the intelligence they were carrying, went off to inform D'Autueil where they supposed the English troops intended to force their way. Half an hour after their departure, none of them appearing again, Calliaud entirely changed his rout, striking to the east along the skirts of Tondiman's Woods, until he came opposite to Elimiserum. The ground, from the woods to this place on the south, beyond it to the Caveri on the north, to the west of it as far as the French rock, and a greater space to the east, is a plain mostly laid out in rice fields, which, throughout India, are divided into areas of no great extent; each enclosed by a separate bank, and kept overflowed with water until a fortnight before the harvest is cut down, until which time they remain, as these now were, a heavy swamp of mud. The French, supposing all this part of the country impassable to a body of troops, had not thought it

1757. May.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. May. it neceſſary to ſtation a watch either at Elimiſerum, or on the bank of the Caveri; and the information which Calliaud had obtained of this neglect ſuggeſted the advantage he was now taking of it. The troops entered the rice-fields at 10 o'clock, the Europeans marching firſt; the Sepoys were obſerved by the Engliſh ſerjeants of their companies, and their own Subadars or captains were men of duty: but no diſcipline could be exerted, where the ſucceſs intirely depended on ſilence and darkneſs; and the ſpirit of the ſoldier himſelf determined, whether he ſhould give out, or perſevere in gaining his toilſome way, after ſo much fatigue already endured. At 2 in the morning two companies of Sepoys were ſent off, with orders to puſh for the town between the French and Sugar-loaf rocks; leſt the enemy ſhould be led to ſuſpicions of the real march, if no alarm were given to any part of their line: but, contrary to expectation, theſe Sepoys paſſed cloſe under the French rock without being challenged by a ſingle centinel; for all the troops ſtationed hereabouts had been drawn to the main body, guarding the ground to the ſouth, indicated by their ſpies. At 4 in the morning, the two companies arrived at the Madura, or ſouthern gate of the town, where they were immediately recognized and admitted. It was near the dawn of day before the main body with Calliaud reached *Chuckleyapollam* on the bank of the Caveri, having employed near ſeven hours in wading through the rice-fields, although the diſtance was only ſeven miles. Two more ſtill remained; but the ſight of the city inſpired the whole line with new alacrity: and their commander, who from the multiplicity of his attentions had endured more fatigue than any of them, now marched at their head, ſupported by two grenadiers. Captain Smith, apprized, drew out half his garriſon, with two field-pieces, ready in caſe of need to protect them. Every man was received with open arms; the meal and every refreſhment was ready for the welcome and exhauſted gueſts; and with the riſing ſun, a diſcharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon announced their exultation, with the news, to the French troops on the plain. On a review it was found, that 300 of the Sepoys had dropped behind, but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

but of the Engliſh, only two or three had failed. Mr. D'autueil could ſcarcely credit what it was intended he ſhould underſtand by the report of the cannon; but was ſoon convinced by ſome priſoners picked up by his huſſars. The very ſame evening he recroſſed the Caveri with his whole army, into the Iſland of Seringham, and the next day paſſing the Coleroon, proceeded towards Pondicherry. 1757. May.

Intelligence of the French army marching from Arielore to Tritchinopoly, was brought to Madraſs on the 15th of May, juſt after the preſidency had heard of the repulſe of their own troops in the aſſaults of Nelore and Madura. Howſoever averſe the preſidency had hitherto been to encounter the French troops, until they knew what reinforcements they might expect from Bengal and Europe; the importance of Tritchinopoly, and conviction of the danger to which it was expoſed, now ſuperſeded this reluctance: and they reſolved to enter the French territories, as the moſt probable means of drawing their army back; or even to follow it to Tritchinopoly; but as the troops from Nelore were not yet arrived, thoſe in Madraſs, waiting for them, did not take the field until the 26th of May, when 300 men, being the whole of Adlercron's regiment, and 30 of the king's artillery, four field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, marched under the command of Colonel Adlercron himſelf: but by various delays ariſing from attention to the modes of warfare in Europe, they did not reach Chinglapet until the 31ſt, although the diſtance was only 30 miles: Captain Polier joined them here from the garriſon, with his own company of 100 Swiſs, and 300 Sepoys: but two days after came the welcome news that Tritchinopoly was relieved.

Whilſt the enemy was approaching, Enſign Banatyne, who commanded in Carangoly, marched from thence with 300 Sepoys, and took the fort of Outramalore by eſcalade, in which he left 40 of his Sepoys; but two days after, the fugitive garriſon, which likewiſe conſiſted only of Sepoys, returned, with 500 more, ſent by the Kellidar of Vandiwaſh; on whoſe appearance, the Engliſh Sepoys evacuated the fort. This declaration in favour of the French de-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. termined the presidency of Madrass, as the army was abroad, to employ it in the attack of Vandiwash. But, waiting for the troops from Nelore, and the Nabob's from Arcot, Col. Adlercron still advanced slowly. On his approach, the garrison in Outramalore retreated to Vandiwash, where the army arrived on the 5th of June at night; and early the next morning attacked the Pettah, which they carried, after a slight resistance from 300 Sepoys, whom they pursued towards the fort, until obliged to retreat by the fire from the walls; nor could they remain in the pettah itself, because the principal streets led streight to the fort, and were insiladed by one or other of the towers. However, the success cost no lives; although 10 Europeans were wounded. By this time, the French troops, as much alarmed by the motions of the English, as the English had lately been by theirs, were returning fast from Tritchinopoly; some were already arrived at Pondicherry, others had halted at Trivadi, others were advanced to Gingee; all preparing to march to the relief of Vandiwash: on the other hand, neither the battering cannon, nor any of the reinforcements, had joined the English camp; and there was no probability of making any impression on the fort before some of the French troops would arrive to its succour; on which Col. Adlercron resolved to quit the enterprize, but set fire to the pettah before he retired; and on the 11th, the army arrived at Outramalore.

By this time the presidency, streightened in their treasury, were tired of the expence of a campaign which had produced so little effect; and their present propensity to caution, as well as parsimony, was increased by unexpected intelligence, that the French had seized the company's factories at Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram, which are situated near the sea on different branches of the river Godaveri, in the province of Rajahmundrum. To these losses were added apprehensions arising from various reports, that Mr. Bussy intended to attack the more important factoty of Vizagapatam.

In this cloudy hour the presidency injudiciously ordered Adlercron to return immediately with the army to Madrass, although a part of the French troops were arrived and encamped under the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

walls of Vandiwaſh. They were commanded by Saubinet, an officer of enterprize, who no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh army retreating from Outramalore, than he advanced and took poſſeſſion of this place; and, as ſoon as he heard that they had repaſſed Chinglapett in their way to Madraſs, detached early in the morning of the 15th, 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, with two field-pieces, to retaliate on Conjeveram the fire which they had ſet to Vandiwaſh. Conjeveram is the largeſt open town in the Carnatic, and the moſt populous; beſides the reſort it attracts by the great quantities of grain produced in the vaſt plain that ſurrounds it, it is ſtill more frequented from the reputation of its pagoda, and of the college of Bramins, who poſſeſs it, and are acknowledged the ſupreme council of the Indian religion in Coromandel: both the Engliſh and French had, during the late wars, kept troops in the pagoda; but its ſpace and proper attentions had ſtill preſerved the prieſts and the holy places from contamination or pollution. There were at this time in the pagoda two companies of Sepoys, under the command of Serjeant Lambertſon. The French troops arrived at noon, and, contrary to their expectation, were aſſailed by the fire of muſketry, concealed on each ſide of the ſtreet, which obliged them to beat up the houſes as the line advanced; and the Engliſh Sepoys, who knew their ground, continually eſcaped from one ſhelter to another, renewing their fire, until they retreated into the pagoda. The enemy, exaſperated, then advanced againſt the gate-way, where the ſerjeant was ready to receive them again, placing his Sepoys, ſome on ſcaffolding along the walls, and others amongſt the open maſonry of the ſtories which compoſe the vaſt tower over the gate-way. The two field-pieces were of little ſervice to diſlodge them from ſuch defences, and the ſerjeant had obſtructed the porch with large trees, laid with their branches outwards. On this reſiſtance, Saubiner thought it prudent not to perſiſt, for his time was limited, and eight of his Europeans were killed, more wounded, and of the Sepoys in proportion. They therefore marched to a diſtant quarter of the town, from whence detachments were ſent to collect whatſoever plunder could be conveniently carried away. In the evening

1757. June.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. June. they ſet fire to the town: at midnight they marched away, and the next day arrived at Outramalore.

The terror ſpread by this incurſion was of much more detriment than the miſchief done at Conjeveram; for all the inhabitants of the open and fertile country along the Paliar, abandoned their labours and occupations, and the renters as uſual amplified the loſſes they were likely to ſuſtain in the collection of the revenues. The preſidency of Madraſs, ſenſible and vexed at their error, immediately ordered the army to march back, and re-croſs the Paliar. Col. Lawrence, although he had reſolved from the time he was ſuperſeded by Colonel Adlercron, never to act under his command, on this occaſion offered to join the camp as a volunteer; and Adlercorn accepted the propoſal with good will. The army marched from the Mount on the 19th. The French, on their approach, retired from Outramalore to Vandiwaſh, and intrenched ſtrongly within half a mile of the eaſtern ſide of the fort, ſummoning reinforcements from all their garriſons in the rear. The Engliſh, likewiſe waiting for detachments and the Nabob's cavalry from Arcot, did not advance to Outramalore until the 29th, when an uncommon ſickneſs broke out in the camp; men being ſuddenly ſeized, and dying in 12 July. hours, and as many died as recovered. The mortality continued four days, but the camp having moved on the fifth five miles beyond Outramalore, fewer men fell down the next, and in two days more the ſickneſs intirely ceaſed. On the 11th of July they encamped within ſight of the enemy, whoſe huſſars hovered round the line, but came not near enough to receive any harm. By this time the ſtrength of the two armies, although different, was nearly equal: the French had 800 Europeans, of which 100 were huſſars, and 1500 Sepoys; the Engliſh 700 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, but no horſe, excepting a few troopers, to ſerve as ſcouts. On the 16th, 500 of the Nabob's horſe arrived from Arcot; and the next morning 300 of them, with five companies of Sepoys, advanced towards the enemy's camp, followed by the picquet of 100 Europeans, with a field-piece, and at the ſame time the whole line drew out, ready to meet a general action, if the enemy would give the opportunity; but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

but they recalled their advanced posts into their intrenchments, and only sent out their hussars, who, as before, ventured nothing. This trial convinced Col. Lawrence that nothing but the certainty of advantage could bring them to action; and enough being done to convince the country that the former retreat had not been in consequence of fear, he thought it best to put an end to the expence of the campaign. The army marched away on the 26th, and the enemy made no motion to harrass them. On the 28th, they arrived at Conjeveram, where 500 Europeans, with 1500 Sepoys, remained in cantonments, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Forde: the rest returned to the garrisons and stations from whence they had been drawn. Thus ended this campaign, in which the whole force that Madrass and Pondicherry could bring into the field, remained 40 days within a few hours march of each other, and separated, without a man wounded on either side. Nevertheless, both were right, according to their different views and circumstances, in refraining from action. 1757. July.

The garrison of Madura was so much elated by the departure of Captain Calliaud with the best of the troops, and by the cause in the danger of Tritchinopoly, that the Jemautdars, who had made proposals to him, would not continue any communication with Lieutenant Rumbold and Mahomed Issoof; who ordered up six of the 12 companies of Sepoys from Tinivelly and Palamacotah, and moved the camp from the S. E. to the N. E. of the town on the other side of the river Vigee, in order to cut off the communication of the garrison with the river, from which they drew their water, as all in the tanks of the town and plain was putrid. *May.*

The four sides of Madura front nearly to the four cardinal points. The river passing from the N. W. washes the walls at the N. E. angle; the bed, unless immediately after heavy rains, lies in dry flats of sand, on some of which are buildings; the channels between are shallow. The English camp extended on the northern side of the river, opposite the angle, and within point blank of part of the walls on the east and north sides, for nothing was feared from the decayed artillery of the town.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. The gate-way of the north ſide, from whence the garriſon got their water, was near the N. W. angle, and about 80 yards from the river; on the ſide of which, oppoſite to the gate, they threw up a retrenchment, in which they kept a guard to protect the water-carriers. Lieutenant Rumbold, with the Europeans, paſſed the river under cover of a field piece, and having diſlodged the guard from the poſt on the other ſide, kept poſſeſſion, ſtrengthened it with better retrenchments, and ſtationed two companies of Sepoys to maintain it. This immediately obliged the enemy to open another gate, it was that to the ſouth, and to get their water from the tanks within and without the town, which ſoon threw many of them into fluxes.

Rumbold and Mahomed Iſſoof remained three or four days without doing any thing more, hoping to put the enemy off their guard, and then, taking a night when the wind blew very ſtrong, advanced with a large party of Sepoys, carrying bundles of ſtraw mixed with more effectual combuſtibles, which they piled and ſet fire to againſt the outward doors of the gateway; which were ſoon conſumed, and the party ſuffered very little, being concealed by the thickneſs of the ſmoke, and ſtill more protected by the indifference of the garriſon, who knew their own ſecurity; for, when advanced with a petard through the windings of the gateway to the ſecond door, which opened immediately into the city, the troops, to their great ſurprize, found the front of it bricked up with a ſtrong wall; upon which they retired without delay. By this time, the Sepoys from Tinivelly were advancing; and Captain Calliaud, being convinced that the French army were not likely to return again to Tritchinopoly, had detached a platoon of 30 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, and an 18 pounder, which were likewiſe on the road to Madura. The garriſon hearing of the approach of theſe reinforcements, reſolved to make a vigorous effort before their arrival. Intelligence was received of their intention, and to be prepared againſt it, the ground on each ſide of the camp was ſluiced by cutting the mound of a large tank at ſome diſtance in the rear; and Mahomed Iſſoof undertook to defend the poſt

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

poſt on the other ſide of the river with the uſual guard of two companies of Sepoys, and the addition of a field-piece. On the 9th of the month the enemy made the ſally at noon day. They were 300 Sepoys, 200 cavalry diſmounted, and 200 more on their horſes. The riders came round from the weſt, and croſſing the river, kept galloping on this ſide the camp, but without venturing to paſs the ſwamp; but the foot iſſuing from the north gate, which they had unbricked, advanced ſtreight forward to the watering poſt. A ſhot had ſcarcely been fired, before the two companies of Sepoys, either from panic or ſpite, for Mahomed Iſſoof was a ſevere commander, abandoned him, and diſperſed, all but ten men, with whom he retreated to a choultry, on an iſland in the river, to which they were followed by part of the enemy, whilſt the reſt ſeized the gun. Lieutenant Rumbold on the danger advanced with the company of Coffres, and one of Sepoys, leaving the four other companies, and the field-pieces for the defence of the camp. He made his way good to the Choultry, where he found the ſmall party of defenders reduced to their laſt cartridge, having killed more than their own number of the enemy, who retreated as ſoon as the reinforcement came up. On the 11th of June, arrived the detachment from Tritchinopoly; when Rumbold mounted the eighteen pounder they had brought, on the recovered poſt. It fired three days, until moſt of its ammunition was ſpent, but without being able to make a practical breach; and in the mean time the enemy threw up a retrenchment with a deep ditch before the breach, and ſtrengthened the ditch with paliſades; ſo that nothing could be done by aſſault without more force. The preſidency had foreſeen this; and notwithſtanding their other alarms, ſtill continued intent on the reduction of Madura, as the moſt dangerous advantage of which the French were likely to get poſſeſſion, if not immediately recovered; of which ſenſe nothing could be a greater proof than their inſufficient efforts; for the attempt required a complete army. They therefore left it to the diſcretion of Calliaud, to proceed again to the attack, with ſuch a force as ſhould not leave Tritchinopoly expoſed again to too much riſque. Some days paſſed in waiting the

1757. July. June.

return

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. return of a detachment of 50 Europeans, which had come from, and had been lately ſent back to Fort St. David; and as ſoon as they returned, he took the field with 90 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, an eighteen-pounder, and 200 horſe ſupplied by the king of Tanjore: more than half the Europeans were French and Dutch deſerters, choſen, that none but the Engliſh ſoldiers might be left to guard the French priſoners in the city. The renter Moodilee, naturally timorous, and awed by the imperious temper of Mahomed Iſſoof, had quitted the camp, and followed Calliaud when he marched to the relief of Tritchinopoly; from whence he now again returned with him to Madura. The detachment ſet out on the 25th of June, and arrived on the 3d of July. The Sepoys called from Tinivelly had joined a few days before; but Mr. Rumbold had nevertheleſs been obliged to reduce his operations to preventing the garriſon from getting water from the river, and proviſions from the country.

Calliaud, ſeeing the dexterity with which the enemy had counteracted the battery of Rumbold, reſolved to prevent them from oppoſing the ſame obſtacles to that which he intended to erect, by keeping them in ignorance of the part he ſhould attack, until the firſt ſhot was fired. The gabions, faſcines, and platforms, were prepared in the camp; and as ſoon as all were ready, the troops allotted marched on the 9th at night to the watercourſe which runs to the weſt of the city, and raiſed the battery againſt the curtain between the gateway and the tower which had been attempted by eſcalade of the 1ſt of May. It mounted two eighteen-pounders, with four field-pieces, was finiſhed before the morning, and at day-break began to fire. The parapet of the fauſſe-bray was ſoon beaten down, and the inward wall, although ſtrong, was by noon ſhaken ſo much, that the parapet of this likewiſe fell entirely, and the wall itſelf was ſufficiently ſhattered, to permit a man to clamber to the top: but, in this ſhort time, the garriſon had ſtaked the rampart behind with the trunks of Palmeira trees ſet on end: a few ſhot knocked down ſome, nor could any of them have been firmly fixed, and to leave the enemy no more time to prepare farther defences, Calliaud

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

liaud resolved to storm immediately. Of the Europeans, only the artillery-men were left at the battery: all the battalion-men, who were 120, marched, followed by the company of Coffrees, and they by 400 Sepoys. Calliaud led the Europeans, and Mahomed Issooff the Sepoys. The garrison had disciplined 300 of their matchlock-men as Sepoys; who, although much inferior to these troops, were improved far beyond their former state; these were posted on the western gate-way, which, projecting beyond the fausse-bray into the ditch, flanked the tower attacked; and a multitude were crouded on the ramparts behind and on each side of the breach. The troops, although galled, advanced resolutely through the ditch and fausse-bray, and four of the most active scrambled up the breach to the rampart, but were immediately tumbled down dead, or mortally wounded. This repressed the ardour of those who were following: an officer threw out imprudent words, and the infirmity visibly caught the whole line, notwithstanding the exhortations and activity of Calliaud, who was in the fausse-bray directing the assault. Whosoever mounted afterwards came down without getting to the top, pretending the impossibility, although the danger was as great in the fausse-bray below; for, besides the shower of other annoyances, the enemy had prepared bags and pipkins filled with meer powder, to which they set fire as they tossed them down on the heads of the assailants, and the scorch of the explosion was inevitable and intolerable. Nevertheless, Calliaud continued the assault half an hour; when finding that no command was any longer obeyed, and that much loss had been sustained, he ordered the retreat. Four of the bravest serjeants were killed, and as many wounded, and 20 other Europeans were either killed or desperately wounded; of the Coffrees 10; of the Sepoys 100 were disabled, but few of this body were killed, and fewer died afterwards of their wounds. 1757. July.

The presidency received intelligence of this repulse on the 25th, and on the same day two Peons, escaped from Vizagapatam, brought news, that Mr. Bussy had taken that settlement, in which were 150 European soldiers. These evils were aggravated by the circum-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. ſtances of the times: for there is no country in which the ſlighteſt ſucceſſes and miſchances of war weigh ſo much in the opinions both of friends and enemies, as in Indoſtan, and a large body of Morratoes had encamped a few days before on the weſtern frontiers of the Carnatic, threatening the Nabob to enter and ravage the province, if their demands were not complied with.

The *Nana* Balagerow, after his return from Sanore, in the laſt year, remained at Poni, in appearance attentive only to the affairs of Delhi, and the northern countries of Indoſtan, to which he detached a very large force in October; but when he ſaw Salabadjing and Mr. Buſſy proceeding with their reſpective armies, the one to Aurengabad, the other to the ceded provinces, he took the field himſelf with 60,000 horſe, and proceeded to the Southward, paſſed the Kriſtna, and having purified his army in the ſtreams of the Beamraw, a ſacred river in Viziapore, they ſet off from hence in *February.* the middle of February, and marched rapidly towards Myſore, carrying terror and deſtruction wherever they came. Moſt of the forts on the way ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and ſuch as held out, were inveſted, or at leaſt watched by detachments, whilſt the main body purſued its courſe without interruption to the capital *Seringapatam.* It was ſome apprehenſions of this invaſion, which had recalled the General, Hyderally, from Dindigul in the beginning of the year; who nevertheleſs was not ſufficiently prepared to reſiſt the invaſion and the Delaway or Regent, being much frightened, they negociated, and agreed to pay Balagerow two millions of rupees. *April.* The terms were concluded in the middle of April, and Balagerow, on his return to the northern diviſion of Myſore, continued to reduce the forts he had left in his rear; although many of them were, at this time, in the dependance of this kingdom. The principal of theſe, and indeed the ſtrongeſt in the whole country, is Serah, which is likewiſe called Sirpi. It is ſituated on a great mountain, 120 miles north of Seringapatam; the Governor reſiſted in the beginning, but the bribes and batteries of the Morratoe induced him in three weeks to ſurrender. The rainy ſeaſon was now approaching, when the Kriſtna overflows, and becomes impaſſable; and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and it was a maxim with Balagerow, never to remain to the ſouthward, with that obſtacle between himſelf and his capital. He accordingly marched away from Sirpi, with the greateſt part of his army, 45,000 men, but left 15,000 horſe, as many foot, and a large train of artillery, under the command of a general named Balaventrow, to execute the other purpoſes of the campaign, who, after receiving the ſubmiſſions and fines of a variety of petty Polygars under the ſubjection of Sirpi, proceeded 40 miles to the S.S.E. and encamped between two forts called the greater and leſſer Balabarum, of which the greater refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion, but the kellidar of the other paid 50,000 rupees. From hence they proceeded 20 miles farther eaſt, and, after a ſiege of 10 days, took Ouſcotah. This fort, although far diſtant from the territory of Cudapah, belonged to the Nabob of that province. Proceeding, they ſummoned the fort of Colar, ſituated 20 miles beyond Ouſcotah, and being refuſed, left it in their rear, and ſat down before Mulliavaukel, twenty miles farther on. This fort ſtands on the higheſt rock of a large mountain, and is impregnable by open force. Balaventrow therefore tried money, which in four days gained the place. They were now within 30 miles of the great range of mountains which bound the Carnatic to the Weſt; and on the 27th of June encamped before the fort of Cudapanatam, ſixty miles N. by W. from the city of Arcot, and commanding the entrance of one of the paſſes into the Carnatic. Balaventrow, whilſt preparing to attack the fort of Cudanapatam, ſent forward letters from Balajerow, with his own, to the Nabob, and the preſidency. During the expedition to Seringapatam, Balajerow had likewiſe written ſeveral to the preſidency, in which he complained, that the government of Bombay had given him no ſhare of the plunder of Gheria; and held out his intentions of viſiting the Carnatic on his return from Myſore, in order to ſettle, as he ſaid, the affairs of the province; but theſe were deemed expreſſions merely deſigned to intimidate, inſomuch that the preſidency, in anſwer, invited him to come and aſſiſt them in expelling the French, as the only means of reſtoring tranquillity to the country. They were therefore not a little ſurprized to find in the letters now received from

1757. July. *May.* *June.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. July. Balajerow and his agent, to themſelves, and in ſtronger terms to the Nabob, a peremptory demand of the *Chout* or tribute due to the king of the Morratoes from the Nabobſhip of Arcot, which Balajerow aſſerted had been ſettled by Nizamalmuluck at ſix hundred thouſand rupees a year, four for the Carnatic, and two for Tritchinopoly and the ſouthern countries; but that he had received nothing for ſix years, that is, ſince the death of the Nabob Anwarodean Khan: the ſum he required was four millions of rupees.

The city of Arcot was ſtruck with conſternation by the arrival of the Morratoes at Cudanapatam, and the Nabob himſelf apprehended the incurſion of ſome of their parties even into the town, on which the preſidency invited and adviſed him to ſend the women and children of his family to Madraſs; but his mother, the widow of Anaverdi, having ſome prejudice againſt the air of the ſea coaſt, choſe to remain at Arcot; the reſt arrived on the 10th of July, paſſing without danger, as the Engliſh army were then before Vandiwaſh. In the mean time a correſpondence by letters and agents was carrying on between the Nabob and Balaventrow. Cudapanatam, after a breach, ſurrendered on the 15th of July; when a ſtrong detachment of Morratoes immediately came through the paſs and inveſted Ambore, from which they levied a contribution, and their parties ſcowered the valley of Vaniambaddy, quite up to the gates of Velore: but Balaventrow himſelf, with the main body, remained at Cudapatnam, and ſent an officer of diſtinction and great prudence named Armetrow, to negotiate with the Nabob: he arrived at Arcot on the 20th: he demanded 400,000 rupees as arrears from the Nabobſhip in general, with the reſerve of collecting from the forts and Polygars of the Carnatic in proportion. After much diſcuſſion, he conſented to take 200,000 in ready money from the Nabob, and his reſcripts on the forts and Polygars for 250,000 more. Theſe terms, conſidering all circumſtances, were moderate; and the Nabob thinking that the preſidency would be as well ſatisfied with them as himſelf, requeſted they would furniſh the money out of the rents he had aſſigned to the Company for the expences of the war. But the preſidency wiſhed to annul a claim, which if admitted under their

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

their ſanction, might never be relinquiſhed. They had, however, no alternative but to pay or fight; and no contemptible means of reſiſtance were tendered to them at this very time. The Morratoe Morarirow, in conſequence of his ſubmiſſions to Balajerow in the preceding year at Sanore, had joined and accompanied him with 6000 horſe in the expedition to Seringapatam. They parted after the reduction of Sirpi, and Morarirow returned to his own country without having got any thing by the campaign, not even the pay of his troops, which Balajerow regarded as military vaſſals to the Morratoe ſovereignty. The Nabob of Cudapah had been ſummoned to pay the chout, and had refuſed; on which Balaventrow had taken Ouſcotah, and the Nabob armed. The neighbouring Nabobs of Sanore, Canoul, and Condanore, all, as well as Cudapah, Pitans, took the alarm, and Morarirow, whoſe territory is contiguous to theirs, pretending to fear as much as they, propoſed that all together ſhould make an alliance with the Engliſh, the Nabob of Arcot, and the Myſoreans, not only to oppoſe Balaventrow at preſent, but to prevent the invaſions of Balajerow to the ſouth of the Kriſtna in future. All conſented, and Morarirow, taking the lead, made the propoſal to the Nabob and the preſidency in the moſt explicit terms; Cudapah did ſo likewiſe; and both profered to march immediately and give battle to Balaventrow at Cudapanatam, if the Engliſh troops would join them there. The preſidency could ſpare no troops, and was as much afraid of them, as of the Morratoes, entering the province; and in this dilemma reſolved, if poſſible, to procraſtinate with Armetrow until the arrival of ſupplies, or intelligence from Europe, ſhould give ſome certainty to their conduct; and invited him to come to Madraſs, who, on the offer of the Nabob to accompany him, conſented: they arrived on the 8th of Auguſt, and the next day conferred with the governor, who repreſented the merit of the Engliſh nation in preſerving the Carnatic from the dominion of the French, from whom the Morratoes would never have received any tribute, ſince they had paid none for the northern provinces; in the reduction of which he proferred to join Balaventrow with a body of Engliſh troops. But both theſe arguments admitted the claim; and Armetrow perceiving the evaſion,

1757. July.

Auguſt.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. August. evaſion, demanded a poſitive anſwer. The next day arrived a veſſel from Bombay, diſpatched with letters from England, which had been ſent over the deſart of Arabia, and were dated the 5th of January; they gave intelligence, that four ſhips of the line, with a frigate, under the command of Admiral Stevens, were ſailed for India. This news produced no change in the temper of Armetrow, whom the utmoſt entreaties of the Nabob could hardly prevail on not to depart that evening. A conſultation was held in the morning, when it was finally deemed expedient to pay the money; but on condition that 3000 horſe ſhould immediately join the Engliſh troops at Conjeveram, and proceed with them to attack the French army, which ſtill remained at Vandiwaſh. A ſecond conference paſſed, in which Armetrow was as before inflexible, aſſerted the chout as a right, would receive nothing with any condition; when the money was paid, he was ready to treat for the loan of a body of horſe. Various meſſages and explanations, however, detained him until the 14th, when in the middle of the night he ordered his retinue, 300 Morratoes, to be in readineſs to march in the morning: on which the preſidency reſolved to pay the money without reſerve; and he ſtaid two days more to receive it, part in coin, and part in bills on the ſhroffs. During the embaſſy, Balaventrow went with 3000 horſe from his camp at Cudapanatam to the pagoda of Tripetti, which ſtands 120 miles N. E. of that place; they paſſed through the ſtreights of Damalcherry, and when arrived within ten miles, he, at the requeſt of the renter who farmed the offerings, halted his troops; and, proceeding himſelf with a few attendants, paid his devotions with much reverence one day on the top of the mountain, and the next, in the temples below. During the march and return of this pilgrimage, he reſtrained all the troops which accompanied him from committing any violences in the country through which they paſſed: but ſeveral parties from the camp were at this time ravaging the ſkirts of the province of Cudapah.

With the other advices from England came orders for recalling Col. Adlercron and his regiment; but according to permiſſion from the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the war-office, moſt of the common men inliſted in the Company's troops; and there being no conveyance ready to carry away the reſt, no alteration enſued in the ſtrength of the army. 1757. Auguſt.

The French army at Vandiwaſh, as ſoon as the Engliſh cantoned themſelves in Conjeveram, employed their Sepoys and horſe to ravage the country. A detachment immediately took poſſeſſion of Outramalore, and from thence plundered the diſtricts of Salawauk: a much larger, with two field-pieces, marched into the diſtricts of Chittapett, where they were ſurprized and beaten by 200 Sepoys and 500 horſe from the fort. This routed body being reinforced, divided into two, one of which plundered as far as Timery within five miles of Arcot, and the other to Cavantandalum within ſix of Conjeveram; but theſe incurſions were ſo ſudden and tranſitory, that no motions were made by the troops there to repell them. However, 100 Sepoys were ſent from the fort of Arcot, to aſſiſt Chittapet, who were attacked and made their way through a ſtronger party of the enemy's. The month of Auguſt paſſed in theſe alarms, which were then ſucceeded by one of more conſequence. Of the three feaſts which are annually celebrated at Tripetti, that which falls in the beginning of September is held in much higher devotion than either of the other two, and more money is collected in proportion, ſince the number of pilgrims is much greater. In the beginning of June Nazeabulla, the rebel governor of Nelore, returned from Maſulipatam, accompanied by eighty French ſoldiers. He, however, remained quiet until the Nabob's troops under the command of Abdulwahab, had marched away to Arcot, and thoſe of the two Polygars, Damerla Venkytapah and Bangar Yatcham, had withdrawn to their homes. He then took the field, but confined his operations to incurſions into the opener country of the Polygars, until the middle of Auguſt, when he marched ſuddenly with his whole force, and ſat down before the fort of Cadawah, ſituated within twelve miles of Tripetti, and belonging to the Nabob. This motion left no doubt of his intention to collect the revenue of the approaching feaſt, which had for ſome years been aſſigned to the company. On the firſt advices of the danger, the preſidency

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. August. ordered a detachment of 100 Europeans, with two field-pieces, their artillery-men, and 300 Sepoys, to march with all expedition from Conjeveram, under the command of Captain Polier; and at the same time ordered the two Polygars to act in concert with this detachment, which set out on the first of September.

September.

On the 6th, four of the Company's ships from England anchored in the road of Madrass. It was some time that the Triton, a frigate of twenty guns, belonging to the squadron, and the Revenge, of the same rate, belonging to the Company, and commanded by commodore James, had been stationed to cruize off Pondicherry, in order to intercept any of the enemy's vessels, or give the intelligence of the coast to all the English ships they might meet; and they were likewise instructed to take out of the first from England the recruits they might bring; which were to be immediately landed at Fort St. David, as the safest and most expeditious means of restoring to that garrison the men which had lately been taken from it to serve in the expedition to Madura, and in the campaign of Vandiwash. The cruizers discovered the four Indiamen between Pondicherry and Fort St. David, joined them off of Alamparvah, and took on board all the recruits, which were 200; but having fallen 30 miles to leeward, it was the 7th at 10 at night before they anchored again in the road of Fort St. David. At the dawn of day they discovered 11 ships at anchor, extending from the east to the south, and none at more than three miles distance. The cruizers immediately got under weigh, and were soon convinced, that the strangers, although they shewed English colours, were French ships. Nevertheless, Commodore James resolved to disembark the recruits in the Revenge, sending as many as the three boats of the ship could carry to the outside of the surf, where they were received and landed by the massoolas of the shore, which always begin to ply at day-break. The boats returning, took the rest of the recruits, but before they could reach the ship again, the foremost of the enemy's squadron were come so nigh, that it was necessary to fly, and leave the boats to the shore. The Triton not sailing so well as the Revenge, and being under other restrictions of service, had not ventured the delay of landing the recruits she had taken on board, but had advanced on her

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. September.

way, although ſlowly, waiting for her comrade, which ſoon joined her, when both, under ſuch a cloud of ſail as amazed the enemy, ſtood before them; but were nevertheleſs ſo preſſed by two of their prime ſailers, which kept without, that they were obliged to ſail through the road of Pondicherry itſelf; where a ſhip of force was riding, which, inſtead of cutting her cable, and beginning an engagment, ſuffered the cruizers to paſs, whilſt ſhe was weighing her anchor at the capſtone to purſue them. As ſoon as they were beyond Pondicherry, the enemy, afraid of falling to leeward of their port, ceaſed the chaſe, and anchored in the road. The cruizers then hailed, and agreed, that the Revenge ſhould proceed immediately with the intelligence to Bengal, and the Triton to Madraſs, where ſhe anchored early the next morning.

The council was immediately ſummoned, and their determinations were ſoon taken. All the ſcribes in the ſettlement were not adequate to the orders and advices which it became immediately neceſſary to iſſue. The main body of the army at Conjeveram was ordered to come into Madraſs, the detachment with Polier recalled from Tripetti: Calliaud with the Europeans to return from Madura, whether taken or not, to Tritchinopoly; if taken, to bring away likewiſe Mahomed Iſſoof, with 1000 Sepoys. Inſtructions were ſent to the Engliſh garriſons in Carangoly, Chinglapett, and Arcot; and intelligence of the danger to every other fort in the country ſubject to, or in the intereſts of, the Nabob: advices to the preſidency of Bengal, and the ſquadron there; to Bombay and all the factories on the Malabar coaſt. A veſſel was diſpatched to cruize off Ceylon, with intelligence for the ſhips daily expected from England. Another was ſent to anchor off Cobelong, 20 miles to the ſouth of Madraſs, in order to make ſignals on the firſt appearance of the French ſquadron now at Pondicherry.

The council at Fort St. David, not obſerving, or not diſcerning, the motions of the cruizers, fancied the ſhips they ſaw arriving, were the men of war expected from England, with ſome of the company's ſhips under their convoy, and in this perſuaſion ſent one

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. September. of the agents in a maſſoola to compliment the admiral, and to deliver a letter from the preſidency, in which, "the admiral was requeſted to cruize off Ceylon, in order to encounter or intercept "the enemy's, and to protect the Engliſh ſhips expected on the "coaſt in that track of navigation; and it was confidently ſuppoſed, that Mr. Watſon, with the ſhips under his command, would "arrive from Bengal, in the other track, by the middle of September, "when every ſucceſs might be expected, from the junction of the "two ſquadrons, and even Pondicherry itſelf brought to riſque." The agent did not perceive the miſtake until too near to eſcape, but had time to conceal, as he thought, the letter between two planks of the ſeat: he was received on board with civility, and with the maſſoola carried to Pondicherry.

Several anxious days paſſed in expectation that the French ſhips would bear down from thence, and ſcour the road of Madraſs, where the loſs of the China ſhips would have been of much evil conſequence to the Company's commerce. Several days more, before even an imperfect account could be obtained, what the French ſhips were, what force they brought, and what their proceedings after their arrival; and it was long after, before the motives of their conduct at this time were diſcovered.

The ſquadron conſiſted of four ſhips of 60 guns, two of 50, three of 36, 30, and 22, and two of 16 guns, with a bomb-ketch; in all 12 veſſels, moſt of which ſailed from France in the end of December, but being ſeparated by a gale of wind, the laſt did not arrive at Mauritius until the 25th of June. They brought from France the regiment of Lorrain, with 50 of the king's artillery, the whole under the command of the Marquis de Soupires, of the rank of marſhal de camp, which anſwers to that of major general with us. They ſailed on the 1ſt of July from Mauritius to the iſle of Bourbon, where they took on board Mr. Bouvet, who was appointed to conduct the ſquadron to India; he was governor of this iſland, and one of the ableſt navigators belonging to France. On the 15th, they arrived at Foule Point on Madagaſcar, where they remained the reſt of the month taking in proviſions, of which their own iſlands were not

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

not able to furniſh a ſufficiency. From hence they ſailed on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and on the 9th of September, the day after their arrival at Pondicherry, landed 983 men of Lorrain, of which 63 were ſick, the 50 artillery-men, and 60 volunteers from Bourbon, with their equipages; beſides which had been embarked in the ſhips, 20 pieces of battering cannon, ſome mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls. M. Soupires, who by his commiſſion took the direction and command of all military operations, ſummoned a mixed council, of the military, the marine, and the civil government, in which he propoſed that the ſhips and troops ſhould immediately inveſt and blockade Fort St. David; but the letter from the preſidency of Madraſs to the Engliſh Admiral had been diſcovered in the Maſſoola, and raiſed ſuch a conſternation in the French ſquadron, by the apprehenſions of ſeeing every hour a force ſuperior to their own, that Mr. Bouvet declared he had done enough in landing the troops, and ſhould ſail immediately back to the iſlands: no arguments could change his reſolution, nor would he wait to diſembark the artillery and heavy ammunition, becauſe they ſerved as part of the ballaſt in the different ſhips, which it would require fifteen days to ſhift and reinſtate in a condition fit for ſailing. Thus was much detriment prevented by the accident of diſcovering the letter, which, at the time it happened, was deemed a great miſchance. 1757. September.

The ſudden departure of the French ſhips diminiſhed in ſome degree the apprehenſions which had been raiſed by their arrival. The army from Conjeveram was ordered to encamp on the plain near Madraſs; the detachment with Polier, which had returned as far as Tripaſſour, to march back and protect the feaſt at Tripetty, until concluded: and Calliaud was permitted to continue before Madura, if any chance remained of getting the place.

This officer, very infirm before, fell dangerouſly ill immediately after the repulſe of the laſt attack, and was obliged to retire to the neighbouring village of Trivalore, where he remained until the 4th of Auguſt, before his health was ſufficiently reſtored to endure the fatigues of the camp; however, this time was not entirely loſt. The greater and leſſer Moravars, at his ſolicitaion, ſent their troops as far *Auguſt.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. September. August. as Coilguddy, ready to act on call. The Polygar Catabominague came himself with 1000 Colleries. Myanah, who was the fugitive governor of Madura when Maphuze Khan came into the country, quitting the receſſes of Nattam, and diſclaiming all farther connexions with the rebels, came to the camp, with a large retinue, ſome troops, and, as a proof of his ſincerity, brought his family: by his influence the aſſiſtance of moſt of the Nattam colleries was ſecured. Nabey Cawn Catteck, the ancient colleague of Myana, kept himſelf concealed in the woods of Moravar, without making any efforts to aſſiſt the garriſon; and what perhaps was equal to any one of theſe advantages, 50 Europeans, and a nine-inch mortar, had arrived at the camp from Tritchinopoly.

With the other defections, the Jemautdars in Madura had reaſon to doubt of the aſſiſtance they expected from Maphuze Khan with the weſtern Polygars of Tinivelly, and from the Myſoreans at Dindigul.

Five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot remained with Maphuze Khan at Nellitangaville, when Berkatoolah left him and came away to defend Madura, which Calliaud at the ſame time was marching to attack with the main body of the Engliſh troops from Tinivelly. As ſoon as Calliaud was out of ſight, Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver took the field, and were joined by other Poylgars, which all together made up a camp of 10,000 men. This army marched from Nellitangaville in the latter end of April, and advanced beyond Alvar Courchy within 15 miles of Tinivelly, but were deterred by the Sepoys left there from attempting the town; nor did they immediately plunder or terrify the inhabitants of the open country, becauſe the harveſt, from which they intended to collect money, would not be reaped until the middle of June; however, they publiſhed their mandates that all who were accountable to the renter Modilee ſhould then become accountable to them. In the mean time Maphuze Khan negotiated with the king of Travancore for aſſiſtance, with the profer of Calacad and all the other diſtricts to which the king had ever made any pretenſion, and more; but, leſt this ſhould fail, he, with his uſual uncertainty renewed his negotiations

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ations with the Engliſh, and ſent off an agent with letters to Calliaud, propoſing to rent the country from them on the ſecurity of ſubſtantial ſhroffs. Lieutenant Rumbold received theſe offers whilſt Calliaud was returned to the relief of Tritchinopoly, and, thinking them worth attention, ſent a Jemautdar of Sepoys named Ramanaig, with an intelligent Moorman, to confer with Maphuze Khan in his camp. They were accompanied by an eſcort of 50 Sepoys; but juſt before their arrival, Maphuze Khan had received information, that the ſix companies of Sepoys, of the twelve left at Tinivelly and Palamcotah, were ordered to join the camp at Madura; which changed his ſchemes, and inſtead of negotiating, he ſurrounded the two deputies and their eſcort with his horſe, and threatened to put them all to the ſword, if they did not ſend an order to the Sepoys in garriſon at Palamcotah to deliver the fort to him. The deputies with their eſcort ſtood to their arms, and ſaid, they would rather die; but, juſt as the fight was going to begin, one of Maphuze Khan's Jemautdars, named Ally Saheb, declared his deteſtation of the treachery, and joined the Sepoys with the horſe of his command; on which the reſt recollected themſelves, and retired; but Ally Saheb, having ſtill ſome ſuſpicions for the ſafety of the deputies and their eſcort, marched with them to Palamcotah, and delivered them ſafe into the fort. Soon after the ſix companies of Sepoys began their march from Tinivelly to Madura, and the harveſt began, on which the enemy's army entered the town, where Maphuze Khan proclaimed his dominion, which his agents and dependants exerciſed with much violence and injuſtice. Even the ſhroffs, or bankers, did not eſcape; although the neceſſity and neutrality of their occupation protects their perſons and property throughout Indoſtan from the violence either of the deſpot or the conqueror. The main body of his army inveſted the fort of Palamcotah, which the Sepoys within eaſily defended, and with loſs to the enemy; but there was danger from ſcarcity of proviſions; to prevent which, Buſſaponiague, the commander of the Sepoys, ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Polygar Catabominaigue, who ſtipulated the ceſſion of ſome lands convenient to his diſtricts; which being promiſed, he took the field with his own.

1757. September.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. September. own troops, and thoſe of his dependant of Etiaporum. On their arrival the garriſon ſallied, and in a ſlight ſkirmiſh obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege: after which, the two Polygars returned to their homes, and Catabominaigue from his, came and joined the Engliſh camp before Madura. Maphuze Khan continuing at Tinivelly, neither ſent money or troops to the Jemautdars, but ſuffered the incomes to be diſſipated, notwithſtanding Berkatoolah had continually repreſented to him, that the ſcarcity of proviſions in Madura was daily increaſing from the want of money to pay for them, and of parties in the field to facilitate their importation.

Berkatoolah was at the ſame time equally diſappointed of the arrival of the Myſoreans, which had long been promiſed from day to day, and more lately with aſſurance that Hyderally himſelf was come to Dindigul to command them in perſon; but, on more diligent enquiry, it was diſcovered that Hyderally was ſtill at Seringapatam, and that the troops at Dindigul did not exceed the uſual garriſon. Thus deſerted, he reſolved to treat with Calliaud, and profered to deliver the city, if the Engliſh would pay the arrears due from Maphuze Khan to the troops within; but made no ſtipulation for thoſe who had been their former comrades and were now either with Maphuze Khan, or any where elſe out of the town. The arrears he ſtated at 1,600,000 rupees, but, on account of ſums levied in the country, offered to abate 400,000: theſe propoſals were ſigned by himſelf and four of the principal Jemautdars. Calliaud, after treating them for ſome time with contempt, propoſed his own; which were, to pay 100,000 rupees for the arrears to the troops, 20,000 as a preſent to Berkatoolah himſelf, 8000 to each of the four Jemautdars who had ſigned with him, and 2000 to each of the commanders of the three companies of Sepoys; in all 150,000. Many days and meſſages paſſed in chaffering concerning the money; during which the Polygars kept their watches ſo ſtrictly in the country round, that no proviſions could be carried in, and the inhabitants were reduced to rice alone, and that without ſalt; on which all, not occupied in military ſervices, left the town, and were permitted to go away unmoleſted. At the ſame time the former battery was ſtrengthened,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. September.

ened, and enlarged to the capacity of receiving all the artillery, which were two eighteen-pounders, 10 field-pieces, and a nine-inch mortar. Every day the diſtreſs increaſed; and in the beginning of September horſemen daily came over to the camp. On the 7th Calliaud informed Berkatoolah that his battery was ready, and would open the next morning; after which, no terms of compoſition would be received. The negotiator was a relation of Berkatoolah, whom Calliaud had attached by generoſities, and Berkatoolah believed: his repreſentations in this deciſive moment prevailed; and he returned on the morning of the 8th with the treaty ſigned: the ſum agreed was 170,000 rupees, 20,000 more than the firſt offer; and at noon Calliaud with the troops were received into the town. This important acquiſition was made on the very day that Mr. de Soupires with the French forces landed at Pondicherry.

The preſidency received the news on the 16th. It was the only advantage which had been gained during the loſſes and diſtreſſes to which the company's affairs in Coromandel had been expoſed ſince the departure of the armament to Bengal: it would have been deemed of the higheſt importance even in fortunate times; and at preſent was the more acceptable, becauſe ſcarcely within expectation; for, had the ſurrender been protracted until the arrival of the French ſquadron had been known to the garriſon, little chance would have remained of gaining the place; which continuing in the poſſeſſion of enemies confederated with the French, would have greatly influenced many ſubſequent events, by means which were now entirely precluded.

In the mean time the French at Pondicherry were holding councils what to do with their new force. It having been determined not to attack Fort St. David, from apprehenſions of the Engliſh ſquadron, Tritchinopoly would probably have been the object, if Mr. Soupire had not been inſtructed to refrain from any diſtant enterprize, which might impair the force under his command, before the arrival of a greater which was following from France; when both united might attempt any thing. It was therefore reſolved to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. September. act in the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar, and to begin by the ſiege of Chittapet. The French troops, which had taken the field before the arrival of the ſquadron, were ſtill remaining in their camp at Vandiwaſh, and on the 21ſt appeared in ſight of Chittapet, where, on the 25th, they were joined by 300 of the regiment of Lorrain, and a train of artillery from Pondicherry.

The advance of the French troops created no little conſternation in the city of Arcot, and incidentally became the cauſe of much confuſion there. The Nabob had left the government of the city to his brother Abdulwahab, aſſiſted by the councils of his mother, of Sampetrow, who had been the Duan or miniſter of his father, and of Ebrar Cawn, the Buxey or general of the troops. Many of the cavalry levied for the expedition to Nelore, had lately quitted his ſervice for want of pay; ſome had enliſted with the French at Vandiwaſh, others with Mortizally at Velore. The deſertion continuing, one Dana Sing, a ſtraggling Jemautdar, came in the beginning of September, and encamped near the ſuburbs of Arcot with a hundred horſe, intending to increaſe the number, by enliſting ſuch as left the Nabob's ſervice, and then offer the whole to the beſt bidder. Theſe practices are ſo common in Indoſtan, that a body of cavalry may encamp between two oppoſite armies, and remain unmoleſted by either, whilſt undecided which to join; and Dana Sing, relying on the cuſtoms he knew, proſecuted his buſineſs without reſerve, and even with the knowledge of the Engliſh commandant in the fort, whom he ſometimes viſited. But malicious perſons, who were in poſſeſſion of the confidence of the commandant, began to inſinuate, that the former as well as the preſent deſertions were the effects of colluſion and treachery, between the troops and Abdulwahab with the others to whom the Nabob had entruſted the government. Their artifices awakened his ſuſpicions, which began to ſee the phantoms of plots and conſpiracies, after which the ſlighteſt incidents became proofs to his credulity, and unluckily one happened, which might have raiſed miſtruſt in a more ſagacious mind. The Nabob's mother had in appanage the fort of Chitore, ſituated in the mountains, about 20 miles from the pagoda of Tripetti, and governed

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

governed it with the adjacent domain, without the interference of any other authority. Being old and infirm, she was so much frightened by the reports and approach of the French troops, that she packed up her treasure and valuable effects with some of Abdulwahab's, intending to send them to Chitore. The same malice which had already prejudiced, easily persuaded the commandant, that both the mother and son intended to make their escape from the city, and take refuge with some or other of the Nabob's enemies. Every person and every circumstance were now suspected of treason; a party of Sepoys seized Sampetrow, another the Jemautdar Dana Sing; and both were put into confinement. Ebrar Cawn was obliged to depart from the city, the very interpreter and the news-writer of the Morattoes were likewise compelled to go. The first carriages which were proceeding to Chitore, were likewise stopped and brought to the fort, and with them several female attendants belonging to the Nabob's mother, over whose palace a strong regard was set, to prevent her escape; and all letters were intercepted. Abdulwahab, suspecting as much mischief as he was suspected of, went off with 40 horsemen in the night, it was the 24th of September, nor thought himself safe until he reached Chitore; the next day his house was searched, and the most valuable of his effects, with all his papers, were seized. For three days and three nights all the Sepoys of the garrison were marching and counter-marching, taking and changing posts, as if the town had been invested, and in danger of being forced by an army of 40,000 men; whereas, luckily, it was not necessary to fire a single musket: nevertheless the commandant could not be persuaded of this security, and obliged the Nabob's mother to quit the city on the 27th, under a strong guard from his garrison, which escorted her to Covrepauk. The Presidency heard these tidings with amazement, and finding by the intercepted letters that no evil designs had been intended by any of the aggrieved, made candid apologies to all; and immediately sent another officer to take the command of the fort. The Nabob and his mother were convinced and appeased; but Abdulwahab, either from pride, or some hopes of obtaining an

1757. September.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. October. independant eſtabliſhment, would not return from Chitore, but levied troops, and correſponded with the Morattoes.

On the firſt of October, Mr. Soupire encamped the reſt of the Lorrain regiment at Valdoor, as a body of obſervation ready either to intercept any ſuccours which might be ſent from Fort St. David, or to march to the Paliar, if the main body of the Engliſh force at Madraſs ſhould take the field to interrupt the ſiege of Chittapet. The kellidar, on the firſt motion of the French troops, ſaw his danger, and aſked in preſſing, but manly terms, the aſſiſtance of the preſidency. It was then almoſt too late, for the Engliſh had no force at hand, ſufficient to make their way through the firſt diviſion which had ſet down before his fort; nevertheleſs ſtratagem and activity might have conducted ſome. Unfortunately the Nabob Mahomedally bore a deep grudge againſt the kellidar, for offences which power rarely pardons. He had received his appointment from Murzafajing, which had been confirmed by Nazirjing, and by his ſucceſſor, the preſent Subah, on the conditions of the ancient governors of forts in Indoſtan, appointed by the Mogul to reſtrain inſtead of ſtrengthening the hands of the Nabob, againſt whom the kellidar is obliged, in many inſtances, to ſhut his gates. Nizar Mahomed never quitted this idea of his own dignity, keeping his court, conſtituting officers, and levying troops, without aſking the Nabob's conſent or approbation; and ſome months before aggravated his offence by receiving a commiſſion from Salabadjing, appointing him, in addition to his own, and with equal privileges, governor of the neighbouring fort of Polore, from which his diſtricts had been often moleſted. The patents were uſhered into Chittapet with much ceremony, and proclaimed to the garriſon and vaſſals with oſtentation, immediately after which the kellidar took the field with the greateſt part of his force, and marched againſt Polore. The Nabob, ſtung and exaſperated, reproached the preſidency with the proceedings of their ally, whom, having formerly ſerved in Bengal under the Nabob Allaverdy, he accuſed of a ſtrict connexion with his ſucceſſor Surajahdowlah, from whom he alledged the kellidar had lately received a large ſum of money, to be employed in conjunction with the French at Pondi-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

cherry, to the diſtreſs of his own government and the Engliſh affairs in the Carnatic. The preſidency reprimanded the kellidar for the intemperance of his conduct againſt Polore, who immediately retired, and apologized with a frankneſs ſcarcely compatible with diſſimulation; and from this time, which was the end of the laſt year, he continued to inform them of his wants, tranſactions, and apprehenſions. Nevertheleſs, the Nabob's repreſentations (ſuch is the infirmity of human nature, which enters even into public councils) left ſuſpicions: otherwiſe, means would, in all probability, have been contrived to have thrown 100 Europeans into the fort at this juncture; nor would they before have neglected to ſupply it with ſome pieces of cannon, which the kellidar had often ſollicited. The fort of Chittapet is built of ſtone, and is extenſive, being within the ditch 540 yards from north to ſouth, and 430 on the other ſides: it has round towers at the angles, and in each of theſe a high cavalier; beſides which, it has only 10 ſquare towers, three on the longeſt, and two on each of the other ſides. But all theſe towers are much more ſpacious, than in the generality of the forts of Coromandel; and the gateway on the northern ſide is the largeſt pile of this conſtruction in the Carnatic, being capable of containing on its terraſſes, five hundred men drawn up under arms. The fauſſe-bray is ſkirted by a ſtreight and ſlight parapet without projections into the ditch, which is ſupplied with water, but with the uſual negligence of Indian fortifications, was at this time in ſome parts fordable. Adjacent to the weſtern ſide of the fort, nearly of the ſame extent, is a pettah, encloſed by a mud wall with round towers. The French carried the pettah by aſſault, in which they eſtabliſhed their breaching battery; erecting likewiſe two others, without, to enfilade. The principal battery, as ſoon as compleated, was rendered uſeleſs by an exceſſive fall of rain, and as ſoon as repaired, the kellidar ſallied, killed part, and drove the reſt of the guard away, diſmounted the cannon, and carried off the ammunition and tools. 1757. October.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. October.

The news of this ſucceſs determined the preſidency to ſupport the kellidar; they ordered the commandant at Arcot to ſend a reinforcement of Europeans and Sepoys with a ſupply of ammunition, requeſted the Nabob to ſend what horſe he had ready, and Armetrow, with his detachment of Morattoes, to join and accompany the reinforcement; and, moreover, promiſing to bear the expence, ſollicited Balaventrow to detach a larger body of Morattoes, to harraſs the enemy's poſts, and intercept their convoys. But the Nabob's horſe ſeeing no ready money, would not expoſe themſelves; Armetrow was gone to pay his devotions at Tripetti; and Balaventrow, with the main body of his army, had left Cadapanatam, and was advanced ſeveral marches towards Viziapore. In this interval the French troops which had been kept back at Valdore arrived before Chittapet, and with the former force were ſufficient to inveſt it on all ſides, and prevent the introduction of any ſuccours.

By the 13th, the breach was practicable, when the French ſummoned the kellidar, who anſwered, that he waited the aſſault. In the enſuing night a party, in which were the grenadiers of Lorrain, concealed themſelves near the great gateway, where the ditch was fordable, and at dawn of day the main body advanced from the battery to the breach, when the ſignal was thrown up for the other party to eſcalade, which ſucceeded beyond their expectation, meeting few to oppoſe them; for the greateſt part of the garriſon were aſſembled with the kellidar at their head at the breach, which they defended manfully, until he fell dead, ſhot by two muſket balls: at the ſame inſtant the eſcalade had gained the terraſs of the gateway, from which they proceeded along the rampart, driving all before them until they came in flank of the breach, where their fire and onſet confounded the reſiſtance againſt the main aſſault, which, a few minutes after gained the rampart likewiſe, when the conqueror ſpared neither the proſtrate nor the fugitive, excepting the Engliſh ſoldiers, who were nineteen, to whom quarter was offered, which they accepted. None other of the garriſon eſcaped, excepting ſuch as jumped from the walls, and gained the plain;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

plain; amongſt whom were about 50 of the Engliſh Sepoys. Fire was ſet to the dwelling of the kellidar, probably becauſe the women had barricaded their apartments; and an event is told concerning the fate of his principal wife, which, to ſave a diſgrace to human nature, we ſhall not repeat. Thus fell Nizar Mahomed, a victim to his good faith, although ſuſpected of treachery, and with the utmoſt gallantry, although ſcarcely believed to be brave. The preſidency much regretted his fall, becauſe owing in ſome meaſure to their own neglect, by which their other allies might be rendered diffident of their aſſiſtance in the hour of danger and diſtreſs. 1757. October.

Nazeabullah, on the approach of the detachment with Polier, broke up his camp before Cadawah, and retired to Nelore; where he ſtopped all the votaries paſſing from the northward through his territory to the feaſt at Tripetti, of which the income by this interception was conſiderably diminiſhed; as ſoon as concluded, the detachment returned to Madraſs, where they arrived on the 25th of September, but in the way Polier ſent off two companies of Sepoys to reinforce thoſe already at Conjeveram. The fall of Chittapet alarmed the preſidency for all their out garriſons; and precautions were taken in proportion to their importance. Carangoly ſtanding 15 miles s.w. of Chinglapet, on the ſouth ſide of the Paliar, and near the late acquiſitions of the French, was garriſoned by 300 Sepoys; but as its walls were in a ruinous condition, they were ordered to retreat, on imminent danger, to Chinglapet, and to repair thither if Chinglapet were threatened before them. What diſtricts were beyond Carangoly, and occupied only by ſlight parties of the enemy's troops, were conſigned to the recovery and management of Murzafabeg, a partizan recommended by the Nabob, who was to account for nothing, and maintain them as he could, out of the revenues he might collect. Stores, ammunition, and ſome Europeans were ſent to Arcot; and Timary, Covrepauk, Cavantandelum, and two or three other, but ſmaller forts, were ordered to act in reſpect to Arcot, as Carangoly to Chinglapett. But the French army, fearful of venturing too far from Pondicherry, and ſtill more of croſſing the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. October. Paliar, as the rains were approaching, unexpectedly turned from Chittapet to the ſouth, and went againſt Trinomalee.

During theſe operations and alarms in the Carnatic, the arrival of the French ſquadron had created equal apprehenſions in the ſouthern countries. Calliaud received the intelligence from Devi Cotah and Fort St. David ſeveral days before the advices from the preſidency could reach Madura, and without delay began his march back to Tritchinopoly, with all the Europeans; but left Mahomed Iſſoof with the Sepoys and the reſt of the camp, to defend Madura and its dependencies, and to recover and protect, as far as the force and occaſions allowed, the diſtricts of Tinivelly: for the timidity of Modilee could not ſtand the field; and dreading ſtill more to be left alone with Mahomed Iſſoof, he again accompanied Captain Calliaud; who the day after he left Madura, met at Nattam the firſt letters of the preſidency ordering both himſelf and Mahomed Iſſoof to return immediately to Trtchinopoly; nevertheleſs ſeveral arrangements, neceſſary on a new acquiſition of ſuch importance, induced him to continue Mahomed Iſſoof ten days longer at Madura. On the 20th, he himſelf arrived with the Europeans, 250, at Tritchinopoly, where he was ſoon after informed, that the whole of the French force had taken the field; and although in the interval he received orders countermanding the return either of himſelf or Mahomed Iſſoof, he now preferred the firſt idea of being ready to make head at Tritchinopoly, with a ſtrong force, until the ſeaſon, intelligence, or the chance of war, might determine what might juſtly be apprehended from the operations of the enemy. Accordingly Mahomed Iſſoof with a thouſand Sepoys, followed him and arrived at Tritchinopoly on the 8th of October. In the mean time Berkatoolah had been ſent with propoſals to induce Maphuze Khan to quit the Tinivelly country, but the arrival of the French force had elevated him with ſuch hopes, that he rejected all terms excepting the government both of Madura and Tinivelly at certain tributes, which he never intended to pay. This anſwer Mahomed Iſſoof received before he left Madura; as alſo certain intelligence that Hiderally, the Myſore general, was at length arrived with a conſiderable force at Dindigul: and, as the

ſetting

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

setting in of the rains in the Carnatic had by this time removed all apprehensions of immediate danger to Tritchinopoly, notwithstanding the reduction of Chittapet, Calliaud resolved that Mahomed Issoof should return again to Madura with the troops he had brought, as soon as they were refreshed and furnished with some additional equipments. They accordingly set out on the 20th of October. 1757. October.

On the 16th, the same day that the presidency received the news of the loss of Chittapett, arrived a vessel from Bengal with authentic advices of the revolution in that province produced by the success at Plassy: the succeeding days and vessels brought to the company, and to individuals, some part of the treasure which had been poured into Calcutta by that extraordinary event, and the reputation of a credit, adequate to the utmost wants of the English affairs in Coromandel: but this unexpected prosperity was somewhat clouded by the certainty of not receiving back any part of their troops in this season of necessity. Nor were any of the ships of war to be expected; for Admiral Pococke, on hearing of the French squadron, had taken the resolution of remaining in the Ganges until January, for the protection of Calcutta, and in expectation of being joined there by the ships coming from England; soon after, arrived the Queensborough frigate, dispatched by Commodore Stevens in August, from St. Augustine's bay in the island of Madagascar, with information of his intentions to proceed with the four ships under his command, to Bombay, from whence they could not reach the coast until the beginning of the next year; but the approach of the tempestuous season lessened this disappointment, as it was known that the French themselves expected no more ships of force during this interval.

The French army from Chittapet appeared before Trinomalee on the 18th. This place, notwithstanding the gallant defence of Berkatoolah in 1753, is more famous for its sanctity than strength; it is situated 30 miles s. s. w. of Chittapet, and 30 w. of Gingee, a craggy mountain, about two miles in circumference, and rising in the middle to a great height, hath, besides others, on the highest rock,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. October. rock, a ſmall chapel, which is held in extreme veneration, from a perſuaſion, that whoſoever, except the appointed Bramins, ſhould preſume to enter it, would immediately be conſumed by a ſubterraneous fire, riſing for the occaſion. On the weſtern ſide is a large pettah, ſurrounded by a ſlight mud wall; it was this Berkatoolah defended; from which are the only paths leading to the chapels, and in the innermoſt part immediately under the mountain, is a ſpacious and well-built pagoda, the reſidence of a multitude of Bramins and their families, as well as of the images to which the whole mountain and pagoda are conſecrated. The mountain, pettah, and a ſpace of arable land to the eaſtward, is encloſed by a bound hedge, ſuch, although not ſo thick ſet, as that of Pondicherry. The Nabob's governor and garriſon abandoned the pettah on the appearance of the French army; which then ſeparated into various detachments againſt various places. The neighbouring kellidar of Polore ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and the ſtronger fort of Arni, redeemed the attack, which was threatened, although not intended, for a ſum of money. November. On the 4th of November the ſtrongeſt of the detachments commanded by Saubinet appeared before the fort of Thiagar, otherwiſe called Tagadurgam. This ſtands 30 miles ſouth of Trinomalee, in the high road to Volcondah and Tritchinopoly. It conſiſts of two fortifications, on a high mountain, one above, but communicating with the other, and a pettah on the plain to the eaſtward, which has not only the common defence of a mud wall, but is likewiſe ſurrounded at a ſmall diſtance by an impenetrable hedge; from which the cannon and muſketry of the French detachment could not remove the matchlock men who defended it, concealed themſelves, and hitting every thing that appeared in ſight: after two days trial, Saubinet received orders to return to Pondicherry, and all the other detachments were recalled at the ſame time. They had reduced eight forts in the neighbourhood of Chittapet, Trinomallee, and Gingee, and eſtabliſhed renters in the diſtricts which depended on them.

As ſoon as the rains abated, the garriſons of Outramalore and Chittapet ſent out parties to attack the diſtricts and ſmaller forts dependant

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

pendant on Carangoly and Arcot, and ſlight ſkirmiſhes enſued with various ſucceſs. The harveſt ripening in the beginning of November, Murzafabeg took poſt with 300 Sepoys levied by himſelf, and other force, in the fort of Trivatore, which, ſtanding midway between Outramalore and Arcot, was the moſt central ſituation to protect the diſtricts under his own management: the fort being ſtrong enough to reſiſt a ſudden aſſault, parties detached from it frequently beat away thoſe of the enemy, ſent to levy money from the villages, for the redemption of their grain in the field, until the enemy inveſted the fort with 800 Sepoys, joined by ſome Europeans, with three field-pieces. Captain Richard Smith commanding at this time in Arcot, on notice of the danger, detached five companies of Sepoys with a platoon of Europeans, under the command of Lieutenant Wood, who, halting near Trivatore during the night of the 13th of December, fell upon the beſiegers at day-break the next morning, beat up all their poſts, and took their field-pieces, with which he returned the day after to Arcot; but left one of his companies of Sepoys to reinforce Trivatore. On the 28th 500 Sepoys came again and took poſſeſſion of the pettah, but were driven away by the garriſon on the laſt day of the year. At the ſame time another party from Outramalore blocked up two companies of Sepoys, placed in the mud fort of Cavantandelum, which ſtands about 10 miles to the N.W. of Outramalore, and about midway between Salawauk and Conjeveram. Enſign Banatyne marched with five companies from Carangoly, and beat the Enemy away; but deeming the poſt untenable, withdrew the guard. Thus ended the year in the diſtricts of the Carnatic near the Paliar.

1757. November. December.

The Morattoe, Balaventrow, immediately after the concluſion of Armetrow's negotiation, and his own devotions at Tripetti, marched with the main body of his army from the paſs of Cudapanatam, into the country of Cudapah. The Nabob of this province had aſſembled his force, 6000 horſe, and had been joined by thoſe of Canoul, with 3000 more, all reputed, although not really, Pitans. This army waited for the enemy near the city of Cudapah, which ſtands about 150 miles N. and by W. of Arcot,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. and is an open town. The Morratoes, contrary to their uſual warfare, were as eager for a deciſive battle as the Pitans. It was fought on the 24th of September with much fury, and ended with the death of the Nabob of Cudapah; the city fell a prey to the conquerors, who plundered every thing, and found a valuable booty. Balaventrow ſoon after received, with the requeſt of the preſidency, an order from Balajerow, to aſſiſt the Engliſh, and immediately detached 1000 horſe to Arcot; but they did not arrive until Chittapet was taken; and the ſubſequent motions of the French threatening no forts of importance, which it was in the power of the Engliſh force to protect without riſquing a general battle, the preſidency ſpared the expence of taking this cavalry into their pay; which however did not join the French, but remained with Armetrow at Arcot until the 5th of December; when he proceeded with them and his former eſcorte to Velore, where they remained quietly until the end of January, waiting the orders of Balaventrow.

The only attempt made by the French troops, after the retreat of their army into Pondicherry, was againſt Palamcotah near the Coleroon, which they inveſted, in the beginning of December, with 100 Europeans, ſome field-pieces, and 500 Sepoys, from the garriſon of Chilambarum, but, having no battering cannon, they were only able to get poſſeſſion of the pettah, from whence they collected the revenues of the lands dependant on the fort, which, as we have ſaid in a former part of our narrative, were an appanage of the Nabob of Cudapah, and were commanded by one of his near relations. The death of the late Nabob did not alter the dependance, and as he had been for ſome time on friendly terms with the Engliſh, 30 Sepoys, with as much ammunition as they could carry, were ſent from Fort St. David, and found means to get into the fort.

Whilſt Mahomed Iſſoof was waiting the deciſion of his return from
November. Tritchinopoly to Madura, Hyderally had marched from Dindigul, took the fort of Sholavanden without reſiſtance, and entered the diſtricts of Madura without oppoſition. He continued ſeveral days under the walls of the city; but, finding it much ſtronger than he expected, contented himſelf with plundering the country, ſending

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ing off the cattle and other booty to Dindigul. On the approach of Mahomed Iſſoof, he took poſt with a part of his army near the iſſue of the paſs of Nattam, in order to intercept his march. Mahomed Iſſoof without heſitation attacked, and, with the advantage of ſuperior diſcipline, and the execution of his field-pieces, obliged the Myſoreans to give way; who, decamping the enſuing night, croſſed the country to Chevelpetore. By this time, the miſchief they had had done having left nothing more to get worth the expence of remaining in the country, Hyderally collected his detachments, and returned to Dindigul. Mahomed Iſſoof, on his arrival at Madura, enliſted 400, the beſt of Berkatoolah's cavalry; the whole of which were remaining encamped 15 miles from the town, waiting for the ſecond payment of the agreement, having as neutrals, neither given moleſtation to the Myſoreans, or received any from them. He, at the ſame time, ſent invitations to thoſe with Maphuze Khan, and whatſoever other bodies were acting as independent plunderers in the Tinivelly country. As ſoon as the Myſoreans were gone, he began his march to Tinivelly, with a very conſiderable force. Paſſing along the diſtricts of Etiaporum, the Polygar redeemed his hoſtages, which were in the camp, paying 18,700 rupees, the balance of his fine. The army arrived at the town of Tinivelly about the middle of November, from whence Maphuze Khan on their approach had retired to Nellitangaville. He had, during his reſidence there, made various attempts, to get poſſeſſion of the fort of Palamcotah, but had taken Calacad, and given it to the king of Travancore. Mahomed Iſſoof, with a part of the army, marched immediately againſt this place, which the Travancores abandoned without reſiſtance, and, being followed by him, retired behind their walls in the paſſes of the mountains, at the foot of the promontory. At the ſame time, the appearance of other detachments drove away the guards which Maphuze Khan had placed in Papancolam, Alvarcourchy, and Bermadaſs; and thoſe ſtationed by the Polygar of Vadagherry, in Tirancourchy. All theſe places lie to the N.W. of Tinivelly, about Nellitangaville; and parties of Sepoys were left to maintain them. Mahomed Iſſoof had returned

1757. December. November.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. to Tinivelly by the end of November; and on the 28th of this month, a Jemautdar of horſe lately enliſted endeavoured, with ſome of his troops, to break through his guards to the apartment in which he was, as uſual, laid down to ſleep in the afternoon. Mahomed Iſſoof ſtarting up joined his guards, and more coming, all the intruders were cut down on the ſpot, but killed ſome of their opponents. At this time, he received intelligence, that the French garriſon in the pagoda of Seringham had ſent a detachment of Europeans and Sepoys with artillery, to Hyderally at Dindigul, who, on their arrival, it was ſaid, was preparing to return againſt Madura: the news, although premature, was believed, and determined Mahomed Iſſoof to be there before them. Accordingly, on the 1ſt of December, he began his march from Tinivelly, leaving there and in the other poſts, a ſufficient force to make head againſt Maphuze Khan and his allies, and on the 4th arrived at Chevelpetore, where he remained waiting for more certain advices concerning the Myſoreans, until the end of the month; and in the mean time, ſent a ſtrong detachment to repair the fort of Sholavanden. Before this time, no farther expectation remained of Moodilee's abilities to manage the revenues; and he was called to Madraſs, in order to exhibit and explain the details of his adminiſtration; but remained ſick and ſettling his accounts in the woods of Tondiman. Calliaud had ſent Lieutenant Rumbold in the month of Auguſt to communicate the ſtate of the country; but this officer died on the way at Fort St. David in the month of September: and the preſidency, as ſoon as the rains were ſet in, ordered Calliaud himſelf to come. He arrived on the 14th of November, under the ſafe-guard of a paſſport from Pondicherry, and having communicated his knowledge and opinions returned on the 4th, and reached Tritchinopoly on the 12th of December: his repreſentations convinced the preſidency, that the diſturbances would never ceaſe, nor any revenue be collected, adequate to the military expences, whilſt Maphuze Khan maintained his force, pretenſions, and alliances, in theſe countries. It was therefore propoſed to the Nabob, who ſtill continued at Madraſs, that Maphuze Khan ſhould be aſ-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

sured of receiving an annual income, sufficient for his decent maintenance, out of the revenues, provided he would quit the country with his cavalry, and disband his other troops. By this plan, if nothing should be got, nothing would be lost; and the French, frustrated of all connexions, would find it impracticable to get footing in these provinces. The Nabob approved the proposal, and sent an agent to treat with Maphuze Khan. 1757. December.

Thus ended this busy anxious year in the Carnatic and its dependencies, during which almost every day brought the solicitude of some suspended event, or the expectation of some important mischance; but unremitting caution and vigilance, directed by knowledge and sagacity, supplied the defect of force. The only error committed by the presidency was their neglect of Chittapet, which was severely atoned by its loss. The only advantage obtained was the acquisition of Madura; but this much more than compensated all the detriments of the year. Thus the English councils. To those of Pondicherry no blame could be imputed, because they were restricted by the most positive orders from France, and even ventured more than they were authorized to risque.

Mr. Bussy, the commander of their forces in the Decan, had during this year employed them with much more activity, because uncontrouled in his operations. His army, continuing their march from Hyderabad, arrived at Bezoara on the Kristna in the end of November of the preceding year, from whence, instead of going to Masulipatam, they struck to the north-east, and proceeded by a frequented road, through the province and city of Elore, from whence they arrived on the 19th of December at the city of Ramundrum, situated on the Godaveri, about 30 miles from the sea, and a day's march from the English factory at Ingeram. On their approach, Ibrahim Cawn, whom Mr. Bussy had raised to the government of this and the province of Chicacole, dreading the punishment of his ingratitude during the distress of Charmaul, quitted the country, and went away to Aurengabad; but the Rajah Vizeramrauze, confident in the proofs he had given of his attachment, met their army accompanied by several other Indian chiefs, with their forces, which, with his own, amounted to 10000 men; he

was

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

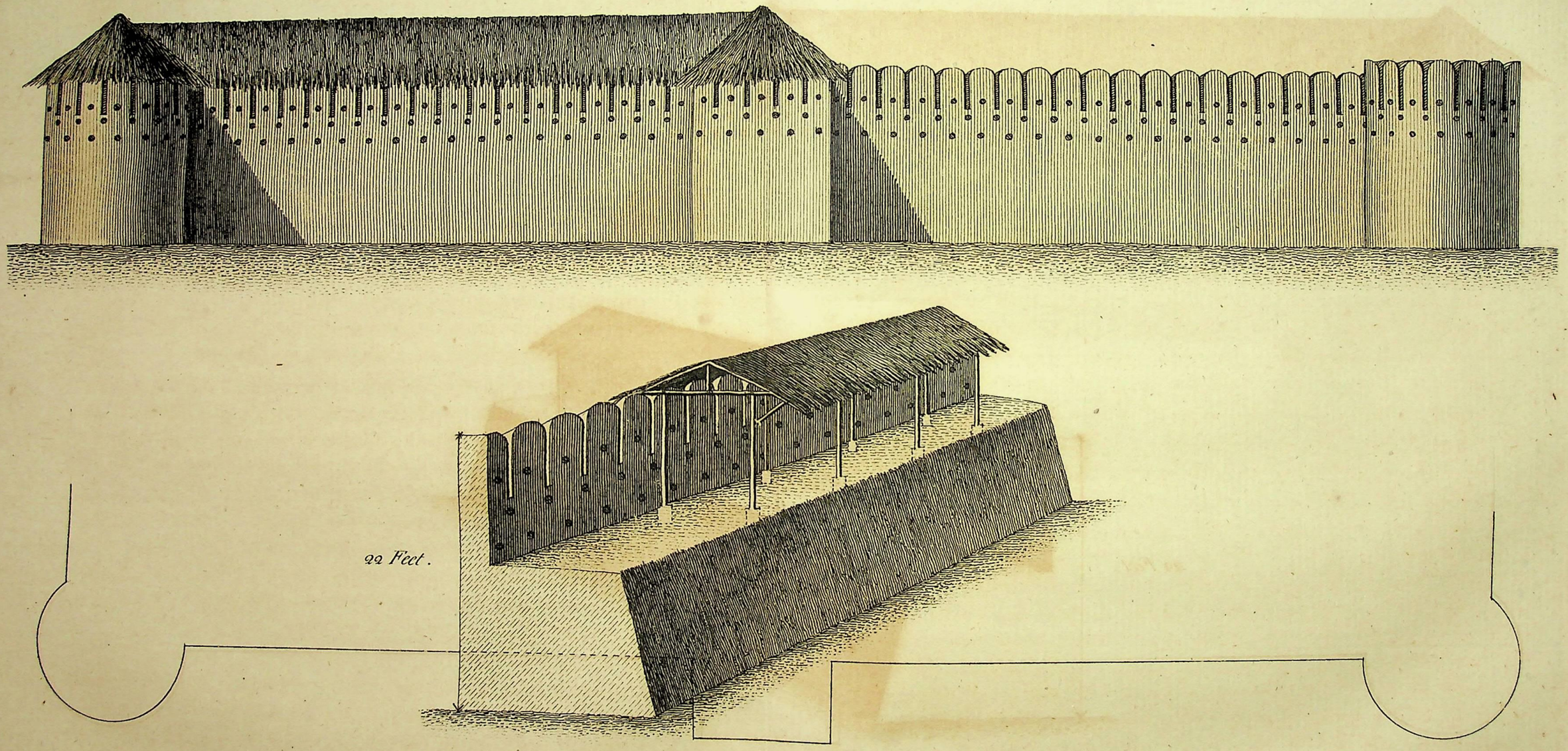
1757. December. was received with every mark of reſpect, and employed the favour in which he ſtood, to the gratification of an animoſity, which had long been the leading paſſion of his mind. The tradition of theſe countries ſays, that many centuries before Mahomedaniſm, a king of Jaggernaut, in Orixa, marched to the ſouth with a great army, which ſubdued not only theſe provinces, but, croſſing the Kriſtna, conquered in the Carnatic, as far as Conjeveram: theſe conqueſts he diſtributed in many portions to his relations, officers, and menial ſervants, from whom ſeveral of the preſent northern Polygars pretend to be lineally deſcended, and to govern at this very time the very diſtricts which were then given to their anceſtor. All who claim this genealogy, eſteem themſelves the higheſt blood of native Indians, next to the Bramins, equal to the Rajpoots, and ſupport this pre-eminence by the haughtieſt obſervances, inſomuch that the breath of a different religion, and even of the meaner Indians, requires ablution: their women never transfer themſelves to a ſecond, but burn with the huſband of their virginity; and, although this cruel practice is not unfrequent in moſt of the high families and caſts throughout India, yet it is generally optional: but with the women of theſe antient Polygars, the moſt indiſpenſable of neceſſities.

The firſt in rank of theſe Polygars, who all call themſelves Rajahs, was Rangarao of Bobilee: the fort of this name ſtands cloſe to the mountains about 140 miles N. E. of Vizagapatam; the diſtricts are about twenty ſquare miles. There had long been a deadly hatred between this Polygar and Vizeramrauze, whoſe perſon, how much ſoever he feared his power, Rangarao held in the utmoſt contempt, as of low extraction, and of new note. Diſtricts belonging to Vizeramrauze adjoined to thoſe of Bobilee, whoſe people diverted the water of the rivulets, and made depredations, which Vizeramrauze, for want of better military means, and from the nature of Rangarao's country, could not retaliate. Vizeramrauze uſed his utmoſt influence and arguments to perſuade Mr. Buſſy of the neceſſity of removing this neighbour; and Mr. Buſſy propoſed, that he ſhould quit his hereditary ground of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ELEVATION of a POLYGARS FORT in the Northern Provinces, as it appears towards the field, Part of the covering is left off in order to shew the form of the Battlements; The curtains are not more than half the length they ought to be in order to comprize the whole Front on the paper



Drawn and communicated *by* Edward Cotsford Esqr. *March 1776.*

T. Miller sc.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of Bobilee, in exchange for other lands of greater extent and value, in another part of the province; but Rangarao treated the propoſal as an inſult. Soon after, it became neceſſary to ſend a detachment of Sepoys to ſome diſtricts at a diſtance, to which the ſhorteſt road lay through ſome part of the woods of Bobilee: permiſſion was obtained; but, either by ſome contrivance of Vizeramrauze, or the predetermination of Rangarao, the detachment was ſharply attacked, and obliged to retire with the loſs of 30 Sepoys killed, and more wounded. Vizeramrauze improved this moment of indignation; and Mr. Buſſy, not foreſeeing the terrible event to which he was proceeding, determined to reduce the whole country, and to expel the Polygar and all his family. 1757. December.

The province of Chicacole has few extenſive plains, and its hills increaſe in frequency and magnitude, as they approach the vaſt range of mountains that bound this, and the province of Rajahmundrum, to the N.W. The hills, and the narrower bottoms which ſeparate them, are ſuffered to over-run with wood, as the beſt protection to the opener vallies allotted for cultivation. The Polygar, beſides his other towns and forts, has always one ſituated in the moſt difficult part of his country, which is intended as the laſt refuge for himſelf and all of his own blood. The ſingular conſtruction of this fort is adequate to all the intentions of defence amongſt a people unuſed to cannon, or other means of battery. Its out-line is a regular ſquare, which rarely exceeds 200 yards; a large round tower is raiſed at each of the angles, and a ſquare projection in the middle of each of the ſides. The height of the wall is 22 feet, but of the rampart within only 12, which is likewiſe its breadth at top, although it is laid much broader at bottom; the whole is of tempered clay, raiſed in diſtinct layers, of which each is left expoſed to the ſun, until thoroughly hardened, before the next is applied. The parapet riſes 10 feet above the rampart, and is only three feet thick. It is indented five feet down from the top in interſtices ſix inches wide, which are three or four feet aſunder. A foot above the bottom of theſe interſtices and battlements, runs a line of round holes, another two feet lower, and a third within two feet of the rampart:

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December.

These holes are, as usual, formed with pipes of baked clay: they serve for the employment of fire-arms, arrows, and lances; and the interstices for the freer use of all these arms, instead of loop-holes, which cannot be inserted or cut in the clay. The towers, and the square projections in the middle, have the same parapet as the rest of the wall; and in two of the projections, on opposite sides of the fort, are gateways, of which the entrance is not in the front, but on one side, from whence it continues through half the mass, and then turns by a right angle into the place; and, on any alarm, the whole passage is choaked up with trees, and the outside surrounded to some distance with a thick bed of thick brambles. The rampart and parapet is covered by a shed of strong thatch, supported by posts; the eaves of this shed project over the battlements, but fall so near, that a man can scarcely squeeze his body between: This shed is shelter both to the rampart and guards against the sun and rain. An area of 500 yards, or more, in every direction round the fort, is preserved clear, of which the circumference joins the high wood, which is kept thick, three, four, or five miles in breadth around this center. Few of these forts permit more than one path through the wood. The entrance of the path from without is defended by a wall, exactly similar in construction and strength to one of the sides of the fort; having its round towers at the ends, and the square projection with its gateway in the middle. From natural sagacity, they never raise this redoubt on the edge of the wood; but at the bottom of a recess, cleared on purpose, and on each side of the recess, raise breast-works of earth or hedge, to gall the approach. The path admits only three men abreast, winds continually, is every where commanded by breast-works in the thicket, and has in its course several redoubts, similar to that of the entrance, and like that flanked by breast-works on each hand. Such were the defences of Bobilee; against which Mr. Bussy marched, with 750 Europeans, of whom 250 were horse, four field-pieces, and eleven thousand Peons and Sepoys, the army of Vizeramrauze, who commanded them in person.

Whilst the field-pieces plied the parapet of the first redoubt at the entrance of the wood, detachments entered into the side of the recess with

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

with fire and hatchet, and began to make a way, which tended to bring them in the rear of the redoubt; and the guard, as ſoon as convinced of their danger, abandoned their ſtation, and joined thoſe in the poſts behind; the ſame operations continued through the whole path, which was five miles in length, and with the ſame ſucceſs, although not without loſs. When in ſight of the fort, Mr. Buſſy divided his troops into four diviſions, allotting one, with a field-piece, to the attack of each of the towers. Rangarao was here, with all his parentage, 250 men bearing arms, and nearly twice this number of women and children. 1757. December.

The attack commenced at day-break, on the 24th of January, with the field-pieces againſt the four towers; and the defenders, leſt fire might catch the thatch of the rampart, had pulled it down. By nine o'clock, ſeveral of the battlements were broken, when all the leading parties of the four diviſions advanced at the ſame time, with ſcaling ladders; but, after much endeavour for an hour, not a man had been able to get over the parapet; and many had fallen wounded; other parties followed with as little ſucceſs, until all were ſo fatigued, that a ceſſation was ordered, during which the field-pieces, having beaten down more of the parapet, gave the ſecond attack more advantage; but the ardour of the defence encreaſed with the danger. The garriſon fought with the indignant ferocity of wild beaſts, defending their dens and families: ſeveral of them ſtood, as in defiance, on the top of the battlements, and endeavoured to grapple with the firſt aſcendants, hoping with them to twiſt the ladders down; and this failing, ſtabbed with their lances, but being wholly expoſed themſelves were eaſily ſhot by aim from the rear of the eſcalade. The aſſailants admired, for no Europeans had ever ſeen ſuch exceſs of courage in the natives of Indoſtan, and continually offered quarter, which was always anſwered by the menace and intention of death: not a man had gained the rampart at two o'clock in the afternoon, when another ceſſation of the attack enſued; on which Rangarao aſſembled the principal men, told them there was no hopes of maintaining the fort, and that it was immediately neceſſary to preſerve their wives and children from the violation of Europeans, and the more ignominious authority of Vizeramrauze. *January.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. January.

A number called without distinction were allotted to the work; they proceeded, every man with a torch, his lance, and poinard, to the habitations in the middle of the fort, to which they set fire indiscriminately, plying the flame with straw prepared with pitch and brimstone, and every man stabbed without remorse, the woman or child, whichsoever attempted to escape the flame and suffocation. Not the helpless infant clinging to the bosom of its mother saved the life of either from the hand of the husband and father. The utmost excesses whether of revenge or rage were exceeded by the atrocious prejudices which dictated and performed this horrible sacrifice. The massacre being finished, those who accomplished it, returned, like men agitated by the furies, to die themselves on the walls. Mr. Law, who commanded one of the divisions, observed, whilst looking at the conflagration, that the number of the defenders was considerably diminished, and advanced again to the attack: after several ladders had failed, a few grenadiers got over the parapet, and maintained their footing in the tower until more secured the possession. Rangarao hastening to the defence of the tower, was in this instant killed by a musket ball. His fall encreased, if possible, the desperation of his friends; who, crowding to revenge his death, left the other parts of the ramparts bare; and the other divisions of the French troops, having advanced likewise to their respective attacks, numbers on all sides got over the parapet without opposition: nevertheless, none of the defenders quitted the rampart, or would accept quarter; but each fell advancing against, or struggling with, an antagonist; and even when fallen, and in the last agony, would resign his poignard only to death. The slaughter of the conflict being compleated, another much more dreadful, presented itself in the area below: the transport of victory lost all its joy: all gazed on one another with silent astonishment and remorse, and the fiercest could not refuse a tear to the deplorable destruction spread before them. Whilst contemplating it, an old man, leading a boy, was perceived advancing from a distant recess: he was welcomed with much attention and respect, and conducted by the crowd to Mr. Law, to whom he presented the child with

these

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. January.

theſe words; "This is the ſon of Rangarao, whom I have preſerved "againſt his father's will." Another emotion now ſucceeded, and the preſervation of this infant was felt by all as ſome alleviation to the horrible cataſtrophe, of which they had been the unfortunate authors. The tutor and the child were immediately ſent to Mr. Buſſy, who, having heard of the condition of the fort, would not go into it, but remained in his tent, where he received the ſacred captives with the humanity of a guardian appointed by the ſtrongeſt claims of nature, and immediately commanded patents to be prepared, appointing the ſon lord of the territory which he had offered the father in exchange for the diſtricts of Bobilee; and ordered them to be ſtrictly guarded in the camp from the malevolence of enemies.

The enſuing night and the two ſucceeding days paſſed in the uſual attentions, eſpecially the care of the wounded, who were many; but in the middle of the third night, the camp was alarmed by a tumult in the quarter of Vizeramrauze. Four of the ſoldiers of Rangarao, on ſeeing him fall, concealed themſelves in an unfrequented part of the fort until the night war far advanced, when they dropped down the walls, and ſpeaking the ſame language, paſſed unſuſpected through the quarters of Vizeramrauze, and gained the neighbouring thickets; where they remained the two ſucceeding days, watching until the buſtle of the camp had ſubſided; when two of them quitted their retreat, and having by their language again deceived thoſe by whom they were queſtioned, got near the tent of Vizeramrauze; then creeping on the ground they paſſed under the back part, and entering the tent found him lying on his bed, alone, and aſleep. Vizeramrauze was extremely corpulent, inſomuch that he could ſcarcely rear himſelf from his ſeat without aſſiſtance: the two men, reſtraining their very breath, ſtruck in the ſame inſtant with their poignards at his heart; the firſt groan brought in a centinel, who fired, but miſſed; more immediately thronged in, but the murderers, heedleſs of themſelves, cried out, pointing to the body, "Look here! We are ſatisfied." They were inſtantly ſhot by the croud, and mangled after they had fallen; but had ſtabbed Vizeram-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. rauze in 32 places. Had they failed, the other two remaining in the foreſt were bound by the ſame oath to perform the deed, or periſh in the attempt.

January. The army haſtened to quit this tragic ground. They proceeded through the hills to the north, ſummoning the tributes of a variety of polygars, who, terrified by the fate of Bobilee, paid without reſiſtance; nor did they meet any oppoſition, until they arrived at the diſtricts of Gumſeer. This country is much more extenſive than that of any other of the antient Polygars; it commences about 40 miles to the North-weſt of Ganjam, extending about 50 miles in that direction, and 20 in breadth; it is even more impenetrable than the country of Bobilee, its foreſts conſiſting entirely of bamboes, which grow cloſer, and reſiſt the axe and fire better than any other vegetation; relying on which, the inhabitants do not think it neceſſary to erect redoubts for the defence of their paths, but obſtruct them with frequent and temporary barriers of bamboes, wrought in a variety of entanglements. The polygar of Gumſeer refuſed his tribute, of which the arrears amounted to 180,000 rupees; and Mr. Buſſy, intending for other views to remain awhile in the northermoſt parts of the Chicacole province, reſolved to employ ſome of the time in reducing this country. Day by day the troops were employed with exceſſive toil and fatigue in rooting up, cutting down, and endeavouring to burn a way through the foreſt. The whole diſtrict is eſteemed one of the hotteſt regions of Indoſtan, and is peculiarly ſubject to ſtrokes of the ſun; by which ſeven Europeans were in one day killed; ſeveral barriers were forced, or paſt, and the Polygar, beginning to think himſelf in danger, made propoſals, which Mr. Buſſy was equally willing to accept, having loſt 30 Europeans, and a much greater number of Sepoys, in the little progreſs which the army had made; this accommodation was concluded in the middle of April.

Some time before, Mr. Buſſy had received letters from Surajah Doulah, the nabob of Bengal, requeſting his aſſiſtance to expel their common enemy, the Engliſh, out of that province; the Nabob offered to defray all the expences of the French army, and promiſed

3 further

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

further explanations: which Mr. Buſſy ſuppoſed would be brought by ſome principal officer of his court, furniſhed with the means of conducting the army through the province of Orixa; in which expectation he reſolved to remain near the frontiers of this province, and the army marched from Gumſeer to Ganjam, which is the laſt town in Chicacole. It is a ſea-port much frequented by coaſting veſſels, and the French had at this time a factory there: the army remained in the neighbourhood until the 10th of May, but, inſtead of further overtures from Surajah Dowlah, received intelligence, that the Engliſh had taken the French ſettlement of Chandernagore; which convincing Mr. Buſſy of the imbecillity of the Nabob, who had ſuffered them to gain ſuch an advantage in his country, he relinquiſhed all ideas of further connexion with him; but reſolved immediately to make retaliation on the Engliſh ſettlements in the northern provinces. 1757. December. *April.* *May.*

In conſequence of his orders the Europeans he had left in garriſon at Rajahmundrum, when joined by more from Maſulipatam, marched againſt the factories of Madapollam, Bandermalanka, and Ingeram, which ſtand near the ſea on three different arms of the Godaveri. The natives here weave excellent cloths at cheap rates, and the three factories annually furniſhed 700 bales for the Company's market in England. Ingeram only had ſoldiers, and only 20, and all the three factories ſurrendered on the firſt requiſition. The reduction of Vizagapatam, as being nearer, Mr. Buſſy reſerved to himſelf; but being ſure of his prize, remained in the city of Chicacole until he had ſettled the affairs of this government. On the 24th of June the van of his army appeared before Vizagapatam. A river coming from the north and turning ſhort eaſtward to the ſea, forms an arm of land, a mile and half in length: and 600 yards in breadth. Nearly in the middle of this ground ſtands the fort, of which the conſtruction by repeated miſtakes was become ſo abſurd, that it was much leſs defenſible than many of the ancient barons' caſtles of Europe. The face towards the river was choaked by houſes. A whole town lay within 300 yards to the north, a village at the ſame diſtance to the ſouth, and ſeveral buildings on each of theſe ſides ſtood much nearer the walls; *June.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. June.

walls; towards the ſea, the eſplanade was clear, excepting a ſaluting battery, where a lodgement might be eaſily made; after many injudicious additions of works round the fort, which only made it worſe, it was found neceſſary to throw up an entrenchment to the north, beyond the town, in the ſhoulder of the peninſula, quite acroſs from the river to the ſea, with a battery at each extremity, and another on a hillock near the center, but this was commanded by a ſand-hill directly oppoſite, and within point-blank. The acceſs acroſs the river from the ſouth, was ſufficiently ſecured by batteries, which commanded not only the paſſage, but the entrance of the river itſelf, through which all embarkations from the ſea muſt gain the ſhore, as the ſurf prevents even a boat from landing on the beach: indeed the whole ſcheme of the defences ſeemed to have been calculated only to oppoſe the attempts of pirates and polygars. The garriſon conſiſted of 150 excellent Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; the Engliſh families in the town were 50 perſons. On the ſame day that the van of Mr. Buſſy's army appeared in ſight, the Company's ſhip Marlborough anchored in the road, on board of which was the chief engineer of Madraſs, proceeding to Bengal. He landed, and having the next morning reviewed the works, with Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the troops, both gave their opinion that the extent could not be defended, even with a much greater force; and adviſed that all the Europeans ſhould be immediately embarked, and the Sepoys, with two or three officers, left to make the beſt capitulation they could; but all the boat and fiſhermen had deſerted in the night, and the wind blew ſo ſtrong from the ſea, that none but thoſe accuſtomed could manage the boats over the bar, which that of the Marlborough carrying back the engineer, experienced, being twice overſet and a man drowned before ſhe got out. At noon, cannon appeared on the ſand hill; ſoon after the main body of the enemy, and a ſummons to ſurrender; after two or three meſſages, the capitulation was ſigned at 11 at night. All the Europeans, whether troops or inhabitants, were to be priſoners of war; the Sepoys and natives free to go where they liked; the Company's effects, capture; individuals, Mr. Buſſy ſaid, ſhould have no reaſon

to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

to complain: he kept his word with the utmoſt liberality, reſigning without diſcuſſion whatſoever property any one claimed as his own. The Marlborough having anchored at the Dutch factory of Bimlapatam, 12 miles to the northward, he permitted the chief, Mr. Percival, Captain Campbell, and ſeveral others, to proceed in her to Bengal. 1757. December.

From Vizagapatam, the army proceeded to Rajahmundrum, where they remained ſome time, and then took the field, and advanced again to the northward, to awe the tributaries who ſhewed any tendency to diſobedience; but were not obliged to exerciſe any hoſtilities of conſequence. Thus ended the year 1757, in the northern provinces: during which, the abſence of Mr. Buſſy from the court of Salabadjing, gave his enemies the opportunity they wiſhed, of taking meaſures to weaken the future effects of his influence over that prince, in the adminiſtration of his government.

Nizamally and Baſſalut Jung were the two brothers of Salabadjing, who, as well as himſelf, were priſoners in the camp of Murzafajing, when the death of this prince in Cudapah, with the influence of Mr. Buſſy in his army, raiſed Salabadjing to the throne of the Decan. The early ſagacity of Mr. Buſſy then foreſaw, that the two brothers would be made the enſigns of faction and revolt, if they were admitted to any participation in the councils of the government; ſince by their birth, their employments, if any, muſt be great. He therefore adviſed Salabadjing to allow them incomes ſufficient for all indulgencies, but to give them no appointments of truſt and power, and to oblige them, under pretence of diſtinction, to accompany him whereſoever he moved. In this reſtraint, tempered by all exterior attentions, they continued, and ſeemed ſatisfied, until the open rupture between Mr. Buſſy and Salabadjing's adminiſtration at Sanore; when Shanavaze Khan reſolved to raiſe them into public importance, as his own future patrons, with the very views, of which the apprehenſion had led Mr. Buſſy to prevent their promotion. Balazerow was, as we have ſeen, encamped at that time before Sanore; to whom Shanavaze Khan communicated his intention, ſuppreſſing the motive, and requeſted him to urge the advice to Salabadjing,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. with the document of his own example, who always employed his brothers, or his ſon, in the moſt important expeditions, which he could not attend himſelf. Balagerow knew that his own policy could not be the rule of a different ſtate, and weaker underſtanding; but ſaw the views of Shanavaze Khan, and wiſhing for the very diviſions they would create in the adminiſtration of the Decan, gave the advice; and Salabadjing, always eaſily led, appointed Nizamally, the elder of the two brothers, to the government of Berar, the moſt extenſive in the empire, but of which more than half had been diſmembered by the conqueſts of the Morattoe Janogee; and to Baſſalut Jung he gave the country of Adoni, which lies ſouth of the Kriſtna and north of Myſore; Baſſalut Jung went from Sanore to his government, but Nizamally not until after the reconciliation of Charmaul.

The brothers being then eſtabliſhed, Mr. Buſſy could do no better than appear indifferent to the arrangements he could not reverſe without renewing the immediate effect of unappeaſed animoſities, before he was in a ſtate to encounter them. He therefore went away, as we have ſeen in November, to the ceded provinces, as the moſt certain means of providing money, without umbrage, for future contingencies. On the 17th of December, Salabadjing began his intended march from Golcondah to Aurengabad. The army conſiſted of 10,000 horſe, and 15,000 foot, with the French detachment of 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, whom Shanavaze Khan could find no pretence to prevent from accompanying Salabadjing. They arrived at Beder in the beginning of January, when Balagerow was taking the field at Poni. And Shanavaze Khan deſiring to gain his concurrence to the deſigns he had formed, reſolved to loiter in this part of the country, hoping that the approach of Balagerow might give opportunities of an interview between them. He accordingly led the army againſt a conſiderable Rajah named Chunderſain, whoſe territory lay near Calberga, 40 miles to the ſouth of Beder, and whilſt hoſtilities were carrying on againſt the Rajah; he ſummoned Baſſault Jung to join the ſtandard of the Subahſhips with the forces from his government of Adoni; which added another delay until

January.

their

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

their arrival. But advices being received that Balagerow was marching ſtreight to the ſouth, and intended to croſs the Kriſtna, the Subah's army renewed their march to the norward, when in the beginning of February news arrived, that the Affghans had taken Delhi, that a large detachment of their army were plundering Agra, and that parties from this detachment were on the road to Brampour; which, from ſome concluſions of which we are ignorant, determined the Subah's council to proceed no farther to the north, whilſt the Pitans were ſuppoſed to have any intentions of advancing to the ſouth; ſo that they did not approach Aurungabad until the beginning of May. In this interval Seid Laſcar Khan, who had been Duan of the Decan, and had given the nothern maritime provinces to the French, died at Aurengabad; his treaſures were reported to be great, and with all his effects reverted, according to the inſtitutions of the government, to the ſovereign; but they were depoſited in the fortreſs of Doltabad, of which the governor was his near relation, and had always been obſequious to his will. 1757. December. May.

This place is called, and deemed impregnable, ſtanding on the ſummit of a mountain, which is ſurrounded with two other incloſures, of which that on the plain contains a large town: notwithſtanding the neceſſity of communication to admit troops and proviſions, each has its particular governor: but the two lower forts are ſo overtowered by the upper, that they rarely reſiſt the will of the governor there, who, until the late confuſions of the empire, was always eſpecially appointed by the Great Mogul.

Shanavaze Khan had ſucceeded Seid Laſcar in the office of Duan, of which one of the moſt beneficial duties is to take poſſeſſion for the emperor of the eſtates of all who die, holding, or having held, any office in the government: he therefore proceeded ſeveral days before the army, with a large detachment and ſome artillery, and ſummoned all the forts; the loweſt after a ſlight reſiſtance, and much parley, ſurrendered on the third day: the governors of the two others being leagued together held out a month; but having neglected to lay-in a ſtock of proviſions, and being ſurrounded by the whole of Salabadjing's army, they at length yielded to money;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. and Shanavaze Khan immediately changed the garriſons, and placed one of his own dependants in the command of all the forts, with the unwilling compliance of Salabadjing, and the approbation of the Emperor's Duan, Mahomed Huſſein, whom Shanavaze Khan had lately gained over to his views. He found in the fort a great treaſure belonging to Seid Laſcar Khan, of which 700,000 rupees were publickly avowed, and more ſuſpected. In the end of September a body of 6000 Morattoes from Poni, under the command of Vizvazrow, the eldeſt ſon of Balagerow, arrived near Aurengabad, with pretenſions of which we are ignorant: their march had been expected, and gave Shanavaze Khan a pretence to call up Nizamally from Berar with the troops of his government, who arrived at the ſame time as Vizvazrow; the Morattoe chiefs dependant on the Subahſhip, and ſeveral others, had been likewiſe ſummoned and were come up, ſo that the whole force under the ſtandard of the Subah was near 40,000 horſe, beſides the foot. The Morattoes, notwithſtanding their inferiority, proceeded to hoſtilities, but confined them to ſkirmiſhes, in which they were always repulſed by the artillery of the French detachment; nevertheleſs Nizamally aſſumed the merit of theſe ſucceſſes, and working at the ſame time by his emiſſaries amongſt Salabadjing's troops, inſtigated them to clamour, and inſult him in his palace for the arrears of their pay, of which 22 months were due. During this tumult Shanavaze Khan, as if afraid of the reſentment of Salabadjing, took refuge in the fort of Doltabad.

Salabadjing was terrified, without money, and, by the means of Shanavaze Khan, without credit; and Nizamally taking the advantage he had prepared, profered to interfere and appeaſe the troops, provided he was intruſted, whilſt neceſſary, with the adminiſtration of the government, and the diſpoſal of the great ſeal of the Subahſhip. This inſtrument ratifies all treaties, confirms all governments, authenticates all grants and boons of conſequence, and warrants all aſſignments of the revenue: it therefore always remains at leaſt in the dwelling of the prince, and generally under his own eye, excepting at Delhi, where it is uſually confided to the Vizier. Salabadjing, being without reſource, conſented; and Nizamally immediately became

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

came inveſted with ſovereign power, but left the appearances to Salabadjing, whom he affected to conſult; and abrogated none of his indulgencies, which this prince was naturally inclined to prefer to the cares of his ſtate. Nizamally immediately gave additional honours and jaghires to his brother Baſſaulet Jung, and with a ſubtle affectation of indifference concerning the ſeal, committed it to his care. Both the next day introduced Shanavaze Khan to Salabadjing, who received him with the exterior ceremonials of good-will and favour. The officer who commanded the French detachment had neither experience nor force ſufficient to counteract the progreſs of this plot; but redoubled his attention in guarding the perſon of Salabadjing, which perhaps ſaved his life. It was the general opinion that the expedition of the Morratoes with Vizvazrow had been concerted by Shanavaze Khan, as the leading means of accompliſhing this revolution. 1757. December.

It happened in the middle of December; Mr. Buſſy received intelligence of it at Rajahmundrum in the beginning of January, and immediately began his march, with all his force, to releaſe Salabadjing from theſe bonds. We ſhall now return to the affairs of Bengal.

War of BENGAL.

THE firſt news of the French ſquadron was brought to Calcutta on the 17th of September, by the Revenge, which had eſcaped from them on the 8th, in the road of Fort St. David. Other advices followed, with information of the troops they had brought, and of the expectations at Pondicherry of a much greater force in the beginning of the enſuing year; in conſequence of which the preſidency of Madraſs repeated with much ſollicitude the requeſt they had often made, that the troops with Clive might be immediately returned to the coaſt: but they could not now be ſent away, without riſquing the accompliſhment of the treaties with Meer Jaffier, if he ſhould require their ſervice in the field; and the loſs of Calcutta itſelf, if a French force ſhould arrive in the river, whilſt they were employed in a diſtant part of the Nabob's dominions. This apprehenſion rendered the French priſoners, and even their vagabonds in the province an object of ſolicitude. The priſoners amounted to 200, of whom

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. September. 50 being men of better condition, were not confined. The party which ſerved with Sinfray at the battle of Plaſſy had eſcaped into the diſtricts of Berbohin, where the timidity of the natives ſuffered them to remain without moleſtation; and other ſtragglers from various parts had increaſed the number to 60 Europeans. Thirty had gone away in boats from the French factory at Dacca, under the conduct of the chief, Mr. Courtin, and proceeding along the rivers had entrenched themſelves near the mountains in the northern part of the diſtrict of Rungpore, which adjoins on the weſt to Purneah. It was ſuſpected that ſome of the priſoners, who were at large, were correſponding, not only with both theſe parties, but alſo with Mr. Law's in Oude, and with the army of Mr. Buſſy in Chicacole. It was therefore reſolved to ſend away all of the higher ſort to Pondicherry; October. and in the beginning of October, 34, of whom two were Jeſuits, were embarked in a ſhip hired for the purpoſe, and called the Reſtitution. From reliance on their parole the ſhip was manned, as uſual, by laſcars, or mariners of the country, with only three Engliſhmen to command them. As ſoon as they were at ſea, the Frenchmen, as they eaſily might, overpowered the crew, and carried the ſhip to Maſulipatam, where they declared themſelves free, and the ſhip a lawful prize.

Before Colonel Clive left Muxadavad, the Nabob had ſummoned Ramramſing, the Rajah of Midnapore, who was head of the Spies, to come there, in order to ſettle the accounts of his diſtricts, on which, as uſual, a conſiderable balance ſtood due from him in the books of the treaſury. Ramramſing had always been in cloſe connexion with Roydoolub, who, to remove ſuſpicions, adviſed him, at leaſt openly, to obey; but Ramramſing ſent his brother and nephew, whom the Nabob immediately put into priſon; and prevented the diſapprobation of Clive, by repreſenting, what was true, that Ramramſing had been the enemy of the Engliſh, having carried on for Surajah Doulah the correſpondence with Mr. Buſſy and Mr. Law; and that he had forwarded whatſoever Frenchmen had eſcaped to the ſouth, through Orixa to Chicacole. Roydoolub had no doubt that this proceeding of the Nabob's was a preparation for his

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

his defigns againſt himſelf, but concealed his perſuaſion, and wiſely refrained from claiming the Engliſh guarantee until the danger ſhould come nearer. Theſe coincidences prevented Clive from entertaining any ſuſpicions of the real motives of Jaffier's conduct towards Ramramſing, before he returned to Calcutta; but Ramramſing, as ſoon as he heard of the confinement of his brother and nephew, aſſembled his force, which conſiſted of 2000 horſe and 5000 foot, and wrote to Colonel Clive, that if he were attacked he ſhould ſeek refuge wherever it was to be found; which his country well afforded by the jungles or thickets with which it is covered, and the mountains to which it adjoins. He however proffered to pay a lack of rupees as a preſent to Meer Jaffier, and even to make his obeiſance to him in perſon, if Clive would warrant his ſafety. Clive immediately recommended the reconciliation to the Nabob, who at the ſame time received intelligence, that the people of Purneah, under the command of Ogul Sing the Gentoo, whom Surajah Dowlah had appointed to govern this province after the defeat and death of his couſin Seid Hamed, had taken up arms, and proclaimed a brother of Seid Mahomed, on hearing that the Nabob had given the government to his relation Coddum Huſſein, whom they dreaded for his character of rapaciouſneſs and tyranny. 1757. October.

Both theſe inſurrections ariſing under the ſtandard of Gentoos, drove the Nabob from all the diſſimulation, with which he had intended to conceal his purpoſes, until he had cut off Roydoolub, and the other principal heads of the nation; and in his vexation he openly, perhaps not unjuſtly, imputed both rebellions to the practices of Roydoolub. He immediately commanded 6000 horſe and foot to march with Coddum Huſſein to Purneah, and 500 horſe, with Cojee Hoddee to Midnapore: Both diviſions were to ſet out on the 6th of October, and Cojee Haddee proceeded; but the troops appointed to Coddum Huſſein, abetted by their officers, refuſed to move until they had received their arrears, and clamoured other diſcontents. The city was in agitation. Roydoolub aſſembled his force, and would no longer viſit the Nabob; who a few days

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. October. after received intelligence from Colonel Clive, to whom it had been ſent by an expreſs-boat from the Engliſh reſident at Chuprah, ſignifying that "his ſpies had met meſſengers on the road, who ſaid, that "they had delivered letters from the widow of Allaverdy to Ram-"narain, the governor of Behar, and were carrying others to Sujah "Dowlah the Nabob of Oude, requeſting him to march, and join "Ramnarain againſt Meer Jaffier." This, if true, was the moſt powerful confederacy which Jaffier could have to fear; and bore ſtrong marks of originating from Roydoolub, from his attachment and reſpect to Allaverdy's widow, which he openly continued, notwithſtanding the elevation of Jaffier. Clive foreſeeing the animoſity which the intelligence would occaſion, ſuppreſſed his own ſuſpicions; but ordered the troops at Coſſimbuzar to join the Nabob on the firſt call; and promiſed to march himſelf, if neceſſary, with the main body from Calcutta and Chandernagore. Theſe profers abated the tumult of the Nabob's troops; and the mediation of Mr. Watts produced an interview between the Nabob and Roydoolub, on the 17th of October, when each ſwore oblivion of former diſtruſts, and future friendſhip; and upon this apparent reconciliation, the Nabob ordered his whole army to aſſemble on the plains of Geriah, ſix miles from the city.

A few days after, a freſh inſurrection appeared in another part of the province. The two ſons of the Nabob Suffraze Khan, whom Allaverdy had ſpared when their father fell, defending his diadem, remained on the acceſſion of Jaffier in the city of Dacca, where they had lived 16 years, without ſhewing either abilities or inclination to raiſe diſturbances. Nevertheleſs they immediately became objects of ſuſpicion to Jaffier, who in the firſt days of his government brought back the elder Haffizally Chan to Muxadavad: there ſeemed little occaſion to fear him, for his letter to Clive on this occaſion was written with the humility of a beggar: but the other, Ammannee Chan, either from nature or deſpair, exerted more reſolution. The governor ſent to Dacca by Meer Jaffier came very poor; and ſo much money of the revenues had been drawn to Muxadavad, that the force he kept up even in the fort did not exceed 200 men, who were ill paid, and the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the troops of the diſtricts were, as uſual, a rabble fit only to diſtrain upon the unarmed and timorous inhabitants; this weakneſs of the government, and the attachment of a few friends, encouraged Ammannee Chan to tamper with a part of the garriſon in the fort, and they agreed to ſeize the governor, when Ammannee Chan was to declare himſelf: the day fixed for the execution was the 22d of October; but two days before, one of the conſpirators revealed the ſecret to the governor, who immediately ſeized Ammannee Chan with ſeveral of his adherents; and aſked aſſiſtance of the Engliſh factory, who ſent 60 buxeries, which was half their force, and wrote to Calcutta for a company of ſepoys, which were immediately detached, and marched acroſs the country. This conſpiracy could not be imputed to Roydoolub, but it increaſed the perplexities of Jaffier. 1757. October.

Of the troops which were ordered to march with Coddam Huſſein, only 3000 had moved, who were waiting at Rajahmahal for the reſt, and their arrears. Three months pay were due to the whole army, of which not leſs than 10,000 men, horſe and foot, were under the immediate command of Roydoolub, who had influence with the commanders of many more; and notwithſtanding the late oaths of reconciliation, kept his houſe under pretence of ſickneſs, nor would ſuffer any of his troops to march from the city. Theſe examples, and perhaps his inſtigation, encouraged the Nabob's troops, to refuſe likewiſe, unleſs they were paid in full. The Nabob diſtributed ſome money, and, as another means to recall their obedience, pitched his tent and diſplayed his ſtandard in the camp, and went to reſide there on the 7th of November, waiting for the main body with Clive. He left his ſon Meerum to command in the city. November.

Meerum, as ſoon as his father was gone, ſpread the report of advices he pretended to have received from Patna and Delhi. The Nabob's relations at Patna gave information, that Ramnarain the governor had encamped to the weſt of the city with his whole force, 12,000 men; that Sujah Doulah, the ſubah of Oude, had likewiſe taken the field with his army from Lucknow, together with Mr. Law's

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. November. Law's party of Europeans, and intended, in conjunction with Ramnarain, to march into Bengal. The letters from Delhi ſaid, the miniſtry there diſapproved of the acceſſion of Jaffier to the Nabobſhip; that Mirza Mundee, the ſon of Surajah Dowlah's younger brother, an infant, ought to have been proclaimed, and that Roydoolub had propoſed he ſhould be appointed by the Mogul, with aſſurances that he ſhould be able to carry the nomination into execution with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. Many probabilities ſtood againſt the authenticity of the intelligence from Patna, and the advices from Delhi bore ſtill ſtronger marks of fiction. On the 10th in the morning the whole city was in conſternation, and the troops in their different quarters in tumult. A band of ruffians ſent by Meerum had in the night entered the palace of Allaverdy's widow, with whom lived the widow of Zaindee Hamed, and her infant grandſon Mirza Mundee. They murdered the child, and gave out that they had likewiſe ſlain the two mothers. In the morning the three biers were carried publickly to burial, amidſt the ſilent grief and abhorrence of the people; for the two women, excluſive of the high condition from which they had fallen by the death of Surajah Dowlah, were the moſt reſpectable of their ſex for their virtues and the nobility of their ſentiments. The cauſe was diſbelieved. Roydoolub aſſerted that all the accuſations againſt himſelf were the inventions of his enemies. The Engliſh troops at Coſſimbuzar turned out to keep the peace, and preſerved it. On the 13th Scrafton viſited and reproached Meerum, who, amongſt other vindications, ſtill preſerving a ſecret, ſaid, "What ſhall not I kill an old woman who goes "about in her dooley to ſtir up the Jemautdars againſt my father?" A few days after it was diſcovered that the two women had not been murdered, but had been taken out of the palace, and put into boats, which ſet off immediately for Dacca; and their pretended biers were exhibited, in order to prevent any interruption to the removal of their perſons.

Nevertheleſs, the death of the child left deteſtation ſufficient to extort farther apologies. The Nabob declared, that he neither commanded nor even had any knowledge of the deed, until it was perpetrated

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

petrated, and both he and his ſon avowed that the intelligence from Delhi was communicated by the Seats. The Seats poſitively denied the aſſertion ; on which a new reconciliation was propoſed with Roydoolub, who, accompanied by Scrafton, viſited Meerum on the 17th, and oaths of friendſhip and confidence were again renewed ; and Roydoolub ſent the greateſt part of his troops to the camp. The Nabob, receiving no reproaches from Scrafton, thought all reſentments ſufficiently quieted, at leaſt for a while, and marched away from the plains of Gheria on the 17th, in order to oblige the detachment loitering at Rajahmahal to croſs the Ganges, and attack the rebels, in Purneah. 1757. November.

The rainy ſeaſon in the lower parts of the country had this year been leſs unhealthy than uſual ; and only 40 men had died of the Engliſh troops quartered at Chandernagore and Calcutta ; but the intemperance produced by the diſtribution of the prize-money of Plaſſy, had ſpread ſuch ſickneſs, after the rains ceaſed in September, that two thirds of the rank and file were in the hoſpital at the end of October. Their recovery retarded the departure of the whole until the 17th of November, when they embarked and proceeded from Chandernagore.

In this interval Colonel Clive had prevailed upon Ramranſing to come to him from Midnapore. To avoid the Nabob's troops with Coja Haddee, who, at Clive's requeſt, were halting at Burdawan, he embarked at Piply with a party of European ſoldiers, which had been ſent thither to eſcort him to Chandernagore ; from whence he proceeded with the army to Muxadavad. The Rajah of Berboin, on hearing that the Engliſh troops were preparing to take the field, ſent parties to ſurround and ſeize the Frenchmen with Sinfray ; but they got warning of his intentions, and of 60, 36 eſcaped. The other 24 were made priſoners, and conducted to Coſſimbuzar, and from thence ſent to Calcutta. Four of them were agents of the French company, who had been taken and had given their parole at Chandernagore.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. November. The troops with Clive arrived at Muxadavad on the 25th of November. Meerum, dreading his reſentment for the murder of the infant Mirza Mundee, had releaſed the brother and nephew of Ramramſing from their impriſonment before his arrival, and received Ramranſing himſelf, whom Clive introduced to him with much courteſy; to Clive he demeaned himſelf with every ſimulation of humility. Roydoolub, when preſſed by Clive to march with him, continued his pretext of ſickneſs, adding the better plea of the publick buſineſs, which required his preſence for ſome days longer in the city; but his apprehenſions of the Nabob and Meerum were at this time encreaſed by new ſuſpicions, which they pretended to entertain of him.

Mirza Sallee, the renter of the province of Orixa to the Morratoe Janogee, having been deficient in his payments and accounts, came to Muxadavad a little before the death of Surajah Dowlah, to whom he propoſed ſome project for reſtoring that province to the government of Bengal. A Morratoe named Subut then obtained the government from Janogee, and he likewiſe had lately been at Muxadavad, where he contracted a connexion, ſuppoſed to be more intimate than it was, with Roydoolub: he was at this time at Jonagee's court, but ſent forward his agent, named Chemneſaw, to manage, until he himſelf ſhould come. Chemneſaw arrived at Cutteck in the beginning of November, and received the viſit of the Engliſh reſident there with much inſolence, and his attendants talked publickly that a body of 6000 Morratoes were coming with Subut himſelf, who intended to march into Midnapore, and demand of Meer Jaffier the ceſſion of all that country to the ſouth of the river Piply, which anciently uſed to be rated as a part of Orixa. Theſe diſcourſes induced the Engliſh reſident, and gave pretence to the friends of Meer Sallee, to repreſent Subut and Roydoolub as engaged with one other, Roydoolub to give the Morratoe the country he wanted, and the Morratoe to aſſiſt Roydoolub in time of need againſt Meer Jaffier. Meerum pretended to believe the plot; but Clive gave no credit to the imputation, and ſeeing that Roydoolub's miſtruſt of the Nabob was the principal cauſe of his unwillingneſs

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

neſs to be near him, acquieſced to the delay he required, and promiſed to effect an entire reconciliation between them. 1757. November.

On the 30th Clive marched from the city, taking all the Europeans at Coſſimbuzar. They were 250, and not 10 of them ill, having been preſerved by the excellence of the climate here from the effects even of equal intemperance with thoſe below, of whom more than 100 of thoſe which came with Clive were unable to proceed any farther, and were left to garriſon the factory. The Sepoys, in whatſoever quarters, had been preſerved by the uſual regularity of their lives from all extraordinary illneſs. The whole force was 550 Europeans, including the artillery-men, and 1500 Sepoys. On the 3d of December they arrived at Rajahmahal, and December. encamped within half a league of the Nabob's army. He viſited Colonel Clive the next day, when the whole line was drawn out to receive him, and performed their exerciſe and ſome evolutions, which he admired, and ordered 10,000 rupees to be diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers.

Coddum Huſſein, with 2000 horſe and 5000 foot, had ſome days before croſſed the Ganges oppoſite to Rajahmahal, where a river coming from the north leads into the midſt of the Purneah country. The rebels, more diſpirited by the approach of the Engliſh troops, than the appearance of the Nabob's, quitted their intrenchments, which were ſtrong, and diſperſed before they were attacked. Soon after Ogulſing was taken priſoner, on which all the other officers either ſubmitted or fled the country; and in leſs than a fortnight, by the 9th of December, Coddum Huſſein was in quiet poſſeſſion of the government.

The extinction of this rebellion, the ſubmiſſion of Ramramſing, and no appearance of the renewal of diſturbance at Dacca, left the Nabob without any farther apprehenſions for the tranquillity of Bengal, and determined him to march immediately to Patna, fully bent on removing Ramnarain, who was ſtill ſtanding on his guard, but had been diſappointed in his expectations, if he ever entertained any, of being joined by Sujah Dowlah, whom his own affairs detained in his own country. Clive, ſeeing the time he had waited for, re-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1757. December. fuſed to accompany the Nabob to Patna, before all that remained to be paid and ſettled of his agreements with the Engliſh ſhould be diſcharged and fulfilled. In aggravation of this dilemma, it was impoſſible to ſatisfy the Engliſh claims immediately, without the aſſiſtance of Roydoolub, through whoſe office, as duan, all money, bills, and patents, muſt paſs; and on this ground Clive repreſented to the Nabob the abſurdity of their variance, and propoſed a ſerious reconciliation, of which he himſelf would be the guarantee. The neceſſity of marching to Patna prevailed, and the Nabob, at leaſt in appearance, acquieſced; and on the notice, Roydoolub recovered, left the city, and arrived in the camp on the 23d of the month. He was the next day introduced by Mr. Watts to the Nabob, who received him with every demonſtration of cordiality. On the 30th, the Nabob, Roydoolub, and Omarbeg, came to the tent of Clive, and Mr. Watts aſſiſted at the conference. Before other buſineſs, the Nabob and Roydoolub made a ſolemn renunciation of all their former ſuſpicions and animoſity. On the ſtate of the account of the treaty monies, there was now due near twenty-three lacks of rupees. Orders on the treaſury at Muxadavad were ſigned for the immediate payment of 12 and a half lacks, and reſcripts given on Omarbeg, as Phouſdar of Hughly, and on the Rajahs of Burdwan and Kiſnagur, for the remaining half of the 23 lacks. Theſe reſcripts are called tuncaws, and entitle the holder to receive to the amount from the treaſuries of the diſtricts on which they are given, as the revenues come in. Tuncaws were likewiſe given on the ſame diſtricts for the next payment, amounting to 19 lacks, which would fall due in the enſuing April. The Nabob ordered Roydoolub to iſſue under the ſeals of the Nabobſhip and Duanny the patents empowering the company to take poſſeſſion of the ceded lands ſouth of Calcutta, with the authority of Zemindarry; which, being feudal lordſhip of land, does not extend to life; but to impriſonment on any occaſion, and to the ſcourge, even for the evaſion of debt, eſpecially to the government: but the Nabob reſerved to himſelf the annual ſum of 222,958 rupees ariſing on theſe lands, and allowed by the Mogul government, as on many others

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

others in the province, as a jaghire, or penſion for his expences without account. All theſe points were adjuſted without diſpute, or even the appearance of diſſenſion; but it was ſtill more neceſſary to ſettle the object of the preſent expedition. The Nabob's intention to remove Ramnarain, in order to give the government of Patna to one or other of his more immediate dependants, would inevitably be productive of long diſturbance and confuſion; for it could not be doubted that Ramnarain, knowing the Nabob's enmity to him, would, on the approach of the army, offer any terms to Sujah Dowlah for his aſſiſtance, unleſs prevented by aſſurances he could rely on, that it was not intended to diſplace him. Obnoxious as Clive knew the propoſal would be, he made it; adding to the obvious arguments, the neceſſity to which the Engliſh troops might at any time during the campaign be reduced, by the arrival of a French force in the river, to return on ſudden warning to defend Calcutta; when the Nabob and his army might be left fighting with their own enemies in Behar. He then, as before in the caſe of Ramramſing and Roydoolub, offered his mediation if neceſſary, promiſing to preſerve every right of the Nabob's demands and authority. The Nabob again having no valid alternative to propoſe, conſented that Clive ſhould write a letter to Ramnarain, adviſing him to come and pay his reſpects to the Nabob on the road; and aſſuring him of ſafety and favour. All theſe material points being ſettled, it was reſolved to march forward without delay. Thus ended the conference with ſeeming amity, but real grudge in the Nabob to Roydoolub and Clive, and not without ſuſpicions in them of him. 1757. December.

On the 2d of January, three days after the conference, the army began to move from Rajahmahal. At the Nabob's requeſt the Engliſh led the van. Roydoolub, with his, amounting to 10000 men, and the artillery of the government, followed next; and the Nabob with the main body, amounting to 40000, brought up the rear: each had their fleet of boats; and for the convenience of proviſions and encampment, as well as to prevent the occaſions of quarrel amongſt the reſpective ſoldieries, it was agreed that the three diviſions ſhould always make their halts at the diſtance of one day's march from 1758. January.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. January. each other. They followed the ſame road as Major Coote had marched. The progreſs of the troops of the government was continually interrupted by halts to bring on their baggage and repair their artillery; and the Engliſh were obliged to wait, as the Nabob did not like they ſhould be far before him. On the 29th he received letters from Delhi, adviſing that the patents of his confirmation in the Nabobſhip had been made out, and titles granted to his ſon and ſeveral others of his family; and the Seats informed Colonel Clive, that he likewiſe was created a munſubdar or commander of 6000 horſe, with ſeveral names. All the advices hitherto received from Patna, reported Ramnarain to be taking meaſures for his defence, and that he had broken down the bridges on the road within 30 miles of Patna; but he had not then received the letter from Clive: as ſoon as it reached him, he wrote an anſwer, without any ſtipulation, or ſign of miſtruſt, that he ſhould proceed without delay to wait on Clive and the Nabob. Accordingly on the 22d he embarked in his boats, whilſt his retinue of cavalry marched along the road, and on the 25th viſited Clive. The next day he proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Watts, to the Nabob, who received him with the attentions uſually teſtified to his rank in the ſtate, and requeſted him to follow in the rear, in order to facilitate their communications on buſineſs; but in reality to mark his inferiority to the province. This intention eſcaped not the obſervation of the camp, but even produced reports that the Nabob had placed him there, out of the reach of ſuccour, in order to deſtroy him; and Clive himſelf, not receiving either letters or intelligence from him for ſeveral days, had the ſame ſuſpicions, and wrote for explanation to Omarbeg and Roydoolub; from whom, as well as Ramnarain, he received letters on the 3d of February. February, which ſatisfied him of the ſafety of Ramnarain's perſon, but did not remove his apprehenſions that the Nabob meant him ill in other reſpects. On the 4th the Engliſh troops halted at Jaffier Cawn's garden two miles from the Kelah or fort, which ſtands at the eaſt end of the city of Patna. Early the next morning, a large body of the Nabob's troops were perceived marching to the left, and paſſing beyond the Engliſh towards the city, and Clive received private

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

vate information that Coja Haddee, who commanded them, was ordered by the Nabob to ſuffer no troops, excepting his own diviſion, to enter the gates until the Nabob himſelf ſhould arrive there. This arrangement was intended to give a notion to the capital of the province, that the Engliſh troops were as ſubſervient to the Nabob as his own. Clive waited until Coja Haddee's diviſion were in poſſeſſion of the gate, and then marched up, demanding admittance. Coja Haddee being attached to Roydoolub, and knowing his reſpect and reliance on Clive, mentioned the general order he had received from the Nabob; but ſaid, that it could not be meant to extend to his friends the Engliſh, and admitted the troops with more pleaſure than reluctance. Clive, ſatisfied with having eſtabliſhed the point of honour, did not ſtop, but continued his march through the city to the Engliſh factory, which ſtands on the farther ſide, very near the weſtern gate. The next day, being the 6th, he received a letter from the Nabob, with inconſiſtent excuſes for the forced march of Cojee Haddee's diviſion, and requeſting Clive to encamp at Bankapoor, which is five miles beyond the Engliſh factory, where the company have a large garden. Clive had before determined to do ſo; and the troops proceeded thither immediately. The day after, another letter deſired him to move to Dinapoor, five miles farther, becauſe the Nabob himſelf intended to encamp at Bankapoor. This deſign of removing the Engliſh troops to ſuch a diſtance, and of keeping the whole of the Nabob's army between them and the city, raiſed ſuſpicions, which correſponded with other intelligence. Promiſes, delays, diſtreſſes, relief, were to be alternately employed, and bribes as the laſt reſource, to draw Clive to an acquieſcence to the Nabob's deſigns, which continued invariably to deprive Ramnarain of the government of Patna, and to confer it on his own brother Meer Coſſim, when the other offices and departments of the province would be ſhared amongſt the favourites and dependants of his former fortune. Roydoolub, who had always ſuſpected, was now convinced that ſuch were the Nabob's intentions, and, ſeeing his own deſtruction blended with Ramnarain's, united their councils, whatſoever might have been their former connexions, without reſerve.

1758. February.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. February. Both by their emiſſaries, for they dared not write, and the order of encampment prevented viſits, explained their ideas of the Nabob to Clive, and artfully inſinuated dangerous intentions even againſt the Engliſh. Clive knew not what to apprehend, but did not entirely reject the opinion of treachery; and to prevent it, croſſed the whole of his army with the boats and ſtores into a large iſland in the Ganges, which lies oppoſite to Bankapoor, where they were ſeparated from immediate communication with the ſhore. He at the ſame time ſent Mr. Watts to the Nabob, to diſcover the meaning of his laſt requeſt, and to complain ſeriouſly of his conduct to Ramnarain, whom he had kept in the camp inſtead of permitting him to return with proper marks of dignity to the city, contrary to his promiſes at Rajahmahal. Mr. Watts perceived no ſymptoms of treachery in the Nabob, but likewiſe no willingneſs to conclude the buſineſs of Ramnarain, which he ſaid he ſhould defer until he ſaw colonel Clive. On the 12th, the Nabob came into the city; and Ramnarain likewiſe, but without any marks of authority. The Nabob kept his army on the eaſtern ſide, inſtead of encamping them, as he had propoſed at Bankapoor, to the weſt. On the 14th, Clive viſited him, and this was the firſt time they had met, ſince they parted at Rajahmahal. The Nabob imputed the delay of Ramnarain's appointment to Roydoolub, who had the accounts and arrangements to ſettle. It is probable that Roydoolub, finding Clive leſs impreſſed with reſentment againſt the Nabob than he wiſhed, thought this delay would not fail to exaſperate him; which the Nabob now turned on himſelf, and had well nigh made a quarrel between them, if Clive had not recollected the neceſſity of ſuſpecting the views of all, and of entering into none beyond what was conducive to the public welfare.

Much more time would probably have been waſted in the conflict of theſe intrigues, if news had not arrived from the weſtward, which renewed the former apprehenſions of the approach of Sujah Dowlah from Lucknow, who was now to be accompanied by a great body of Morratoe horſe, and as before by the party of Europeans with Mr. Law, who were remaining under his protection and ſupport

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

port at Allahabad; and with theſe reports, arrived in the camp the Morratoe Subut, who, inſtead of proceeding directly to his government of Orixa, came from Nagore with a commiſſion from Jonagee and Balagerow, to demand the arrears of chout due to the Morratoe nations from the province of Bengal, which amounted to 24 lacks of rupees. The vicinity of an army of Morratoes at this time in the Doab, not only protected Subut from indignity, but obliged Meer Jaffier to ſuppreſs any manifeſtation of his former ſuſpicions of the union between him and Roydoolub; and the ſame dread rendered the Engliſh as neceſſary to him as when he took the field at Muxadavad; and on the 23d, he performed the ceremony of diſpoſing of the government of Patna, ſetting in full Durbar, attended by all his courtiers. A ſuit of dreſs with jewels on a golden plate was laid before him, which he ordered to be carried away immediately with an eſcort to his ſon Meerum at Muxadavad, whom he called Nabob of Patna. Then another ſuit of the ſame preſents, which he gave with his own hand to Ramnarain, pronouncing him deputy to Meerum in the Nabobſhip. The appointment of Meerum was merely nominal, not derogating from the authority of Ramnarain, which continued reſponſible to the Nabob alone, but rendering him liable to ſome additional preſents; and the bargain for Ramnarain's appointment had been ſettled at ſeven lacks of rupees, which were exacted under the pretext of a balance remaining due on the adjuſtment of the accounts of the province. Other ſums, unknown, but ſuppoſed not inconſiderable, were likewiſe collected by the Nabob; for the chiefs of all the diſtricts, as well Moors as Indians, were ſummoned, as uſual in ſuch viſitations, to pay homage, and none came empty-handed; and thoſe againſt whom were any real or fictitious cauſes of complaint, were ſeverely fined. Of theſe Comgar Cawn and Sunderſing, two petty rajahs in that part of the mountains which lie between the province of Behar and the diſtrict of Berboin in Bengal, had been fighting for three months, and only laid down their arms on the approach of the Nabob. Both were ſummoned to attend the Durbar. Comgar Cawn, who was moſt in fault, evaded; and Sunderſing would not come until he received aſ- 1758. February.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. February.

ſurances from Clive of being treated with juſtice. Pulwanſing, another of theſe Indian chiefs, whoſe diſtricts lye at the s.w. extremity of the province amongſt the mountains along the banks of the Caramnaſſa, was a notorious plunderer, and had incurred the reſentment of Ramnarain: he likewiſe refuſed to appear until he had received the ſame ſecurity. Theſe attentions to the mediation of Clive grated the Nabob's mind, which returned to its former antipathies, on intelligence that neither the Morratoes nor Sujah Dowlah were likely to proſecute their intended project of invading Behar. Clive, nevertheleſs, did not relax the rein.

All the ſalt-petre provided by the European ſettlements in Bengal is made in the country on the other ſide of the Ganges above Patna. The farm was always monopolized, and had long been in the hands of Cojah Wazeed, the great merchant of Hughley. Diſputes had often riſen between his ſervants and thoſe of the Engliſh factory at Patna; and two months before they had come to blows, when two of the factory's ſervants were killed. This accident gave Clive the plea of aſking the Nabob to grant the farm to the Engliſh company, as the only means of preventing ſuch diſputes in future. He offered the higheſt terms at which the farm had ever been rated; but the Nabob knew, that he could not exact on any pretence from the company the additional preſents, which the renter, whilſt his ſubject, could not refuſe. This motive of his repugnance was, however, below his dignity to acknowledge, and after many objections he conſented, reſerving the receipt of 20,000 maunds, or 1,600,000 pounds weight a year, for his own uſe. The agents of the Dutch Eaſt-India company proteſted againſt the grant; which Clive anſwered by producing a letter, in which they had aſked the farm of Surajah Dowlah for themſelves. However it was agreed to ſupply them with the quantity they uſed to purchaſe.

The obtainment of this favour did not induce Clive to any remiſſion in the authentic demands. The troops were in the fourth month of the campaign, and only the pay of two, amounting to two lacks, had been ſupplied. Although the Rajahs of Burdwan and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and Kiſnagur had accepted the tuncaws given on their diſtricts, they had hitherto paid nothing; and Omarbeg, as Phouſdar of Hughly, declared that he had no means of ſatisfying any part of the 6,500,000 rupees charged on him, excepting by giving a quantity of ſalt, which when ſold might produce two lacks. On this, Clive wrote to Roydoolub that he ſhould ſend his troops to aſk their money of him, and ſignified to the Nabob that he might ſpare the Engliſh five out of the ſeven lacks he was to receive from Ramnarain. The Nabob replied, that this very ſum was appropriated to pay the Mogul's tribute at Delhi, but offered bills on Ramnarain for two lacks, payable at 50,000 rupees a month, which Clive was contented to receive. 1758. February.

The to and fro of theſe official diſcuſſions had brought the time to the 18th of March; and the Nabob, having now nothing to fear from foreign enemies before the end of the rainy ſeaſon in September, reſumed his firſt views of giving the government of Patna to Meer Coſſim, but, ſtill afraid to venture whilſt the Engliſh troops remained in Behar, reſolved to outſtay them, and became as anxious to ſend them away as he had been to bring them with him. Knowing their want of money, he thought the more he ſhould delay to ſupply it, and poſtpone their other buſineſs, the ſooner they themſelves would become deſirous of departing, to ſave expence to no purpoſe. March.

Clive, ſuſpecting this cunning, inſiſted that Roydoolub ſhould immediately give ſecurity for the deficiency of the Hughley tuncaws; but Roydoolub was on the point of making a viſit of devotion to Guyah, a town of great ſanctity and pilgrimage, ſituated at the foot of the mountains, 60 miles to the ſouth of Patna. He ſet out on the 19th of March, and Clive reſolved to remain until he returned: but on the firſt of April ſent forward the main body of the Engliſh troops on the road to Bengal, with orders to proceed ſlowly. They were augmented by 1000 Sepoys, who had been levied in the Bodgepore country, where the natives are much hardier than in Bengal, and even more than in any part of Behar. On the 7th, Roydoolub April.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. returned from Guyah, and by this time the Nabob had taken the reſolution of going to pay his devotions likewiſe, at a famous *durgar*, or tomb of a ſaint, near the town of Behar, which is ſituated 40 miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Patna: by this journey he ſaid no time would be loſt, as it would require ten days to adjuſt ſome affairs and accounts in diſpute between his brother Meer Coſſim and Ramnarain: he hoped in this interval that the Engliſh troops would have been far advanced on their way, and Clive have joined them, in which caſe he intended to return to Patna, and remove Ramnarain. But Clive reſolved not to ſeparate himſelf from Ramnarain until he ſaw him out of danger, and adviſed Roydoolub likewiſe, although in the field, to keep at hand. A momentary inſtant of general ſatisfaction and compliments occurred on the 14th by the arrival of meſſengers from Delhi, with the authentic patents of the honorary titles conferred on the Nabob, his relations, and Clive: they likewiſe brought *ſunnuds*, or the commiſſion for the Nabobſhip, but deficient in ſome eſſential formalities, which were withheld until the Nabob ſhould have remitted a ſum of money to Delhi: the ſunnuds were, nevertheleſs, proclaimed as fully valid, and few knew the contrary. The next day, the Nabob proceeded to Behar; and, ſeeing that Clive ſtill remained at Patna, inſtructed his brother Meer Coſſim to diſſemble, who accordingly pretended to be perfectly ſatisfied with the adjuſtment of his affairs with Ramnarain, and promiſed to leave Patna and come to Muxadavad as ſoon as he had ſettled his more private concerns; and the Nabob himſelf, inſtead of returning as he had intended from Behar to Patna, proceeded from thence on the 24th ſtraight acroſs the country to Bar on the bank of the Ganges, about 35 miles below Patna, where the main body of his army and their fleeet of boats were aſſembled; on which Clive left the city, carrying Ramnarain with him, to take leave of the Nabob. On the 30th, the Nabob Roydoolub, and Ramnarain, met by appointment on board of Clive's budgerow. The Nabob expreſſed perfect fatisfaction in Ramnarain's integrity and fidelity, aſſured him of being continued in the government, and permitted him to ſet out the ſame

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

day on his return: he then ordered a part of his army to march on to Muxadavad, and kept the reſt to amuſe himſelf with in huntings along the hills; but conſented that Roydoolub ſhould accompany Clive, in order to diſcharge the deficiencies of the balances of money due on the treaties. Thus ended this political campaign, in which an army of 50,000 men had marched 300 miles out of their own province, and continued four months in the field, without firing a muſket; but produced the full accompliſhment of all that Clive intended, who maintained his deciſion over all intereſts, by not yielding to the prejudices of partiality, or the proffers of private advantage. 1758. April.

The French party which had eſcaped from Dacca to Rungpore, had raiſed a mud fort not far from the foot of the mountains, on the bank of the river Teſta, in which they maintained themſelves unmoleſted, until Coſſim Ally, the Phouſdar of the country, received the Nabob's orders to attack them; when they were ſurrounded by a great number of his people, who in leſs than a month reduced them to famine; on which they embarked in their boats, and went down the river, intending to regain the Great Ganges; but were followed and harraſſed ſo much, that they landed again, but on the other ſide of the river, and marched to the neighbouring town of Dinagepore, the capital of a Rajah, who with much timidity was a good man, which Mr. Courtin knowing, refrained from any violence to his people; who were all as timorous as the Rajah himſelf, and maintained the party with proviſions, until an officer at Mr. Courtin's requeſt came from Coſſimbuzar, to whom they ſurrendered priſoners, and were received with ſome terms of indulgence. Their number was reduced from 30 Europeans to 11, and from 100 to 30 Sepoys.

The ſmall number of troops left in Calcutta after the army took the field with Colonel Clive, was not ſufficient to keep up the neceſſary guards with ſufficient ſtrictneſs; which encouraged the French priſoners to attempt their eſcape. The building of the gaol was not ſufficient to hold them; and, as the encloſure had very high walls, they were permitted

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. permitted to remain in the area; taking advantage of this liberty, they dug under the wall in a part unfrequented and covered with bushes, and in the night of the 18th of December, all of them, being 90, escaped through the hole, and before morning most of them had crossed the river, and not one was immediately retaken. Some were suspected to have gone to the Danish factory opposite Hughley; but the agents there would not admit the search. A month after 15 were stopped in Midnapore; and in the month of March, 30 more at Cutteck, going through Orixa, to join their countrymen in Chicacole.

The squadron with Mr. Pococke sailed for the coast of Coromandel, in the beginning of February; the condemnation of the Kent, and the dispatch of the sloop to England, had reduced it to three ships of the line, and two frigates of 20 guns. Their departure, frequent although vague reports from sea of French armaments, the expectation of sending a great part of the English force into the field again with the Nabob, and above all the recent remembrance of calamity, had determined the presidency to provide for the future safety of Calcutta, by raising a fort capable of the utmost defence; and all the natives which could be hired were continually employed in the work. The spot was chosen 1200 yards to the south of the old fort; but not so near the river.

Various reports had been brought to Muxadavad, during the campaign to Patna. In February, soon after Ramnarain joined the camp on the road, it was said that the Nabob had caused him to be assassinated; but, at the same time, came other news, that the Rajah Sundersing, by the instigation of Roydoolub, had fallen on the Nabob's quarters in the night, and had killed him in his tent. However improbable, Meerum believed both reports, and assembled all the forces quartered round the city: this alarm was soon quieted by authentic letters from the camp; but the same principles of suspicion and animosity had driven Meerum to greater excesses of apprehension, on the approach of Colonel Clive and Roydoolub returning from the campaign.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The Coſſimbuzar river from January to June is too ſhallow for boats of burthen, which obliged the Engliſh troops, with their fleet, to keep along the great river, until they came to Bogwongola, and from whence they marched acroſs the iſland to Muxadavad, where Clive arrived on the 15th, and found the whole city in the utmoſt conſternation; and on the ſame day, he received advices of great importance from the coaſt of Coromandel; to which our narrative now returns. 1758. April.

END *of the* EIGHTH BOOK.

BOOK

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

BOOK IX.

THE new year opened in the Carnatic with as little activity as the laſt had cloſed. The French troops remained in Pondicherry waiting the arrival of their expected armament from Europe, during which, Mr. Soupire, as he ſays in a memoir he has publiſhed, entered into a negociation with two Jemautdars of the Engliſh Sepoys to ſurprize Tritchinopoly, by means of the French priſoners. Four hundred were in confinement in the city, and 50 or 60 had at various times been received into the Engliſh ſervice, and in the end of December, ſoon after Calliaud returned from Madraſs, two of the enliſted Frenchmen accuſed one De la Forge, who had been accepted as a ſurgeon's mate, that he had tampered with them to concur in a project, by which the foreigners in the ſervice of the garriſon were to murder the Engliſh guards in the night, then open the priſons, arm the priſoners, and with their aſſiſtance, overpower the reſt of the troops. Four other Frenchmen avowed the ſame converſation with De la Forge, who, with much obſtinacy, denied that he had ever ſpoken one word to any one of them: he was however hanged two days after his trial. This might have been the firſt opening of Mr. Soupire's ſcheme, although he ſays nothing of it; but nothing was diſcovered of his conſpiracy with the Sepoys, which he ſeems to have protracted until the end of April. 1758. January.

Enſign Banatyne at Outramalore, receiving intelligence that 200 of the French Sepoys at Carangoly had deſerted on ſome diſpute

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. January. with the renter, and that the reſt were inclined to mutiny, marched on the night of the 25th of January, with 500 Sepoys, and 50 Europeans, and an hour before day-break made an aſſault by eſcalade on a part of the wall, which was in a ruinous condition; but they were repulſed with the loſs of 11 Sepoys killed, and 2 Europeans wounded. Slight as this was, no action of equal enterprize paſſed in the contending diſtricts until the end of April, although the mutual incurſions were as frequent as before; but being always levelled at defenceleſs villages, they carried the reproach of robbery, more than the reputation of war; and each ſide loſing as much as it gained by theſe depredations, the French officer at Vandiwaſh propoſed a conference to put an end to them, and Banatyne was permitted to treat with him.

The reports which the French government ſpread with much diligence, of their approaching ſuperiority on the coaſt of Coromandel, encouraged even the moſt inſignificant chiefs, which held under the Nabob, or the company, to queſtion or inſult their authority. In the vaſt plain which occupies the Carnatic, from the latitude of Puliacate to the river Coleroon, are many tracts of ſandy ground ſpread amongſt the richeſt diſtricts of the country. Theſe ſoils having always been neglected by the labourer, and left to nature, propagate abundance of uſeleſs vegetation. In ſome, which with care would rear the coco-nut, the eaſtern palms prevail, a few of which, riſing to their full growth, ſpread their ſeeds with the wind, which in a ſucceſſion of time cover the whole extent with plants, that ſtrangling one another by their multitude, remain ſtunted, and create the ſtubborneſt of thickets. Others of theſe tracts, inſtead of bearing the palm kinds, will only produce a ſtrong and ſpreading ſhrub, which riſes to the height of eight or nine feet, and forms one continued coppice. Many of theſe wilds are from 15 to 40 miles in circumference, and all of theſe extents are poſſeſſed by petty Polygars, with their clans of half-ſavage ſubjects, whoſe occupation is to rob the neighbouring villages in the night, and in the day to take all kinds of veniſon and game, in which they are ſo expert, that they rarely fail, on the ſhorteſt notice, to produce the quantity demanded

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

demanded by any perſon in authority. By theſe obeiſances, and ſometimes a ſmall preſent of money, and now and then ridding the country of a tiger, they compenſate their thefts, which are rarely attended with bloodſhed, or violence; when they are, troops march, their hamlets are burnt, and priſoners taken, the chief himſelf in preference, who atone ſeverely for the miſdeeds, whether of themſelves or their fellows. Two of theſe Polygars, between whoſe woods the fort of Trepaſſoor is ſituated, ventured in the end of January to make incurſions, not only into the diſtricts dependant on this fort, but even into thoſe of Pondamalee, within 15 miles of Madraſs, and carried off large quantities of grain and cattle from the villages; on which the commandant, Jemaul Saib, who had returned from Tinivelly to Madraſs, was ordered to march againſt them with four companies of Sepoys. The one, named Rangapah Naigue, immediately aſked pardon, and made reſtitution and atonement: but the other, Wardapah Naigue, ſtood on his defence, until Jemaul Saib had penetrated into his woods, and burnt ſeveral of the hamlets concealed in them; on which, he ſubmitted likewiſe, and the Sepoys were withdrawn. 1758. February.

The army of the Morattoes under the command of Balaventrow, which, in the preceding year, had defeated the Nabob of Cudapah, who fell in the battle, found notwithſtanding this victory, that they could not eaſily compleat the reduction of the country; for Abdull Nabey Cawn, the couſin-german and neareſt relation of the deceaſed Nabob, threw himſelf with a ſtrong force into the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of the province called *Sidout*, near the town of Cudapah and the late field of battle; and others of the Pitan Captains ſtood on their defence in their reſpective holds, the ſieges of which would employ more time than the extent of Balaventrow's expedition. He therefore ſent agents to negotiate with Abdull Nabey; but likewiſe detached parties to harraſs the diſtricts adjacent to the forts which held out; during which he marched himſelf with the main body of his army acroſs the province of Cudapah to the eaſtward, and, when arrived on the confines of the Carnatic to the N.W. formed three diviſions, one of which went againſt the Polygar Bomrauze; the other entered the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. February. districts of Damarlah Venketappah and Bangar Yatcham-naigue; and with the third he appeared himself before Nelore. The Nabob, in settling the treaty of tribute in the preceding year with Armetrow, the deputy of Balaventrow, gave, in the general assessment on his vassals, an order on each of these Polygars to pay him 70,000 rupees, and the pretence on which Balaventrow now commenced hostilities against them was, that the assessment meant only the rate of the actual year, whereas they owed, he said, for the six before; and the reason he gave for attacking Nelore was, to prevent Nazeabulla from marching against the Nabob, with a large body of French troops, which he heard were advaucing to join him from Mr. Bussy's army; but Nazeabullah, having without hesitation paid him a sum adequate to his expectations, he a few days after wrote to the Nabob, recommending a reconciliation between them. His detachments plundered the fair towns of Venkati Gherri and Calastri; and all the three Polygars were so frightened, that, in expectation of the assistance of the English, each of them gave bonds and security for the payment of their tribute to the Nabob, which were not equal to the demands of Balaventrow; immediately after this the Morattoes left their country, as the Polygars believed, from respect to the remonstrances of the presidency, but in reality pursuant to orders received at this time from Balagerow: they returned into Cudapah, where Balaventrow concluded at Sidout a treaty with Abdul Nabey Cawn, by which it was agreed, that the country should be equally divided betwixt them: and the Morattoes were put in possession of Goramcondah, a strong fort and pass midway in the range of mountains, which bound the province of Cudapah to the west. A part of the army was left to guard the share of the Morattoes in the province, and Balaventrow, with the rest, recrossed the western mountains, and marched towards Sirpi, ordering at the same time the detachment with Armetrow at Velore to join him there.

The Nabob's brother, Abdulwahab, having gathered 1000 horse, and 2 or 3000 foot, moved in the beginning of the year from Chitore to Chandergherri. This place was anciently the capital of the Carnatic, at present an open town in ruins. It is situated about

10

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

10 miles from the famous pagoda of Tripetti, which Abdulwahab endeavoured to perſuade the company's renter to deliver up: but the renter referred him to Madraſs, and he was deterred from the hoſtilities he intended, by the march of Jemaul Saheb againſt the polygars of Trepaſſore. Not knowing therefore what to do with his troops, who clamoured for pay, he ſent them under the command of his principal officer to Mortizally of Velore, who was preparing to attack the fort of Tripatore, at the bottom of the valley of Vaniambady. We are ignorant on what pretenſions theſe hoſtilities were founded, but they were undertaken with much earneſtneſs: for, beſides his own, and the troops of Abdulwahab, the Phouſdar likewiſe engaged the body of Morattoes then in his town with Armetrow. The whole force was 4000 horſe and 6000 foot; but the fort of Tripatore was of difficult approach; and on the 8th of February, the day after the batteries were opened, a cannon-ball killed Armetrow; which being perceived by the garriſon, they ſallied, routed the beſiegers, and took their cannon. The Morattoes immediately after this defeat quitted the country, and joined their main body in Myſore; and the troops of Mortizally and Abdulwahab returned to their homes. 1758. February.

Mr. Pocock, with the ſhips of war from Bengal, arrived at Madraſs on the 24th of February; they had been abſent 17 months on the expedition. The two frigates were immediately detached to cruize off Pondicherry. Some days after, arrived the Queenſborough frigate, which Admiral Stevens had diſpatched with advices to Madraſs, from whence ſhe had been ſent to Bengal, and now returned from thence. On the 24th of March, Admiral Stevens himſelf arrived from Bombay with 4 ſhips of the line; and on the 17th of April the ſquadron ſailed to the ſouthward.

The Myſore general Hyderally, after his retreat from Madura in the end of the preceding year, continued at Dindigul, waiting the arrival of a body of French troops, with which he intended to return to the attack; and in the interval Mahomed Iſſoof marched with his army from Chevelpetore to the city of Madura, and ſet to work to repair the fortifications. As the French troops in the Pagoda of Seringham could

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. could not be diminiſhed without danger from the garriſon in Tritchinopoly, Mr. Soupire ſent the force he intended for Hyderally from Pondicherry; and from the reſtraint laid on all his military operations, they were no more than 300 Sepoys and 75 Europeans, who arrived at Dindigul in the end of January. They were commanded by Mr. Aſtruc, the ſame officer who had been defeated by Major Lawrence before Tritchinopoly in the year 1753, from which time he had continued a priſoner on his parole until the month of October of the preceding year, when he was exchanged. On his arrival at Dindigul, he found Hyderally preſſed by urgent affairs to return to Seringapatam, the capital of Myſore, which broke the ſcheme of attacking Madura; ſoon after the interview, Hyderally departed, and Mr. Aſtruc returned to the pagoda of Seringham, where he arrived on the 20th of March, and, having been long ill, died on the 22d; he was a gallant and worthy man.

February. The agent ſent by the Nabob to Maphuze Khan arrived at Nellitangaville on the 28th of February, and found him there, encamped in paltry tents, with 50 horſe, oſtentatious of his poverty, pretending much diſcontent againſt his allies, and much attachment to the Nabob; but when terms of reconciliation were propoſed, nothing leſs would ſatisfy him than the government of the whole country as an appanage in fee; indeed he was never maſter of his own opinion, and at preſent not of his will, for the weſtern polygars, elated by the riſing ſuperiority of the French in the Carnatic, took the field, and obliged him, who depended upon them for his ſubſiſtence, to lend his name, and to appear with them in perſon as the pretenſion of their hoſtilities: the army was compoſed of the troops of the Pulitaver, of Vadagherri, of the three minor polygars, Cotaltava, Nadacourch, and Savandah; and from the eaſtern ſide, of Etiaporum, the dependant of Catabominaigue, who himſelf continued firm to his new connexion with the Engliſh. The confederates had likewiſe perſuaded the Polygar of Shatore under the hills, whoſe fort is only fifteen miles to the ſouth of Chevelpetore, to enter ſo far into their views as to admit a body of the Pulitaver's Colleries into his fort, with whom and his own he made depredations into the adjacent

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

jacent country, whilſt Mahomed Iſſoof, apprehenſive of the arrival of Hyderally and the French, kept his force collected in Madura. As ſoon as the news of Hyderally's departure was confirmed, Mahomed Iſſoof took the field and marched againſt Shatore. The polygar on his appearance made ſubmiſſions, turned out the Pulitaver's men, and paid a fine in money; but as ſoon as the Engliſh troops returned to Chevelpetore, he renewed his depredations; on which Mahomed Iſſoof attacked the fort again, which the polygar, after a ſlight reſiſtance, abandoned; and one of his relations was appointed in his ſtead. In the mean time, the confederates had, in various attacks from Nellitangaville, taken all the poſts between this place and Tinivelly, and many of the men placed to guard them were put to the ſword: at Tirancourchy, which was taken by aſſault in the night, 27 horſemen, and a greater number of Sepoys, were killed. The confederates, elated with theſe ſucceſſes, threatened all who did not join them, and attacked the polygar of Outamalee, becauſe he had refuſed. They likewiſe prepared to take poſſeſſion of Tinivelly, and boaſted that they would reduce the fort of Palamcotah. But the approach of Mahomed Iſſoof from Chevelpetore ſtopped their progreſs, nor had they courage to give him battle; but, having ſtrengthened the poſts they had taken, retreated to Nellitangaville, ſending, however, detachments to harraſs and interrupt his operations; but without ſucceſs; for all their parties which ventured to meet, or could not avoid the encounter of the Sepoys, were beaten, and by the end of April all the poſts which had been taken were recovered. Mahomed Iſſoof then reſolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to begin with the polygar of Vadagherri, although the moſt diſtant, becauſe the moſt powerful of the alliance. His villages in the plain were in flames, and the troops had begun to penetrate into the wood which encloſes his fort, when Iſſoof received advices and inſtructions from the preſidency at Madraſs, and from Captain Calliaud at Tritchinopoly, which called him and the troops under his command to ſervices of much greater neceſſity and importance.

1758. April.

At day-break, on the 28th of April, a ſquadron of 12 ſail were deſcried ſtanding in from various points of the compaſs for the road

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. of Fort St. David, where the Engliſh frigates, Triton and Bridgewater, chanced to be at anchor. It was ſoon perceived that the ſtrangers were French; and two or three of the ſhips beingto the north of the road, whilſt the reſt were advancing from the ſouth, precluded the eſcape of the frigates, as the wind blew from the offing. The captains, therefore, prudently reſolved to run their ſhips aſhore, in order to preſerve the men, which they effected without loſing any.

The French ſquadron was commanded by the Count D'Aché. After ſome change in the ſhips which were firſt appointed, he ſailed from Breſt on the 6th of March of the preceding year, with the Zodiac of 74 guns, the Belliqueux of 70, the Superbe of 64, belonging to the navy of France, and a 50 gun ſhip, with a frigate belonging to the Eaſt-India Company. On board of theſe ſhips was embarked the regiment of Lally, conſiſting of 1080 men, 50 of the royal artillery, a great number of officers of diſtinction, and the count de Lally, Colonel of the regiment of his name, lieutenant general in the French army, and now appointed Governor-general with the moſt extenſive powers over all the French poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments in India. The ſhips had ſcarcely got clear of the land, when a ſquall of wind carried away the main-top gallant and the mizen top-maſt of the Belliqueux, on which ſhe made the ſignal of diſtreſs, and was obliged to anchor near the ſhore in bad ground. The Zodiac immediately tacked, and worked cloſe-hauled to aſſiſt her, and the ſquall continuing, carried away the main and fore-topmaſt of this ſhip likewiſe. Theſe accidents induced Mr. D'Aché to return immediately into the port of Breſt, as affording the ſpeedieſt means of repairing the damages. In the ſhort interval between the final orders for the departure of the ſquadron, and the advices of its return into Breſt, the French miniſtry at Verſailles had received ſuch ſiniſter accounts of the French affairs in Canada, that they changed the deſtination of the ſhips Belliqueux and Superbe, and appointed them to America; and ordered Mr. D'Aché to remain at Breſt, until joined by other ſhips of equal force; which, however, the navy of France, in this time of diſtreſs, was not able to ſpare from its other neceſſities. But the French Eaſt India Company had ſeveral ſhips, built expreſsly to ſerve

5 when

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

when required, as men of war, of which four had ſailed in December, with the regiment of Lorrain; and three were now added to the two Mr. D'Aché already had under his command; and he was to take the others at the Iſle of France. The delays of aſſembling the Company's ſhips from Port l'Orient retarded his departure from Breſt until the 4th of May. The ſhips carried with them a malignant fever, at that time reigning in the port. On the 23d of July they anchored at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, having loſt 300 men of all kinds by the fever, which continued even in this climate, although healthier than moſt in the world: having waited two months in expectation of this benefit, the ſquadron ſailed on the 25th of September; and after a paſſage of 85 days, ſtill infected with the ſickneſs, arrived on the 18th of December at the Iſle of France. Here they found the ſhips which had carried the regiment of Lorrain, returned from Pondicherry. Taking their crews and ſuch of the ſhips as he choſe, Mr. D'Aché formed the ſquadron, with which he now appeared on the coaſt. They ſailed from hence on the 27th of January. It would be uſeful to know their rout, in order to avoid it; for their paſſage was very long, not making the coaſt until the 25th of April, when the Diligent was ſent forward to Karical to get intelligence of the Engliſh ſquadron; and returning on the 27th without any, ſtruck on a ſand-bank, which detained all the ſhips the reſt of the day in getting her afloat. On the 28th they appeared, as we have ſeen, before Fort St. David. 1758. Apr.

Every ſucceſs was expected to follow the arrival of this armament in India. The ſhips were to drive the Engliſh ſquadron off the coaſt, the troops with thoſe already at Pondicherry were to demoliſh the Engliſh ſettlements; and ſuch was the confidence of not meeting an enemy in the field, that the inſtructions formed at Verſailles ordered Mr. Lally to open his operations by the ſiege of Fort St. David, before which the ſhips anchored, in order to land the troops as ſoon as thoſe from Pondicherry could march to inveſt the place. The wreck of the two Engliſh frigates confirmed theſe preſumptions; and Mr. Lally went away in the Count de Provence of 60 guns, attended by a frigate called the Diligente, to proclaim his

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. commiſſion, and give the neceſſary orders at Pondicherry; he landed at five in the afternoon, and was received with all the diſtinctions annexed to his authority. In the mean time the other ſhips worked in, and anchored off of Cudalore, two miles to the ſouth of Fort St. David.

The Engliſh ſquadron having in ten days worked as high to windward as the head of Ceylon, ſtood in again for the coaſt, which they made on the 28th, off Negapatam, and proceeding along ſhore, diſcovered at nine the next morning the French ſhips riding off Cuddalore, which immediately weighed and bore down towards Pondicherry, throwing out ſignals to recal the Comte de Provence and the Diligente; but they not weighing in obedience to the ſummons, the ſquadron ſtood out to ſea E. by N. the wind blowing from the S. E. Mr. Pocock, on the firſt ſight of the French ſquadron, had thrown out the ſignal for chace, which implies, that every ſhip is to puſh with crowded ſail, and without regard to each other, in purſuit of the enemy, until countermanded by a different ſignal. At half an hour after twelve, his ſhips were within a league of the enemy, who were formed, and waiting for them in a line of battle a-head; when Mr. Pocock hauled down the chacing ſignal, brought to on the ſtarboard tack, hoiſted his colours, and made a ſignal for the line a-head, and to be formed at the diſtance of half a cable, or 100 yards, one ſhip from another. The Tyger ſailing ill, and the Cumberland much worſe, were at this time ſo far a-ſtern of the other ſhips, that it was ten minutes paſt two, before they got up to their allotted ſtations in the line; which being now formed, the Admiral made the ſignal to bear down, each ſhip in the exact direction to the antagoniſt ſhe was intended to encounter, according to the diſpoſition of the two lines; and this was explained by continuing the diſtinctive ſignal of the line of battle a-head, joined to that of bearing down.

The French line conſiſted of nine ſail, all, excepting the Zodiac, capable of carrying more guns than they mounted, and ſhe having changed her lower battery of 32 pounders, for 24 at Breſt, had not been able to replace them at the Iſle of France. The Vengeur of 54 led, followed by the Bien Aimé of 58, next the Conde of 44, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April.

and next the Duc of Orleans of 50: Theſe were the van: In the centre was the Zodiac of 74, on which Mr. D'Aché hoiſted his flag. The four ſhips which formed the rear, were the Saint Louis of 50, immediately after the Zodiac, then the Moras of 44, the Sylphide of 36, and the Duc de Bourgogne of 60 guns cloſed the line.

The Engliſh line, having only ſeven ſhips to nine, were to chuſe their opponents accordingly. Mr. Pocock in the Yarmouth of 74, was the centre, and ſteered for the Zodiac, the centre of the enemy's line. In conſequence the Tyger of 60 guns, which led the Engliſh Van, bore down for the Vengeur; the Saliſbury of 50, for the Bien Aimé; and the Elizabeth of 64, in which Admiral Stevens hoiſted his flag, and was the ſhip a-head of Mr. Pocock, neglecting the Condé, bore down for the Duke of Orleans, which ranged immediately a-head of M. D'Aché. In conſequence, likewiſe, the Cumberland of 70, which was to be next a-ſtern of Mr. Pocock, ſhould have ſteered for the Saint Louis, the Newcaſtle of 50 for the Moras, and the Weymouth of 60, neglecting the Sylphide, for the Duc de Bourgogne.

This was underſtood. It is likewiſe generally underſtood, that when the Admiral brings to, and throws out the ſignal to engage, every ſhip is to do ſo likewiſe, at the ſame diſtance from its reſpective opponent, as the admiral lies from his. But the Cumberland, from ſome unaccountable defect, was ſo unmanageable, that in bearing down, ſhe could not be got to wear clear of the Yarmouth, that is, to keep on her left hand, but at every endeavour flew up on the Yarmouth's weather-quarter, or to the right.

But another miſchance happened, which was affected by this of the Cumberland. The ſignal for the line of battle a-head, which was kept flying on board the admiral, whilſt bearing down for the enemy, was miſtaken by the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, to mean that the ſhips were to go down a-ſtern of one another, inſtead of continuing on the left of each other, until they ſhould hawl the wind to preſent their broadſides on the ſignal for engagement, when this change would place them exactly right in the line of battle a-head. In conſequence

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. the Newcaſtle kept behind the Cumberland, and the Weymouth behind the Newcaſtle, and as the Cumberland had not got into the line (or into the wake of the Yarmouth) when the ſignal for engagement was thrown out, the other two ſhips were ſtill farther off from the enemy's, and the laſt the fartheſt.

Mr. Pocock ſaw the miſtakes and embarraſſments, and, whilſt bearing down, threw out ſignals to rectify them, which were not underſtood by the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, and could not be obeyed by the Cumberland. Nevertheleſs, it was neceſſary to go on; for the whole of the enemy's line began to fire hotly, as ſoon as the Engliſh ſhips came within random ſhot, and with the chance of much advantage, as the Engliſh ſhips bearing down preſented their heads, and were expoſed to be raked fore and aft until they formed the line, and preſented their broadſides for battle: but luckily the enemy's fire continued without aim. Mr. Pocock did not return a ſingle ſhot until his ſhip hawled up with her broadſide oppoſite to the Zodiac's, when the three ſhips of the van were likewiſe got into their proper ſtations: he then, at 55 minutes paſt three, threw out the ſignal, and the fire inſtantly became general throughout the line, for the three ſhips of the rear, although out of certain aim, were within reach of chance execution. In five minutes the Sylphide bore away under the lee of the Zodiac, although ſhe had only received the diſtant ſhot of the Newcaſtle and Weymouth; but ſhe had only been admitted into the line to impoſe by ſhew. In 15 minutes the Duc de Bourgogne, the laſt of the enemy's rear, quitted her ſtation likewiſe, and went off in the ſame direction as the Sylphide, although ſhe had only been expoſed to the fire of the Weymouth, and was not much damaged. About the ſame time the Conde, the third and weakeſt of the enemy's van, received a ſhot which diſabled her rudder, and obliged her likewiſe to quit the line. The Engliſh and French admirals, Pocock and D'Aché, as with a ſpirit of duel, kept cloſe and directed their fire entirely againſt each other, and the engagement had likewiſe been fierce between the two vans, and continued ſo after the Conde bore away. The Cumberland ſtill flung up ſo cloſe to the quarter of the Yarmouth, that ſhe had not room to wear,

and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and get into her ſtation, and at length backed her topſails to obtain it by falling aſtern; which ſucceeded, but not until ſhe had dropt below her opponent the Saint Louis, and at a conſiderable diſtance from the Yarmouth which ſhe was to ſecond; during this operation, the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, in order to keep their proper diſtances, backed likewiſe, and both fell below the Moras, the laſt remaining of the enemy's rear; and were thus likewiſe left without any ſhip to fire at. But after the Cumberland had ſet ſail, and gained her proper ſtation, the Newcaſtle ſtill kept back, and failed to cloſe the line, on which the Weymouth hailed her to do ſo, which not being attended to, ſhe hawled the wind, ſet ſail, and, paſſing to windward of the Newcaſtle, came properly into the line, a-breaſt of the Moras, during which the Cumberland was well engaged with the Saint Louis, and took off the fire of her forward guns, which ſhe had for ſome time employed againſt the quarter of the Yarmouth. Mr. Pocock had continually thrown out ſignals for the rear to get in order, and now continued them for the Newcaſtle. A great exploſion of powder had blown up in the Zodiac, another in the Bien Aimé; the Moras, although by much the weakeſt of the enemy's ſhips, had fought with as much activity as any of them; and when attacked by the freſh and ſuperior fire of the Weymouth, ſtood it with great loſs for 10 minutes, when ſhe quitted the line, ſhattered and admired. Mr. D'Aché continually made the ſignals of the fugitives to rejoin the line. The engagement had continued an hour and a half, when the Tyger, which led the Engliſh van, having loſt her foretop ſail yard, could not keep her ſtation, but fell ſlanting a-head of her opponent, the Vengeur, on which this ſhip, favoured at the ſame time by a ſmall change of the wind, hauled up, and began to get to windward of the Tyger's quarter, over which ſhe would then have had every advantage, and with ſufficient reſiſtance againſt the Saliſbury behind; and by this time the Comte de Provence, with the Diligente, were advanced from Pondicherry within a league of the battle. Nevertheleſs Mr. D'Aché finding that the ſhips which had bore away did not return, made the general ſignal, and bore down towards them, intending afterwards to take up the Comte de Provence, and with her

1758. April.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. to wait the renewal of the engagement, if the Engliſh choſe. But the rigging in the greateſt part of their line was ſo exceſſively damaged, that the French outſailed them three feet to one; on which Mr. Pocock hauled the flag of battle down, and ſummoned his captains. They were Latham of the Tyger, Somerſet of the Saliſbury, Kempenfelt of the Elizabeth with Admiral Stevens, Harriſon of the Yarmouth with Mr. Pocock, Brereton of the Cumberland, Leg of the Newcaſtle, and Vincent of the Weymouth.

The loſs on board the Engliſh ſquadron was 29 killed, and 89 wounded, in all 118. In the Yarmouth 7 were killed and 32 wounded, in the Saliſbury 8 and 16; the Cumberland 7 and 13; none were killed, and only 5 wounded, in the Weymouth and Newcaſtle together; the reſt fell nearly equal in the Tyger and Elizabeth. The killed and wounded in the French ſquadron amounted by their own accounts to 500. In the Zodiac alone more than in all the Engliſh ſhips, being 35 and 115, including 60 ſcorched by their own gun-powder; 40 were killed in the Bien Aimé; 32 in the Moras, 13 in the Vengeur, 13 in the Saint Louis, 12 in the Duc d'Orleans, 6 in the Duc de Bourgogne, 3 in the Sylphide, the Conde 6 or 7: the wounded in all the ſhips, excepting the Zodiac, were only twice the number of the ſlain. The diſparity of the total loſs was more than four to one, and far exceeded the diſproportion of the numbers on board: the French ſquadron having with the troops 5000, and the Engliſh 3200. The frigates on either ſide ſuffered nothing, having been kept at a diſtance to repeat ſignals.

The Yarmouth with the ſhips of the van had received ſo much hurt in their rigging, that none could hawl the wind. The immediate reſource was, to have anchored; but when the engagement ended, the ſquadron had got out of ſight of land, into 25 fathom water, and the wind blowing freſh had raiſed ſuch a heavy ſwell, that the tumbling of the ſhips at anchor would have rendered the various operations of ſetting up maſts, yards, and ſhrouds, always difficult at ſea, almoſt impracticable. It was therefore reſolved to repair under ſail. The ſhips accordingly ſtood in for the land s. w. the wind ſtill at s. s. e. but the current was ſtrong and the unweildy Cumberland falling

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April.

falling continually to leeward obliged the others to abide by her; ſo that, before the morning, when they came to an anchor in ſhore, they were a league to the north of Sadraſs, and 35 miles to the ſouth of Pondicherry, off of which the engagement began. The French ſquadron had ſuffered ſo much leſs aloft, that they anchored at 10 at night in the road of Alamparva, 15 miles to windward of the Engliſh. The Bien Aimé during the fight had the ſlings of her ſheet anchor ſhot away, which dropping, run out the cable, which was immediately cut; another ſhot unperceived had grazed the upper coil of the cable bent to the beſt bower, with which the ſhip came to anchor at Alamparva, but on the firſt ſtrain this cable parted; a ſmall anchor was immediately dropped, but would not hold; there was no other ready; and before the ſails could be ſet, the ſhip was driven into the ſurf, and ſtranded without the poſſibility of recovery; but all the men were ſaved, and afterwards moſt of the cannon and ſtores.

The firſt hour of Mr. Lally's arrival at Pondicherry was diſtinguiſhed by the exceſſive vivacity of his character. Before the night cloſed, 1000 Europeans and as many Sepoys were on their march to Fort St. David, commanded by the Count D'Eſtaign, who landed with him: but ſuch was the hurry to be in motion, that they proceeded without proviſions, and their guides led them aſtray, and brought them into the bounds over the plain to the weſt, where they did not arrive until ſeven in the morning: the guard at the redoubt of Chimundelum retreated before them to the Garden-houſe, where was another; and both together retired to the fort, after five or ſix were killed. They were followed almoſt to the glacis with ſo much preſumption, that ſeven or eight of the enemy were killed by the cannon from the ramparts, of which indeed abundance were fired on their appearance. Nevertheleſs, many preſt by hunger remained ranſacking the houſes near the eſplanade for immediate victuals; on which two companies of Sepoys under the command of an European officer were ſent againſt them from the fort, who fired away all their ammunition at too great a diſtance to do or receive any harm. Several ſmaller parties of Sepoys were likewiſe detached

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. April. to surprize straggling plunderers, and before noon brought in six Europeans, from whom an account of the enemy's force was obtained. In the afternoon was heard the first firing of the two squadrons, which were then almost out of sight, and soon after disappeared.

The next day Mr. Soupire came up with more troops, some heavy cannon, and a convoy of provisions; and on the first of May, Mr. Lally himself, escorted by two companies of Hussars, arrived at the garden-house, and immediately detached the Comte D'Estaigne across the river of Tripopalore to reconnoitre and take post near Cuddalore. This town remained in the same condition as when attacked twelve years before by the troops of Dupleix; inclosed on the three sides towards the land with a rampart and small bastions, which had neither ditch or any other advanced defences; to the sea it was open, but the approach on this side was flanked by the two bastions at the extremities. M. D'Estaigne carefully reconnoitred the walls to the land, and concluded that the other side had the same defence; and not a man in the French army knew enough of the place to assert the contrary. The garrison of Cuddalore consisted of four companies of Sepoys, and a few artillery-men, under the command of a lieutenant with an ensign; who were reinforced in the evening of Mr. Lally's arrival by 30 Europeans and some Lascars from Fort St. David.

There were in the fort 150 French prisoners; and on Mr. D'Estaigne's arrival, it was demanded of him to send in provisions for their daily sustenance during the impending siege. Mr. Lally, on the day after his arrival, proposed a conference on this subject, as well as on the surrender of Cuddalore, and the commandant Major Polier went to him: after much discussion, and several messages during this and the subsequent day, it was agreed that Cuddalore should be delivered up at sun-rise on the 4th, provided a battery of heavy cannon were at that time ready to open, when the English garrison there might, with their arms and field-ammunition, retire to Fort St. David; and that the French prisoners should be released, with liberty to proceed to any of the neutral ports to the south, where

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

where they were to remain until the fate of Fort St. David ſhould be decided; on which their own was to depend. 1758. May.

The impatience of Mr. Lally's temper had already ſpread diſcontent through the ſettlement he was ſent to govern. Not finding the ſame means and facilities for military operations as he had been accuſtomed to in the armies of Europe, he reſolved to create them, as it were, in ſpite of nature. The different caſts of the Indian religion being appropriated to ſpecific and hereditary vocations, many of them are entirely prohibited from ſervile offices and hard labour; and of thoſe allotted to ſuch occupations, each muſt abide by that alone to which he was born. The huſbandman would be diſhonoured by employing his mattock excepting in the field he is to ſow; and even lower races have their diſtinctions, inſomuch that the cooley, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his ſhoulder: diſtinctions likewiſe prevail amongſt the ſoldiery, for the man who rides, will not cut the graſs that is to feed his horſe; nor at this time would the Sepoy dig the trench which was to protect him from a cannon-ball: hence the numerous train of followers and attendants which always accompanies a camp in India. Another embarraſſment likewiſe ariſes from the want of horſes proper for draught, which is but ill ſupplied by the feeble bullocks of the country; nor are ſufficient numbers even of them properly trained to be purchaſed on emergency. Excepting in the ſiege of Pondicherry by Mr. Boſcawen, theſe defects had not been much felt in the hoſtilities between the two nations, becauſe mutual; and ſix field-pieces generally decided a battle; two of battering cannon, the fate of a fortreſs: but another warfare was now to enſue, for the reduction of Fort St. David required a regular ſiege. The hurry with which Mr. Lally had obliged the firſt diviſion to march againſt Cuddalore, left no time to collect the neceſſary number of coolies and other attendants in Pondicherry; on which he ordered the deficiency to be ſupplied by the Indian inhabitants of the town, a number of whom were preſſed, and employed without diſtincton, in carrying burthens, and other ſuch ſervices. The violence created terror; the diſgrace, indignation. Mr. Deleyrit, and the council, who ſtill retained their functions, but under

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. May. the controul of Mr. Lally, repreſented the inconveniencies which might ariſe from alienating the attachment of the natives; but their remonſtrance drew his reſentment on themſelves, mixed with ſuſpicions, that they only wiſhed to protect thoſe who were ſubſervient to their own emoluments and advantages in the government. The ſtrain of this exertion only diminiſhed the effect; and the cannon and ſtores followed ſo ſlowly, that as ſoon as the troops had taken poſſeſſion of Cuddalore, Mr. Lally returned to Pondicherry, in order to accelerate their arrival by the ſame means which had already been employed with ſo little ſucceſs.

The ſquadron with Mr. D'Aché were ſix days in working up from Alamparva to the road of Pondicherry, where they anchored on the ſixth of May. The troops were immediately landed, and as faſt as they came on ſhore marched off for Fort St. David; and the heavy artillery and ammunition, for want of means by land, were embarked, to be landed at the mouth of the river Panar, which lies about a mile to the north of Fort St. David. The park of artillery was formed at the Garden-houſe. Mr. Lally returned to Cuddalore on the 14th, and in the enſuing night the engineers began to erect a battery for two 24 pounders, on the north bank of the river of Bandapollam; they were only intended to fire plunging-ſhot into the fort, being 1000 yards diſtant from the walls: nevertheleſs the garriſon fired abundantly during this and the ſucceeding night to interrupt the work.

Three conſiderable rivers, coming from the weſtward, gain the ſea in the ſpace of four miles within the bounds of Fort St. David; the bed of the Panar lies about 1800 yards to the north of the river of Tripapolore, and the two communicate by a canal which runs nearly parallel to, and about 1000 yards diſtant from, the margin of the ſea. Fort St. David ſtands in the angle where the canal joins the river of Tripapolore; which paſſeth cloſe to the ſouth face of the fort, and there ſends off to the ſouth an arm that ſoon joins the river of Bandapollam, when both united in one channel continue along the eaſtern ſide of Cuddalore, ſeparated from the ſea by a mound of ſand. The waters of Tripapolore and Bandapollam protected the fort

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

FORT St. DAVID

with the French attack

May 1758

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University, Haridwar. Digitized by eGangotri
Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

307
58.
1
ay.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

fort from the regular approach of trenches on the ſouth; but on the weſt and north the ground preſented rather more advantages than obſtacles to an enemy. 1758. May.

By many additions and improvements Fort St. David was now become a fortification armed at all points; but the original defect of want of ſpace in the body of the place ſtill remained; being only 140 feet from W. to E. and 390 from N. to S. The four baſtions at the angles mounted each 12 guns. The curtains, as well as the baſtions, were ſurrounded by a fauſſebray with a brick parapet. The out-works were, a horn-work to the north, mounting 34 guns; two large ravelins, one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt; a ditch round all, which had a cuvette cut along the middle, and was ſupplied with water from the river of Tripapolore; the ſcarp and counter-ſcarp of the ditch faced with brick; a broad covered way excellently palliſaded, with arrows at the ſalient angles commanding the glacis, and the glacis itſelf was provided with well-conſtructed mines. All theſe works, excepting the horn-work, were planned by Mr. Robins, but the horn-work was raiſed before his arrival in India with much ignorance and expence, the whole being of ſolid maſonry, and the rampart too narrow to admit the free recoil of the guns. The ground to the north of the fort, included by the ſea, the rivers of Panar and Tripapolore, and the canal which joins them, is a plot of ſand, riſing in ſeveral parts into large hillocks, which afford good ſhelter againſt the fort. On the edge of the canal, 1300 yards to the north of the fort, ſtood an obſolete redoubt, called Chuckly-point. It was of maſonry, ſquare, mounted eight guns, and in the area were lodgments for the guard: the entrance was a palliſaded gate under an arch, but the redoubt was not encloſed by a ditch. About 200 yards to the right of this ſtood another ſuch redoubt, on a ſand-hill called Patcharee. Four hundred yards in the rear of theſe redoubts, was another ſand-hill, much larger than that of Patcharee; on which the Dutch had a factory-houſe called Thevenapatam; but the houſe had lately been demoliſhed; and a faſcine battery of five guns was raiſed on the hill. In a line on the left of this hill, and on the brink of the canal, was a gateway, with a narrow rampart and battlements, which

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. May. commanded a bridge immediately under it, leading over the canal. The garriſon in Fort St. David conſiſted of 1600 natives, Sepoys, Laſcars, and Topaſſes; 619 Europeans, of whom 286 were effective; 83 penſioners or infirm; and 250 were ſeamen, the crews of the Triton and Bridgwater, which had run aſhore on the appearance of the French ſquadron.

Intelligence was obtained on the 15th that the enemy intended on the enſuing night to attack all the poſts on the ſand; on which they were reinforced, to the number of 80 Europeans and 700 Sepoys. At ſun-ſet, the French troops marched from Cuddalore to the garden-houſe, and at nine o'clock from thence in three diviſions, which halted at ſome diſtance from the canal, waiting the ſignal to attack. The diviſion on the right was to force and take poſſeſſion of the gateway oppoſite to the hill of Thevenapatam; the center was to ford the canal, and march againſt Chuckley-point; and the diviſion to the left croſſing the canal where it joins the river Panar, was to come down and ſtorm Patcharee; but the center and the left were not to begin their attack before the right was engaged. The ſignal was made by a rocket at ten o'clock, and at the ſame inſtant a ſtrong fire commenced againſt the fort itſelf, from five guns on the ramparts of Cuddalore, the two on the battery on the bank of the Bandapollam river, and from two heavy mortars on the weſt. This annoyance was intended to diſtract the attention of the garriſon, and ſucceeded, for they returned it with much violence, although with more uncertainty. The diviſion on the right advancing to the attack of the Thevenapatam gateway, was unexpectedly ſtopped by the want of the bridge, which had been deſtroyed, and the canal hereabouts was not fordable; nor could the center diviſion find the ford they expected. The poſts on the ſand were now alarmed, but the two diviſions, nevertheleſs, ſtood on their ground, waiting for intelligence from the diviſion on the left, which was led by the Count D'Eſtaign, who ſoon after ſent word that he had croſſed with eaſe at the head of the canal; on which the center moved up thither, and croſſed after him, whilſt the third diviſion continued before the gateway, to keep the troops there and at Thevenapatam from reinforcing the two points.

They

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. May.

They were both attacked at the ſame time with numbers ſufficient to aſſault all round at once, and in half an hour both were carried; two officers and all the Europeans were made priſoners, but moſt of the Sepoys ran away. The two diviſions together then marched againſt the battery on the hill of Thevenapatam. This attack commenced at one in the morning, and was reſiſted with much ſpirit until three, when the enemy got poſſeſſion of the battery; where, likewiſe, the Europeans were taken, and the Sepoys eſcaped. The fire from the fort deterred the enemy from continuing at Thevenapatam; and they retired to the two points, which they ſupported with 400 men, ſheltered behind the hillock of Patcharee. None of the Sepoys who had fled returned into the fort, but eſcaped along the ſea-ſhore acroſs the river Panar.

At day-light a detachment from the fort took poſſeſſion of the battery again; on which the enemy immediately reinforced the troops at the points with 5 or 600 men, from the camp at the garden-houſe; which ſufficiently indicated another attack on the battery, and to avoid it the detachment was prudently recalled, together with the guard at the gateway on the canal. At night, the enemy broke ground, carrying on a trench of communication between Chuckley and Patcharee points, and although the exceſſive heat of the weather ought to have referred this ſervice to the night, it continued through the two ſucceeding days, and by the night of the 19th, the work was advanced to the hill of Thevenapatam, extending in the whole 800 yards. Five mortars from the weſt opened at the ſame time as the trenches were begun; but no cannon were fired excepting thoſe on the ramparts of Cuddalore, from which one ſhot on the 18th killed Lieutenant Davis, two ſerjeants, and five black men. On the 20th, the enemy opened another trench leading from the weſt ſide of the hill of Thevenepatam to the gateway on the canal, and repaired the bridge there: they likewiſe eſtabliſhed two twelve pounders amongſt the ruins of ſome fiſhermen's huts on the beach, which commanded the entrance into the river of Tripapolore from admitting any boats from the ſea. Theſe guns were ſheltered from the fort by two hillocks of ſand, but had no communication with the enemy's lines, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. May. and were left to the guard of the artillerymen alone, who being few, the garriſon detached 60 Sepoys and ſome Europeans at 11 the next day, to attack them; but the ſally only produced a little ſkirmiſhing.

By this time, all the black artificers and menials had quitted the fort; and of the whole body of Sepoys, only 200 remained; the want of them laid the ſtrain of duty much heavier on the Europeans; of whom little ſervice was derived from the ſeamen, as not being ſubject to the ſame controul as the ſoldiery. On the 22d, an Engliſh ſhip anchored, and for want of boatmen to carry a letter to her, the fort warned her danger by firing ſhot at her, on which ſhe ſailed out of the road. The enemy continued until the 26th, employed in conſtructing four batteries, and in puſhing on their trenches, which they carried from the hill of Thevenapatam obliquely towards the north-eaſt angle of the glacis; during which, the five mortars to the weſt, and the guns from Cuddalore continued the only annoyance. The fort continued to laviſh away their fire night and day on every thing they ſaw, heard, or ſuſpected; by which 20 carriages of their own guns were diſabled, and the works themſelves ſhaken. About midnight of the 26th, a battery of ſeven guns, added to that of the five mortars to the weſt, was opened, and kept up a conſtant fire. The next night ſome of the ſailors broke open the treaſury, not to take the money, but ſome arrack, with which they got exceedingly drunk, and, according to their regulations, could only be puniſhed by confinement.

By the 30th, the enemy had advanced their trenches to within 200 yards of the glacis; and in the ſame day finiſhed and opened the three other batteries; one of three guns, with five mortars, againſt the angle of the northweſt baſtion; another of ſix guns and four mortars on the hill of Thevenapatam, facing the front of the hornwork; the third of four guns, about 300 yards to the ſouth-eaſt of Thevenapatam, and nearly oppoſite to the angle of the north-eaſt baſtion. The former battery to the weſt continued to enfilade the north face; and the defences on this ſide had already ſuffered ſo much, as well from the ſhock of their own firing, as from the ſhot and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and ſhells of the enemy, that they could barely return the ſame number of guns; and the encreaſing want of powder left none to ſpare againſt the ſhot from Cuddalore, and the two guns on the bank of the river of Bandapollam. The enemy's bombs had likewiſe ruined the reſervoirs and the only well of good water in the fort, and that in the ditch was too brackiſh to be drunk. 1758. May.

All hopes were now turned to the ſquadron; the garriſon knew by letters, which had eſcaped the enemy, of the ſucceſs of the late engagement, and no conjectures could account for the long delay of their return. Mr. Pococke, as ſoon as he anchored off Sadraſs on the 29th of April, diſpatched a boat with advices to Madraſs, and requeſted, that all the recovered ſeamen in the hoſpital, and as many Laſcars as could be ſpared, might be ſent to reſtore the loſs which had been ſuſtained. About 100 of each were ſent the next day, the Laſcars by land, the ſeamen in maſſoolas. It was ſix days before they got on board; and on the 7th of May the ſquadron weighed; but, proving after three days trial, that they could not advance againſt the wind and current by working in ſhore, they put to ſea, and in fifteen days got to windward of Fort St. David, into the latitude of 9. 30.; but the wind at this time roſe ſo ſtrong from the weſt, that the Cumberland could not bear up againſt it, without encreaſing her leaks ſo much, that it became neceſſary to let her drive; and as the other ſhips were obliged to keep her company, the ſquadron, inſtead of reaching Fort St. David, fell to leeward as far as Alamparvah, where they anchored on the 26th of May. Here they obtained no intelligence, for the place belonged to the French, who ſuffered no boats to go off, and thoſe belonging to ſhips cannot land through the ſurf. The wind having abated, the ſquadron weighed anchor again the ſame day, and plied to the ſouthward with the land and ſea breezes, which were ſo faint, that they only gained four leagues in two days, when on the 28th they diſcovered the French ſquadron at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, which had remained there ever ſince their arrival, waiting the recovery of their ſick and wounded, of which conditions, but principally of the ſick, near a thouſand were incapable of duty. The appearance

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. May. of the Engliſh ſquadron ſpread no little alarm. Mr. D'Aché immediately convened a council of his captains, with the governor and council of the town, who reſolved, that it was moſt expedient for the ſhips to remain moored as cloſe as poſſible to the ſhore, that they might receive the aſſiſtance of the guns along the ſtrand: but this reſolution was not valid until approved by Mr. Lally; who inſtantly went from the camp to Pondicherry, ordering a detachment of 400 Europeans to follow him as faſt as they could march. He arrived early in the morning of the 30th, convened the uſual council, and tendered the detachment, with the ſame number of Sepoys and Laſcars, to ſerve on board the ſhips, and proteſted againſt the diſgrace of not meeting the Engliſh ſquadron in the open ſea. This reinforcement changed the former reſolution. Mr. Lally returned to the camp in the evening; and the next day Mr. D'Aché, with the eight principal ſhips, now manned with 3300 men, weighed anchor, but, inſtead of bearing down on Mr. Pococke, who could not work up to him, kept the wind, plying for Fort St. David.

The beſiegers during this day kept up an inceſſant fire from 21 pieces of cannon and 13 mortars, which every hour became ſuperior to that of the fort; not for want of mounted artillery, but of ammunition, of which ſuch quantities had been laviſhed away when no adequate effect could be expected, that the garriſon was obliged to ſpare it now, in the hour of need and real uſe. On the firſt of June, the fire continued with ſuch encreaſing ſuperiority, that the ſailors, and even the artillery men, at times, quitted their guns. At noon, the French ſquadron were perceived working towards the road, and by the cloſe of the evening, the enemy had carried on their trenches to the foot of the glacis oppoſite to the ſalient angle of the N.E. baſtion, where they began to erect a battery, and all the embraſures in the fort which commanded this ſpot were ruined, and their guns either diſmounted or withdrawn: ſo that the enemy might ſoon make a lodgement in the covered way; but could get no farther until the ditch was drained or filled up. Nevertheleſs, it was apprehended, that the French ſquadron might

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

land a great number of men, with whom the troops on ſhore would make a general aſſault, which the garriſon or defences were not deemed in a condition to reſiſt. On which, Major Polier, and Mr. Wynch, the temporary governor, thought it neceſſary to hold a council of war, in which it was unanimouſly decided, that they ought to capitulate on the beſt terms they could make, and articles were prepared: however, the defence was continued through the night, and until ten the next day, in the ſolicitous, but diſappointed expectation of ſeeing the Engliſh ſquadron: a flag of truce was then hoiſted, Major Polier and one of the company's agents went out, and returned at four in the afternoon, with the articles altered by Mr. Lally, which it was agreed to accept. At ſix in the evening, a company of French grenadiers were admitted into the fort, and the garriſon marched with drums and colours to the foot of the glacis, where they grounded their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves and their enſigns to the French line drawn up to receive them. They were, with all convenient ſpeed, conducted to Pondicherry, where it was ſtipulated they ſhould remain, until an equal number of French priſoners were delivered there, when the Engliſh were to be ſent to Madraſs, or Devi Cotah, at the option of Mr. Lally. He rejected the propoſal, that Fort St. David ſhould not be demoliſhed during the war, and, in conſequence of inſtructions from France, immediately ordered all the fortifications to be razed to the ground. The French officers, on contemplating the works, were ſurprized at the facility of their conqueſt, not having loſt twenty men by the fire of the place, although more by ſickneſs, and the ſtrokes of the ſun, in the trenches. The French ſquadron anchored in the road the evening after the ſurrender, when Mr. D'Aché landed and having conferred with Mr. Lally, weighed anchor on the 4th, and ſtood to the ſouthward, in order to cruize off of Ceylon. 1758. June.

The army before Fort St. David conſiſted of 2500 Europeans, excluſive of officers, and about the ſame number of Sepoys. In order to compleat this amount, and to leave in Pondicherry a force ſufficient to make head againſt any motions from Madraſs, Mr. Lally had drained all the out-poſts and garriſons in the Car-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. June. natic, to a fourth of their ordinary guards; and had recalled the whole garriſon of Seringham, having agreed to deliver over this place to the brother of Hydernaig, who arrived with a party of Myſoreans from Dindigul, and took poſſeſſion of it on the 17th of May, when the French troops marched away for Fort St. David. They conſiſted of 100 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys: but one half of the Sepoys deſerted on the road, for fear of the unuſual ſervices to which they heard thoſe in the camp were applied: having for the firſt time been employed in throwing up earth in the trenches; on which the reſt, with the Europeans, were ordered to halt at Chilambarum, where they were joined during the ſiege by 200 Europeans from the camp. This force was intended to ſuccour Karical, in caſe the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould make a deſcent there. As ſoon as Fort St. David capitulated, Mr. D'Eſtaign was detached, with ſome more troops and cannon, to join, and proceed with them againſt Devi Cotah; but this officer, on good intelligence, left the cannon at Chilambrum, and on the 4th appeared with the troops before Devi Cotah, which the garriſon abandoned on his approach. It conſiſted of 30 Europeans, and 600 Sepoys; they marched away through the Tanjore country to Tritchinopoly.

As ſoon as Devi Cotah was taken, the army returned with all expedition from Fort St. David to Pondicherry, and on the evening of the 7th, Mr. Lally made a triumphant entry, which had been concerted, into the town, and proceeded to a magnificent *Te Deum*, which was followed by a ſumptuous entertainment; immediately after which, he renewed his bickerings with Mr. Deleyrit and the Council, becauſe the public treaſure was almoſt exhauſted; not without accuſations that they had diverted it to their own emoluments.

The Engliſh ſquadron ſaw the French ſet ſail from the road of Pondicherry; but, kept back by the Cumberland, loſt, inſtead of gaining ground, and fell to leeward again as far as Alamparva, off of which place, Mr. Pococke received on the 5th a letter, diſpatched by the Engliſh agent at Sadraſs, informing him of the loſs of Fort St. David. At this time, the ſquadron had not more than

five

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

five days consumption of water on board: and the only port to the southward, where it could be supplied with sufficient expedition, was the Dutch settlement of Negapatam; which, being 100 miles to windward, they were not likely to reach in less than 10 days; Mr. Pococke, therefore, bore away, and anchored the next day in the road of Madrass. 1758. June.

Abdulwahab, the Nabob's brother, on the return of his troops from Terpatore, where Armetrow was killed in February, had paraded them again about Chandergherry in the same hopes as before of intimidating the renter of Tripetti; but, still continuing himself afraid of the English Sepoys stationed at Trepassore, refrained from hostilities, and tried profers of money, which the renters refused, and advised him to a reconciliation with his brother. The possession of Tripetti had always been the object of every adventurer who saw any chance of success; because its revenue, equal to 30,000 pounds a year, arising from the contributions of devotion, is always more certain than that of any harvest in the Carnatic; and the acquisition was soon after attempted with more earnestness than the schemes of Abdulwahab. Before the departure of Balaventrow from the country of Cudapah, two officers of distinction, named Ragava cherry and Balakissen Saustry, arrived with a commission from Balagerow, to superintend the chout or tribute to the Morratoes from the Carnatic; in consequence of which they asked Balaventrow for a body of troops to proceed by military execution. He refused, alledging, that he had already settled this business with the Nabob of Arcot, who had given no new occasion of offence; and on his departure to Sirpi, instructed his successor not to permit any hostilities. The two officers, disappointed, levied 500 horse and 1000 foot, of those who had been in the service of the late Nabob of Cudapah, but disbanded after his death; and proceeded with them to the country of the Polygar of Mattavar, which extends along the river *Kandeler* to the N.W. of the districts of Tripetti, and a part inserts itself between the counties of Damerla Venkatipy Naigue, and Bangar Yatcham, as far as a pass in the mountains called Cara Canambaca, which is within twenty miles of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. June. pagoda. The renter poſted 7 or 800 peons in the paſs, who kept the adventurers and their force at bay, although joined by the troops of Mattavar, until the beginning of May; when they forced their way through; and, on the 5th, attacked the town of Tripetti, where the renter ſtood his ground, with only 300 Sepoys and 500 Peons; but had ſecured them under the cover of garden-walls from the impreſſion of the enemy's horſe, when Ragavacherry expoſing himſelf intemperately in endeavouring to encourage them, was ſhot dead, on which all his followers ran away, although only 10 men, beſides himſelf, had been killed: he fell near the place where Mahomed Comaul was killed, five years before, in the ſame attempt.

This was the only event of any riſque, which had happened in the Nabob's territory, ſince the arrival of Mr. Lally; for the great draughts of men which had been made from the French forts on the frontier to carry on the ſiege of St. David, had reduced their garriſons to the incapacity of attempting any thing beyond tranſitory excurſions to plunder. But the Engliſh preſidency now concluding that the French army would march againſt Madraſs immediately after their ſucceſs at St. David, delayed no longer to give their final orders for the retreat of their own garriſons with the dependant out-guards, from Carangoly, Chinglapet, Conjeveram, Covrepauk, and Arcot, which had previouſly ſent in their artillery and ſtores, reſerving only as much muſket-ammunition as was neceſſary for the march. Arcot and Covrepauk were delivered to the Nabob's troops, of which a body were remaining in the city; Conjeveram and Chinglapet to the peons of the reſpective renters; and the partizan Murzafabeg, leaving only a few of his men in Trivatore, went with the reſt into Carangoly. The Engliſh garriſons having united at Chinglapet, came together on the 7th of June, the day after the return of the ſquadron: they amounted to 250 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys; but the garriſons of Pondamelee and Tripaſſore, conſiſting only of Sepoys, were not withdrawn, becauſe they protected a valuable diſtrict from the incurſions of the adjacent Polygars, and might at all times retire to Madraſs, before any detachment from the French ſtations on the other ſide of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Paliar, could arrive to cut off their retreat. Frequent debates had been held in the council concerning the expediency of withdrawing the garriſon of Tritchinopoly, which it was reſolved to poſtpone until the laſt extremity; but in the interval the commandant Mahomed Iſſoof was ordered, after leaving a ſufficient force in Palamcotah, to move towards Madura, and even to march to Tritchinopoly itſelf on the firſt ſummons from Captain Calliaud. This officer, on the 16th of May, the day after the French garriſon had quitted the pagoda of Seringham to the Myſoreans, ſummoned them to ſurrender it, and detached his ſecond, Captain Joſeph Smith, with a party, to take poſt in Jumbakiſtna. The Myſoreans replied by firing cannon from Seringham againſt this place, which were anſwered the next day by a bombardment from two mortars; and in the enſuing night they abandoned Seringham, leaving a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, and eight pieces of cannon, which the French had left to them: they returned from whence they came, to Dindigul. Calliaud immediately took poſſeſſion of the pagoda, and garriſoned it with 500 Sepoys. 1758. June.

Mr. Lally, notwithſtanding his wrangles, conſulted Mr. Deleyrit and the jeſuit Lavaur concerning the future operations of the field. Madraſs ſeemed the immediate and moſt important temptation; for, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions, many of the eſſential parts of its fortifications ſtill remained incompleat; and the defence of Fort St. David had raiſed in Mr. Lally a contemptible opinion of the Engliſh troops in India: but Pondicherry could not immediately furniſh money to ſupport the campaign, nor means to tranſport by land the vaſt quantity of artillery and ſtores neceſſary for the ſiege, which could not be conveyed with any certainty in the ſhips of the French ſquadron, whilſt the Engliſh kept the ſea. The Nabob's country to the north of Chittapett and Vandiwaſh, by the retreat of the Engliſh garriſons, preſented a much eaſier conqueſt, and the chance of no inconſiderable revenue, with the advantage of preſſing Madraſs itſelf by a variety of diſtreſſes; but Mr. Lally could not brook the ſlow, although certain means of collecting money, which would have ariſen from this expedition. Yielding therefore to the advice

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. June. advice of father Lavaur, he preferred another, from which they expected to get more, with equal eaſe, in a much ſhorter time.

The king of Tanjore, when beſieged by the army of Murzafajing and Chundaſaheb with the French troops in 1751, had compounded the arrears of his tribute, and had given Chundaſaheb a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, before the approach of Nazirjing's army obliged them to retreat out of his country; the bond was in the poſſeſſion of the government of Pondicherry; and an incident in the capture of Fort St. David concurred to ſuggeſt the expediency of marching into the Tanjore country, and demanding this money ſword in hand. The French had found in Fort St. David a priſoner of greater conſequence than they expected: his name was Gatica: he was uncle to the depoſed king of Tanjore, whoſe pretenſions the Engliſh aſſerted in 1749, when they entered the country, and took Devi Cotah. The king then and now reigning, when he ceded this place to them in propriety, ſtipulated by a ſecret article, that they ſhould prevent this pretender from giving him any moleſtation in future; to enſure which, it was neceſſary to ſecure his perſon; but he withdrew himſelf out of their reach; however, being in poſſeſſion of his uncle, who was the leading man of the party, and had entirely managed his nephew, they detained him a priſoner, but under an eaſy confinement, within the fort, where he remained until fated by the fall of the place to be employed by the French, with the ſame views as nine years before by the Engliſh: and Gatica was now produced at Pondicherry with much oſtentation and ceremony, in order to excite the apprehenſions of the king, that the pretender himſelf would appear and accompany the French army, whom nevertheleſs they did not proclaim in his ſtead.

How much ſoever Mr. Lally agreed in the preference of this expedition, he differed even to animoſity both with Mr. Deleyrit and the Jeſuit in another meaſure of ſtill greater importance. He had brought from France the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt the character of Mr. Buſſy, whom he believed to have continually amuſed his nation with phantoms of public utility and danger, in order to ſecure the continuance of his ſtation, in which he was ſuppoſed to have al-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ready gained an immenſe fortune: a few days after he landed, he had ſent the Marquis of Conflans to act as ſecond in the army of the Decan; but now, thinking that the capture of Fort St. David had eſtabliſhed his own reputation beyond the imputation of jealouſy, he diſpatched a letter to Mr. Buſſy, to come without delay to Pondicherry, pretending that he wanted his advice; and, ſuſpicious of the intimacy which had always ſubſiſted between Moracin and Mr. Buſſy, he likewiſe, and on the ſame pretence, recalled Moracin from the government of Maſulipatam. 1758. June.

Six hundred men of Mr. Lally's regiment, with 200 Sepoys, under the command of Mr. Soupire, formed a camp of obſervation between Alamparva and Pondicherry: only 50 able, with the invalids of the army, were to be left in the town; and, to calm the apprehenſions which were entertained by the inhabitants, of a ſudden deſcent from the Engliſh ſquadron, it was reſolved to recall their own under the walls. The injunction reached Mr. D'Aché off Karical on the 16th; and he anchored the next day in the road of Pondicherry. On the 18th Mr. Lally took the field, but, as before, unprovided with the neceſſary attendants, bullock-men, and market-people; for the unuſual compulſions, which had been practiſed during the ſiege of Fort St. David, deterred the natives of ſuch occupations from engaging in the ſervices of the camp; and the inhabitants of the country removed their cattle, from dread of the Huſſars, who had been permitted to drive in what were neceſſary for the victualing of the army, without paying the value. The march between Pondicherry and Karical, where the troops were to rendezvous, is interſected by no leſs than ſixteen rivers; ſix before you arrive at the Coleroon, which are generally fordable, excepting in the rains, but the Coleroon is never ſo; the others, as all in the kingdom of Tanjore, are arms of the Caveri, moſt of which near the ſea change their extenſive ſurfaces on beds of ſand into deep channels of mud, which, even when fordable, cannot be entered without much toil and trouble; to avoid which, ſuch of the heavy artillery, and cumbrous ſtores as were not to be ſupplied at Karical, were ſent in two veſſels by ſea. Notwithſtanding this relief, the troops gained their

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. June. their way with much inconvenience. The regiment of Lorrain left their tents at Cuddalore, for want of bullocks and coolies to carry them. The whole army had been 12 hours without food when they arrived at Devi Cotah, and, contrary to their expectation, found none there excepting paddy, which is the grain of rice before it is diveſted of its huſk, in which ſtate it is only fit for the food of cattle; but the operation is tedious, and requires the implements uſed by the natives; and the ſoldiers, hungry and fatigued, having ſearched the huts in the fort for other victuals without finding any, ſet fire to them, which was with much difficulty prevented from catching two magazines of gunpowder.

The troops, after ſeven days march, arrived at Karical on the 25th. The diſtance from Pondicherry, although only 75 miles in the direct line, is 100 by the road; and here, for the firſt time during the march, they got a regular meal. Here a bramin, ſent by the king of Tanjore with propoſals, was waiting for Mr. Lally, who ſent him back with his own, demanding immediate payment of the five millions and ſix hundred thouſand rupees, with all the intereſt: and, to convince the king that he would derive no benefit from the uſual delays and prevarications of Indian negotiations, he immediately ſent forward a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the opulent town of Nagore.

This place is ſituated on a river about four miles to the north of Negapatam, and carries on a very conſiderable commerce; but the merchants had removed their money and jewels, and offered little for the redemption of their warehouſes; on which Mr. Lally farmed out the plunder and ranſom of the town for 200,000 rupees to Fiſcher the commander of the French huſſars, ſtipulating, that, if the profit exceeded 100,000 rupees, a proportional addition was to be made to the public fund. Hitherto the conduct of Mr. Lally had been free from the reproach of thoſe pecuniary views, which he continually imputed without diſtinction to every one in the ſervice of the French company; but this agreement gave them no ſlight pretence to retort peculation on himſelf, as going ſhares with Fiſcher in the profits of Nagore. Whilſt this buſineſs was tranſacting, he applied to the

Dutch

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Dutch government at Negapatam to ſupply his wants of money, ammunition, and proviſions; who, awed by his force, furniſhed him with 20,000 pounds weight of gunpowder, and promiſed to aſſiſt his commiſſaries in purchaſing whatſoever their territory could ſupply, but declared themſelves unable to lend any money, not having enough for their own uſe. The Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, from the ſame dread of his violences, promiſed the ſame aſſiſtances, and furniſhed ſix ſmall field-pieces with 10,000 weight of gun-powder. 1758. June.

The army marched from Nagore on the 28th, and, having proceeded ſix miles, halted at a conſiderable pagoda called Kiveloor; where Mr. Lally, believing the report of thoſe who meant only to pleaſe him, imagined the bramins to be very rich, and that the images they worſhipped were of gold; in this perſuaſion, he ranſacked and dug the houſes, dragged the tanks, and took the idols out of the chapels, but no treaſures were found; and the idols proved to be only of braſs. The bramin returning from the king met Mr. Lally at Kiveloor, and offered the uſual complimentary preſents, but no terms of accommodation adequate to Mr. Lally's expectations, who therefore diſmiſſed him without accepting the preſents, and the next day marched ten miles farther to Trivalore, where ſtands the moſt famous pagoda in the country. Here the army found as much paddy laid up in granaries as would have ſupplied them with rice for three months, but for want of the means to beat it out, could ſcarcely procure from it ſufficient for the meal of the day. All the bramins had abandoned the pagoda, but ſome were afterwards diſcovered prying and aſking queſtions in the camp, probably from anxiety concerning their temples and divinities; but Mr. Lally judged them to be ſpies employed by the king, and raſhly ordered ſix of them to be executed, who were blown off from the muzzles of the field-pieces. July.

As ſoon as the French troops arrived at Karikal, the general Monacjee advanced from the city of Tanjore and encamped within ten miles of Trivalore, with 2500 horſe, and 5000 Sepoys diſciplined as well as they could be without the direction of Europeans. This was half the force of the kingdom. The king on the firſt alarm had ſolicited aid from the Nabob, the Engliſh preſidency, Tritchinopoly, from

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. July. Tondiman, and even from the two Moravars, although he was at this very time in enmity with all the three Polygars. The preſidency and the Nabob were in no condition to ſend any aſſiſtance from the Carnatic, but they authorized Captain Calliaud to act as occaſion might require from Tritchinopoly, where the commandant Mahomed Iſſoof, in obedience to the orders ſent to him on the firſt appearance of the French ſquadron, arrived on the 16th of June with 2000 Sepoys from the Tinivelly country. This reinforcement enabled Calliaud to ſuccour the king without too much impairing his own garriſon; but the continual and authentic intelligence which he obtained of the duplicity of the king's councils, created no little perplexity in the option between ſending ſuccours which might be betrayed to the enemy: or by with-holding them give the king a pretext to make terms with them, which in this conjuncture muſt be dangerous to the Engliſh affairs: he however, at all riſques, as ſoon as he heard the French army were in motion from Nagore, detached 500 Sepoys with 10 European artillery-men, and 300 Colleries collected from the neighbouring Polygars dependant on Tritchinopoly, deeming this reinforcement in the preſent inſtant ſufficient to keep up the king's hope of more; and waiting to aſſiſt him hereafter, according to his conduct with the enemy, which he cauſed to be narrowly watched. The exhortations of the preſidency had likewiſe induced Tondiman and the two Moravars to ſuſpend their reſentments ſo far as to let their Colleries alſo take ſervice with the king, who hired 4000 of them; and they were ſent, as they arrived, to Monacjee's camp, as were afterwards thoſe ſupplied by Calliaud. The French army remained at Trivalore until the 12th of July, during which their cavalry ſwept the country round of all the cattle, of which Mr. Lally ſent large droves to be ſold at the towns on the ſea-coaſt; which precaution was imputed to him as a project of private gain; but not much was got by it, for Monacjee had detached his Colleries to maraud in the rear of the French army, who cut off every thing which moved to and from the camp with ſlender eſcorts, and recovered great numbers of the cattle, which they too drove away, and ſold for the loweſt prices to any who would buy them. However,

ſome

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſome of the Colleries were killed, and all who were taken priſoners Mr. Lally ordered to be linked to draw the guns, which did not deter the others from repeating their attacks, wherever booty appeared, or even from inſulting the camp itſelf every night with their rockets. On the 24th, the army came in ſight of Monacjee's, drawn up in good order behind a water-courſe, from which the Tanjorines were ſoon driven by the fire of the French artillery, and retreated towards the city, but ſtill continued without the walls. 1758. July.

The French army arrived within ſix miles of the city on the 18th in the morning, when a meſſage was received from the king, deſiring a conference with perſons authorized to treat; on which Mr. Lally halted the army, and ſent in a captain, Maudave, and a Jeſuit, St. Eſtevan. They inſiſted on the firſt demand of 5,600,000 rupees, with the intereſt: the king offered 300,000: the deputies returned, and were ſent back again with the demand of one million in money, 600 bullocks for the carriage of the artillery and ſtores, and 10,000 pounds weight of gunpowder; but this article the deputies wiſely agreed to ſuppreſs, as expoſing the diſtreſs of the army: the king ſeemed inclined to add ſomething to his firſt offer of money, but ſaid, that the ſupply or ſale of beeves to thoſe of a different religion was contrary to his own; the deputies returned again to the camp, and the next morning to the city, with poſitive orders to inſiſt on the gunpowder, which when they propoſed to Monacjee in a conference before they were to viſit the king, he exclaimed with indignation, that all negotiation was at an end, and that he ſhould not introduce to his maſter men who were only ſent to inſult him. The deputies returned without delay to the camp, which immediately moved, and in the evening took poſſeſſion of the pettah, or ſuburbs, which at this time extended along the eaſtern ſide of the city; the artillery, of which only two were battering cannon, and the cohorns and howitzes, for the army had brought no mortars, fired during the night at the pagodas and other edifices which aroſe above the walls; and this was all the annoyance they could uſe at preſent, ſince the two pieces of battering cannon could not be expoſed againſt the ſuperior fire of the town, without more to cover them; a de-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. July. tachment was therefore ſent to bring up three twenty-four pounders from Karical, which were all that this place could ſpare, and the two veſſels laden with the cannon and mortars from Pondicherry were ſtill far to leeward: ſeveral other detachments, which all together employed half the infantry and all the cavalry of the army, were at the ſame time ſent abroad to bring in the cattle of the adjacent country; and a body of Colleries, who had probably deſerted from the Tanjorines, were likewiſe hired for the ſame employment. The abundance was much greater than the conſumption; and the ſurplus were driven away as before to be ſold on the ſea-coaſt. The vaſt detriment which the country was likely to ſuffer by the continuance of theſe deſolations induced the king to renew the negociation on the 22d, and the next day he paid 50,000 rupees; and the jeſuit St. Eſtevan, with Kenedy a lieutenant-colonel, were ſent to remain as hoſtages for the re-payment of the money, in caſe a treaty ſhould not be concluded, and hoſtilities be renewed. But the Colleries in the French army could not be reſtrained from continuing their depredations, which the Tanjorine horſe revenged, by giving no quarter to any they fell in with: quarrels likewiſe enſued with the market people and dealers, who, with the king's permiſſion, came from the city to ſell proviſions and other neceſſaries in the camp; and the diſcuſſions of theſe broils and violences interrupted the more important negotiation until the arrival of the three pieces of cannon from Karical, which came up on the 29th; and Mr. Lally, having at this time received intelligence, that the king was preſſing the Engliſh at Tritchinopoly to ſend another and ſtronger reinforcement, reſolved to renew hoſtilities, although his hoſtages ſtill remained in the power of the king, who, frightened by the arrival of the cannon, conferred in earneſt, and concluded the treaty, of which the terms were founded on Mr. Lally's declarations, that he intended to march immediately from Tanjore againſt Tritchinopoly; for which ſervice the king agreed to lend 300 of his beſt horſe, to furniſh 1000 coolies and mattock-men, and to ſupply the army with proviſions during the ſiege; to deliver two reſpectable hoſtages, and to give in money 500,000 rupees, of which 200,000 were

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

were to be paid as ſoon as the army removed ten miles from Tanjore, 150,000 were to be ſent with the two French hoſtages as ſoon as it arrived before Tritchinopoly, and the remaining 150,000 were to be paid after the ſiege, when the king's hoſtages were to be ſurrendered, and the cavalry returned. The contingencies involved in theſe terms ſhewed, that neither ſide had much expectation they would be compleatly executed, and Mr. Lally ſeems to have accepted them, only becauſe he ſhould get ſome money in hand; the king becauſe ſome chance might ſave the reſt. Two hundred of the coolies were ſent to the camp during the diſcuſſion of the articles, which were not intirely adjuſted until late in the evening of the 31ſt, when Mr. Dubois the commiſſary of the army, who had conducted the negotiation in the city, returned to the camp, accompanied by the two Tanjorine hoſtages, and 40 of the cavalry, being all, it was ſaid, who were immediately ready; the delay of the reſt confirmed Mr. Lally in his ſuſpicions that the king meant only to amuſe him, and induced him to ſhut up thoſe who were come in a pagoda near the encampment: they not knowing what to ſuſpect from this treatment, dreaded the worſt, and ſent information to the city, in conſequence of which the king ſtopped the reſt of the cavalry; and his coolies in the camp being frightened by the rumours concerning the horſemen in the pagoda, run away in the night. The next morning Mr. Lally ſent Dubois to reproach the king and Monacjee for their ſuppoſed breach of faith, who retorted their own ſuſpicions, and this altercation producing the real ſtate of the miſtakes, Dubois proferred to bring back one of the Tanjorine hoſtages as a conviction of ſecurity to the cavalry which had remained behind, who were then to proceed to the camp. But Mr. Lally regarded this ſtipulation as an indignity, and a confirmation of the king's inſincerity, and ſummoned his council of war, who conformably to his expoſition were unanimouſly of opinion that no reliance could be had on any profeſſions of peace, and that it was neceſſary to attack the city without delay, and with the utmoſt vigour. In conſequence of this reſolution, Mr. Lally wrote a letter to colonel Kenedy, ordering him to denounce the utmoſt vengeance

1758. July. August.

not

1758. August. not only on the country and city of Tanjore, but likewiſe on the king and his whole family, whom he threatened to carry as ſlaves to the iſland of Mauritius. In the evening the army moved from the ſuburbs, and formed a regular camp about a mile and a half to the ſouth-eaſt of the town.

The expreſſions in Mr. Lally's letter to Kenedy, determined the king, who had hitherto fluctuated in irreſolution, to defend himſelf to extremity, and he now repeated his ſolicitations with the utmoſt earneſtneſs for aſſiſtance from Tritchinopoly. Captain Calliaud, by the accounts he continually received of the king's negotiations, had hitherto thought it unſafe to truſt any more troops in his power, whilſt making engagements to aſſiſt the French in the reduction of Tritchinopoly: but, being convinced by this laſt rupture, that he had renounced all deſigns of accord or reconciliation with them, detached on the 6th of Auguſt 500 of his beſt Sepoys, with two excellent ſerjeants and 27 cannoneers, who in order to avoid the encounter of the French troops, proceeded in a round-about road along the bank of the Coleroon.

A deep water-courſe, running within 400 yards parallel to the ſouth ſide of the city, furniſhing a much more commodious trench than any which are opened in ſieges, determined Mr. Lally to make the attack under the advantage of this cover. The ſouth face of the city is much the narroweſt aſpect, extending only 480 yards. Two batteries were erected on the nether edge of the water-courſe, the one of three guns oppoſite to the middle of the face, but turned to breach between the cavalier of the eaſtern angle and the next tower. The other, of two guns, was 200 yards to the right.

Both opened on the 2d of Auguſt. It was the 7th in the evening, after five days firing, before the batteries had produced a breach ſix feet wide: but by this time there remained only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, and not 20 cartouches a man for the troops; and, notwithſtanding the numbers of cattle which had been ſeized, there were not proviſions for two days remaining in the camp, and the great diſtance from

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

from which any could be procured through the perpetual interruptions of the Tanjorine cavalry and colleries, precluded the hopes of any immediate ſupplies. On the 8th in the morning advices were received, that another engagement had paſſed between the two ſquadrons, immediately after which, the Engliſh anchored before Karical, where they were threatening a deſcent; but that no tidings had been obtained concerning the French ſquadron ſince the fight. This intelligence aggravated the general anxiety, as the diſtreſſes of the army in their preſent ſituation, could only be relieved from Karical; and Mr. Lally deſpairing of ſucceeding in the aſſault of the breach, ſummoned his council of war, in which, of 12 officers 10 were of opinion to raiſe the ſiege; but two, Saubinet, and Mr. D'Eſtaigne, adviſed the immediate aſſault, the ſucceſs of which appeared to D'Eſtaigne indubitable; who added, that the city would furniſh more ammunition than would be expended in the ſtorm, and that he had no apprehenſions the Engliſh would make a deſcent upon Karical, whilſt the French ſquadron kept the ſea. Doubtleſs both D'Eſtaigne and Saubinet knew the ditch was fordable, when they adviſed the aſſault; otherwiſe, in the ſtate we have known it ſince, the approach would have been utterly impracticable. In conſequence of the reſolution to retreat, the ſick and wounded were ſent away on the ſame day under the eſcort of 150 Europeans, and diſpoſitions were made to decamp on the night of the enſuing day, which was the 10th of the month; in the mean time the guns in the batteries were fired every now and then in order to keep the garriſon in awe. 1758. Auguſt.

Monacjee ſoon received intelligence of the reſolution to raiſe the ſiege, and imputed it to deſpondency; the detachment from Tritchinopoly arrived in the middle of the ſame night, and he propoſed that they ſhould march immediately with his own troops to attack the French camp by ſurprize, conformably to a ſcheme for which he had taken meaſures; but they were ſo much fatigued, that he deferred the enterprize for 24 hours, until the morning of the 10th, during which the camp received no intelligence of this deſign, but remained in negligence and ſecurity, as before an enemy they deſpiſed, and ſuppoſed wiſhing their retreat too much to interrupt it.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August. After midnight 4000 cavalry, led by Monacjee himſelf, the two detachments from Tritchinopoly, conſiſting of 1000 Sepoys and 50 Europeans, with 5000 of the king's Sepoys, and all the Colleries, marched out of the city, and keeping at a ſufficient diſtance, arrived at the different poſts from which they were to make their attacks, and remained in them, undiſcovered. At the firſt dawn of day, 50 horſemen appeared advancing, as from the city, at a leiſurely pace, towards the camp; they were challenged by the advanced guard, and ſaid they were come to offer their ſervice to the French general, to whom they requeſted to be conducted; and no danger being apprehended from their number, a party from the guard accompanied them towards Mr. Lally's quarters, who ſlept in a choultry about half a mile in the rear, but to the left of the camp. When within 100 yards, the troop halted and their leader went forward, and Mr. Lally having perceived their arrival, aroſe and came out of the choultry to ſpeak to him; but before they met, one of the horſemen, who it is ſuppoſed was intoxicated with opium, left his rank, and galloped up to a tumbril at ſome diſtance, into which he fired his piſtol, and a ſpark of the wad blew it up and the man; the exploſion gave the alarm through the camp; and the guard at the choultry, which conſiſted of 50 men, immediately advanced to protect Mr. Lally. In the ſame inſtant the captain of the troop, who had not diſmounted, puſhed forward towards him, and made a cut at his head with his ſcymetar, which Mr. Lally parried with his ſtick, and a Coffree ſervant who attended him ſhot the Tanjorine dead with a piſtol; the whole troop had now ſet off at full-gallop to charge the guard, who received them in regular order, and with a fire of ſuch execution as ſtopt all except two or three from breaking through them; thoſe, however, who remained on horſeback, joined again and endeavoured to make a ſecond charge, but in ſo much confuſion, that the ſecond fire of the guard put them to flight with the utmoſt precipitation; and moſt of them galloped into a tank, which they did not perceive time enough to avoid: but twenty-eight were left dead in the ſpace of thirty yards; Mr. Lally himſelf was trampled down and ſtunned in the ſcuffle, but only two of his guard were killed. Whilſt the troops in the camp were getting

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ting under arms and expecting a general attack from the quarter where the first alarm had been given, the great body of Colleries were discovered advancing with their lances and rockets in the rear, 3000 horse at the same time in the front, and the whole body of Sepoys, with 1000 more horse on the right: much confusion and trepidation prevailed in every part of the camp for near an hour, but the troops were recalled to their wonted steadiness and discipline, by the example and activity of Saubinet and the Count D'Estaigne: the English Sepoys penetrated amongst the tents, and had seized three field-pieces, which they were obliged to abandon, after having 75 of their body killed and wounded in endeavouring to carry them off; they, however, brought away an elephant and two camels. The French suppose that 400 of the enemy were killed, and allow their own loss to be no more than 10, which is improbable. It does not appear that any attack was made on the two batteries in the water-course, although it should seem that the troops on duty there were the most exposed. 1758. August.

As soon as the Tanjorines had retired, the French army continued their preparations to decamp during the ensuing night; and, for want of draft and carriage-bullocks, spiked and dismounted the five pieces of battering cannon, threw the shot into wells, and destroyed as much of the baggage as time and means permitted. At midnight the whole were in motion, marching in two lines, with an interval between, which was occupied by palanquins, baggage, tumbrills, and other carriages; two field-pieces were in the front, rear, and on each side of the lines. Monacjee, with all his cavalry and a large body of Sepoys, was abroad, and several times obliged the march to halt, and recur to their field-pieces; the Colleries threw rockets, but disappeared at the approach of day. But the rest of the Tanjorine army continued, as during the night, to follow and hover round until noon; when the French troops arrived and halted at Covilonil, 15 miles from Tanjore: the road was without a single pond or stream until they came to the town; when nothing could with-hold the troops and animals of the army from breaking their ranks and restraints to gain the first water they saw. The next day they reached Trivalore; this march was 20 miles, and more fatiguing than the former, having two

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August. rivers to paſs, over which the artillery and carriages were tranſported with much difficulty; but the enemy, inſtead of taking the advantage, diſcontinued the purſuit before they arrived at the firſt: during the whole march the troops had no other food than the coco-nuts they gathered on the way, of which many got none; however, they found at Trivalore ſome proviſions ſent from Karical; but all were ſo exhauſted and fatigued, that they could not proceed any farther until they had been allowed three days refreſhment and repoſe. On the road Mr. Lally received information that the French ſquadron was at Pondicherry, and that Mr. D'Aché had ſignified to the council there his determination to return without delay to the Iſle of France; on which he immediately diſpatched the Count D'Eſtaigne with the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances to ſtop him. On the 18th the army arrived at Karical, and ſaw the Engliſh ſquadron at anchor off the mouth of the river.

Many wants and inſufficient means had detained the ſquadron near eight weeks in the road of Madraſs after their unſucceſsful endeavours to reach Fort St. David during the ſiege. On the third of July, three of the company's ſhips arrived in the road; they had left England in the preceding year, but not arriving in the bay, until the northern monſoon was ſetting in, proceeded to Bengal; from whence they were diſpatched in April with money, merchandize, and ſtores, but without any of the recruits they brought from England, or any troops in return for thoſe which had been ſent with Clive. The ſouthern monſoon, which had begun when they ſailed, obliged them to make the outward paſſage towards Achin, and they came in from the ſouthward to Negapatam: in conſequence of the intelligence they received at this place, they put out again to ſea and kept out of ſight of land until they ſtood in for Madraſs. Chance always maintains its ſhare in all events. Had not the unneceſſary anxiety of the council at Pondicherry recalled Mr. D'Aché's ſquadron from Karical in the middle of June, but permitted him to have continued the cruize he intended, theſe ſhips would have been taken, and would have ſupplied the want of money, which had been the principal cauſe of the fruitleſs

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

fruitleſs and diſgraceful expedition to Tanjore. It was the 25th of July before the Engliſh ſquadron was ſufficiently equipped to ſail, and on the 27th they appeared in ſight of Pondicherry, where the French ſquadron lay at anchor, and with much hurry got under ſail before night. The next morning the two ſquadrons were out of ſight of each other: on the 29th, the French anchored at Karical; on the 31ſt, at day-break, they ſailed for Negapatam, and at nine again ſaw the Engliſh ſquadron; but the wind blowing freſh, the three ſmaller of the French ſhips could not work their lower tier, on which Mr. D'Aché tacked and ſtood away, and the next day again ſaw nothing of the Engliſh. The day after, the 2d of Auguſt, they anchored again at Karical, where Mr. D'Aché received intelligence, which was not true, that Mr. Lally had been defeated before Tanjore; and, what was much leſs probable, that the Engliſh ſquadron intended to diſembark a great part of their men, in order to cut off the retreat of the French army to Pondicherry. At two in the morning lights appeared in the offing, on which the French ſquadron got under way, and plying to windward perceived the Engliſh at day-break out at ſea, about four miles to leeward of them. Both ſquadrons immediately formed their lines, and Mr. Pococke perceiving the ſhip which led the enemy's van (it was the Count de Provence) to be the ſtouteſt next their Admiral, ordered the Elizabeth, Admiral Stevens, to take the ſame ſtation in his own line, inſtead of the Tyger, to which, as in the laſt engagement, it had been alloted. The land-wind blowing from the s. w. the Engliſh line ſtretched with their heads to the s. s. E. At eleven o'clock the wind where they were, died away, and left them quite becalmed. But the enemy continued to have a light breeze from the land, with which they ſtood on, their line extending Eaſt and Weſt, and paſſed the rear of the Engliſh line nearly at right angles, without firing a ſingle ſhot, although they had the faireſt opportunity of raking and diſabling the Cumberland, and Newcaſtle, which were the two ſternmoſt ſhips, and, as all the others, lay helpleſs in the calm with their ſterns towards the enemy.

1758. July. Auguſt.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August.

At noon the ſea-breeze ſprung up from the s. w. which gave the wind to the Engliſh ſhips. Both ſquadrons formed their lines anew to the wind, with their heads w. N. w. and as ſoon as this was done in the Engliſh line, Mr. Pococke at 20 minutes paſt 12 made the ſignal to bear down.

The enemy's line conſiſted of eight ſail; the Sylphide, which appeared in it in the laſt engagement, was kept out to repeat ſignals: the Comte de Provence, which had not beeen in it, ſupplied the place of the Bienaime, which was ſtranded in the ſurf. The Elizabeth ſtood for the Comte de Provence, and hawled up abreaſt of her before the reſt of the line were in their proper form; for it is impoſſible that ſeveral ſhips can correſpond inſtantaneouſly in the ſame operations. Mr. D'Aché immediately made the ſignal for engagement, and the Comte de Provence had given her broad-ſide upon the Elizabeth before Mr. Pococke threw out his ſignal, at 20 minutes paſt one, when his whole line was compleatly formed in cloſed order at the proper diſtance from each other, and all at equal diſtance from the enemy, who were not ſo regularly drawn up, curving inwards from the extremities: the two admirals, as in the former engagement, were in the center of their reſpective lines. The fire was in both as hot as poſſible: but the French fired high, the Engliſh only at the hulls, and both with much certainty, for they were near, the ſea ſmooth, and the breeze light. In ten minutes the mizen of the Comte de Provence took fire, which obliged her to bear away, and cut away the maſt. The Duc de Bourgogne took her place againſt the Elizabeth. A little after the wheel of the Zodiac's rudder was carried away by a ſhot from the Yarmouth, to repair which ſhe paſſed under the lee of the Duc d'Orleans, and no ſooner returned again into the line, than one of her lower deck guns in the gun-room burſt, and beat through the deck above. This miſchance was ſoon followed by a greater, for the bulk-head of her powder-room took fire; whilſt extinguiſhing it, the rudder gave way again, and the ſhip fell foul of the Duc d'Orleans, her ſecond ahead; and both, whilſt diſentangling, were expoſed almoſt defenceleſs to the hotteſt fire from their opponents the Yarmouth and Tyger: the Condé and the Moras

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

were by this time beaten out of the line, and at eight minutes after two, the Zodiaque as ſoon as diſengaged bore away, as in fifteen minutes more did the other five ſhips not yet gone, all crowding all the ſail they could carry, and even cutting their boats adrift, to make more way. Mr. Pococke then threw out the ſignal for a general chace; but in leſs than ten minutes all the enemy's ſhips were got out of certain ſhot; and at ſix o'clock their hindmoſt were five miles from the foremoſt of the Engliſh ſhips, which then ceaſed the chace, and after getting together again hawled the wind, and at eight anchored off Karical, about three miles from the ſhore. Mr. D'Aché ſteered for Pondicherry. Notwithſtanding the irregularity and ſhort continuance of this fight, the French ſuffered as much in it as in the former engagement, although they had then 1200 more men on board; for their killed and wounded amounted to few leſs than 600, of whom 33 were killed dead, and 151 dangerouſly wounded in the Zodiaque alone. In the whole of the Engliſh ſquadron only 31 were killed, and 166 wounded; both ſquadrons ſuffered in proportion to the manner in which the enemy fought; the French loſt in men and ſlaughter, and all the Engliſh ſhips were ſo much damaged in their rigging, that, if a freſh wind had ariſen during the engagement, ſeveral of their maſts muſt have gone by the board, for want of the ſhrowds, ſtays, and other ſecurities, which the enemy's ſhot and langrain had cut away. Both Mr. Pococke and D'Aché were wounded by ſplinters, and Commodore Stevens received a muſket-ball, which lodged in his ſhoulder, and was ſeen to be ſhot with aim by a French officer.

1758. Auguſt.

Three days after the engagement, a ſnow called the Rubys, from the iſland of Mauritius, anchored in the road of Negapatam, of which, as ſoon as Mr. Pococke received information, he detached one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, whoſe boats cut the ſnow out of the road within gun-ſhot of the Dutch flag, and the fort did not fire to protect her, but afterwards remonſtrated againſt the offence. A few days after a Dutch ſhip of 500 tons from Batavia, with 30,000 pounds in dollars on board, anchored in the road of Pondicherry, which Mr. D'Aché immediately ſeized as repriſal for the ſuppoſed connivance

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August. connivance of the government of Negapatam, in not protecting the Rubys according to the rights of a neutral port.

The retreat of the Engliſh garriſons into Madraſs, and the inſubordination of the Nabob's troops at Arcot, left the country to the ſouth of the Paliar without any other protection excepting from the troops maintained by Murzafabeg; who endeavouring to cover a greater extent than his force was adequate to, was no where ſtrong enough to oppoſe the enemy; and, in the end of June, a French officer returning with his eſcort of Sepoys, and a party of horſemen, which he had levied at Velore, ſurprized the fort of Trivatore, in which he left his Sepoys, who being joined by the peons from the French diſtricts, all together made incurſions on the harveſts of Conjeveram and Salawauk; to repreſs which, the preſidency ſent out again four companies of Sepoys, two to Conjeveram, and two to Chinglapet; which were not ſufficient to repreſs half the miſchief. However, an advantage was ſoon after gained by other means, which more than retaliated the loſs of Trivatore. Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, had given the fort of Trinomalee with its depedencies, which Mr. Soupires had reduced in the preceding year, to Rajahſaheb, the long-neglected ſon of Chundaſaheb, who to prove himſelf worthy of this change in his fortunes, levied a body of 300 good horſe and 300 Sepoys, and proceeded with them in the beginning of Auguſt, eſcorting a convoy of proviſions to the French army in the Tanjore country; but this expence and ſubſtraction obliged him to leave Trinomalee ill-guarded. Kiſtnarow, the Kellidar of Thiagar, which had been attacked without ſucceſs by the French troops, and whoſe diſtricts were ſtill continually harraſſed by them, took the opportunity, and aſſaulting Trinomalee in the night, carried it, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. It was taken on the 10th of Auguſt, and it was not until the 14th that the preſidency received intelligence of the agreement which the king of Tanjore had made on the 1ſt of the month, to aſſiſt the French army in the attack they intended againſt Tritchinopoly; on which, they reſolved to take the field, but with no other views or hopes than that the rumour might recall the king, or at leaſt ſtop the defection

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

defection of other allies. The uſual tardineſs of preparations detained the troops in the town until the 18th; when Colonel Lawrence marched with eight field-pieces, 620 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys. On the 24th, they encamped on the other ſide of the Paliar, about eight miles beyond Chinglapet, when having received intelligence of the retreat of the French army from Tanjore, they returned themſelves to Madraſs, where they arrived on the laſt day of the month. Whilſt abroad, a party of the Nabob's troops from Arcot, encouraged by their march, joined thoſe of Abdul Hay the renter of Salawauk, and, after an aukward attack, which laſted eight days, retook the fort of Trivatore by aſſault, and put many of the garriſon, which conſiſted of 500 men, to the ſword. 1758. Auguſt.

Mr. D'Aché retired from the laſt engagement with a conviction that the Engliſh remained to windward with the intention of falling ſuddenly upon his ſhips, whilſt moored and repairing in the road of Pondicherry; and it was ſuppoſed that they had two fire-ſhips, although they had only one, which had been of no ſervice in the laſt engagement: however, theſe notions determined him to anchor oppoſite to the town, as near the ſhore as poſſible, under the protection of the line of guns to the ſea; and the council, in complacence, it is ſaid, to his ideas, recalled the detachment of 600 Europeans encamped with Mr. Soupires at Gingee, who came in on the 14th, on the ſame day that the troops from Madraſs took the field. Neither the remonſtrances of the Count D'Eſtaigne, ſent forward by Mr. Lally, to proteſt againſt the diſrepute which would follow this apprehenſive conduct, nor Mr. D'Eſtaigne's offers of embarking any number of troops on the ſquadron, and of accompanying them himſelf, as a proof of his confidence of ſucceſs, availed to induce Mr. D'Aché to ſail, and try the riſque of another engagement. Mr. Lally moved with the army from Karical on the 24th: they were two days in paſſing the Coleroon at Devi Cotah, and obliged at laſt to leave their artillery and carriages there: when Mr. Lally went forward with a ſmall detachment, and arrived on the 28th at Pondicherry, where he immediately ſummoned a mixt council of the adminiſtration and the army, who concurred in remonſtrating to Mr.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August. Mr. D'Aché the neceſſity of meeting the Engliſh ſquadron again, or at leaſt of deferring the departure of his own whilſt they remained on the coaſt. Mr. D'Aché returned the unanimous opinion of all his captains, that the one was impracticable, and the other too dangerous to be riſqued: however, after ſome mediations, he conſented to leave 500 of his ſailors and marines to ſerve on ſhore; and on the 3d of September ſailed with all the ſhips for the Iſle of Mauritius.

The detachments which had been ſent from Tritchinopoly to aſſiſt Tanjore, and the attack impending on Tritchinopoly itſelf, if Mr. Lally ſhould ſucceed in his views at Tanjore, had obliged Captain Calliaud not only to withdraw the guards of Sepoys ſtationed in the diſtant villages, but even to call in the garriſon he had placed in the pagoda of Seringham, although under the guns of the city. The brother of Hydernaig, with the party of Myſoreans who had lately been driven out of it, had returned from Dindigul, reinforced with more, and were waiting at ſome diſtance to the weſt; and as ſoon as Seringham was evacuated by the Engliſh troops, they came on, and took poſſeſſion of it again: but Calliaud, as ſoon as the French army retreated from before Tanjore, ſent out parties to attack them, who with little effort diſpoſſeſſed and drove them away. No probability then remaining of any intermediate danger, Calliaud reſolved, as ſoon as his detachments returned from Tanjore, to diſpoſſeſs the reigning Rheddy of Terriore, and to reſtore his couſin, the expelled Rheddy: who had long ſolicited this aſſiſtance, which could not with prudence be afforded, whilſt the French garriſon were remaining at Seringham. The viciſſitudes of theſe two competitors had been peculiar. The French found the Rheddy, now expelled, in poſſeſſion when they over-run Terriore in 1753; and then depoſing him, appointed the Rheddy now reigning, whom they removed in 1755, and reinſtated the firſt: but, being afterwards diſſatisfied with his conduct, expelled him in 1756, and again reinſtated his rival; who, from this laſt appointment, had kept poſſeſſion. The plunder of the adjacent villages between Terriore, and the ſtreights of Utatoor, was the only detriment

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August.

triment to be apprehended from him; but the expelled Rheddy was much befriended by the Polygars of Arcelore and Woriorepollam, whose long averſion to the French, it was at this time more eſpecially expedient to encourage by indulging their ſolicitude for the reinſtatement of their friend.

Accordingly Captain Joſeph Smith marched, with his company of 70 Europeans, the company of 50 Coffres, two field-pieces, with their artillery-men, and ten companies of Sepoys, commanded by Mahomed Iſſoof. The depoſed Rheddy, with ſome of the Colleries, or natives of Terriore, who abided by his fortunes, accompanied the detachment, and, if nothing more, were to ſerve as guides through the wood. Meſſengers were ſent forward with a letter, ordering the Rheddy within to come out, and meet Captain Smith; and they were inſtructed to take notice of every thing that occurred in the path through which they ſhould be led; but the guards at the barrier ſtopped them, and ſent on the letter by men of their own, who returned with a letter from the Rheddy, which they delivered to the meſſengers, who brought it to Captain Smith on the march. It contained vague apologies for his not coming out of the wood, and endeavoured to gain time, which Captain Smith reſolved not to loſe. The troops arrived in ſight of the barrier at four in the afternoon of the day after they had croſſed the Coleroon, and immediately formed for the attack.

The wood of Terriore ſtretcheth 20 miles along the foot of the weſtern mountains, and extends from them 10 miles into the plain; the wood is in moſt parts ſeven miles through, and encloſes an open ground about three miles ſquare, of which the farther ſide, as of the wood itſelf, adjoins to the hills: and in this area are the habitation of the Rheddi, which is a ſpacious building, a town, gardens, arable lands, and immediately under the hills a very large tank, computed ſeven miles in circumference. It was known, that the path before them had defences in various parts, and that the whole of the fighting men would be in theſe ſtations. Captain Smith therefore ſent off four companies of Sepoys, with Ramanaig, a Jemautdar, on whom Mahomed Iſſoof had reliance, to enter the wood

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August. at a conſiderable diſtance on the right, under the conduct of the guides, who undertook to lead them to the town, through a ſecret path, of which there are ſeveral in the wood, known only to the inhabitants, who call them the rogues' path-way. The firſt barrier was a winding paſſage between two thick-ſet hedges of thorn, leading into the ſtraiter path of the wood; but choaked at both ends with brambles laid for the occaſion. Nevertheleſs the enemy abandoned this poſt, although very defenſible, without reſiſtance.

The Coffres led, followed by the Europeans; they by one of the ſix-pounders, with limber boxes only; and the Sepoys marched in the rear, excepting a few who remained to guard the other ſix-pounder, the ſpare ammunition, and the baggage, which were left at the ſkirt of the wood; the line proceeded more than a mile in the path without interruption, but at length was fired upon from a breaſt-work of brick on the right; from which the enemy were ſoon diſlodged, and retired through the buſhes to the next; but as they were intent in carrying off their wounded, the muſketry gauled them a good deal as they were going away. Moving onward, the line ſoon received a ſmart fire from a ſecond breaſt-work like the firſt; but the Coffres ſoon obliged the enemy to quit this ſtation likewiſe, when they retired to their main body; a few of the line were wounded in driving them from theſe defences. The Coffres continued to move on in front, and had out-marched the reſt of the line, when by a ſudden turning in the road, they came unexpectedly at once within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy's principal poſt. This was a ſtrong wall of brick, 14 feet high, divided into a rampart and parapet, and in the parapet were ſeveral tiers of loop-holes; it ſtretched a-croſs the path and ſome yards beyond it on each hand, and had a return of the ſame conſtruction at each extremity, but falling back, inſtead of projecting to flank the main wall, and in the return on the left ſtood the gate-way; this work was ſurrounded by a ſtrong hedge of thorn, which continuing on the ſides joined the main wood to ſome diſtance in the rear. As ſoon as the Coffres appeared at the turning, the enemy teſtified their numbers, and their courage,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September.

courage, by ſhouting, the din of inſtruments, and a ſtrong fire of their matchlocks, which, with the ſurprize, panic-ſtruck the Coffres: they ran back in the path, and were immediately followed by numbers of the enemy iſſuing from the thickets on the left. There was no time to enquire the cauſe. Captain Smith immediately led on the Europeans, who ſoon drove the enemy back into the wood, who did not eſcape through the barrier of thorns before the wall. Both were now attentively examined; and, whilſt ſome endeavoured to tear up the hedge in front, others tried to get round the flanks of it into the wood; but none ſucceeded, and ſeveral were wounded. The field-piece was then advanced, and fired until all its ammunition was expended, without taking any effect on the parapet, or intimidating the enemy, whoſe matchlocks had wounded five of the ſix artillery-men ſerving the gun, and more of the other Europeans, who likewiſe had expended moſt of their cartridges. It was now ſeven o'clock, and began to grow dark, when all the blacks, whether Coffres, Sepoys, or Laſcars, took advantage of this protection, and ſlunk away back into the path, out of the reach of danger, excepting Mahomed Iſſoof, one ſervant of Captain Smith's, and one Tindal, or corporal of the Laſcars. A ſupply of ammunition had been ſent for from the ſkirt of the wood as ſoon as the troops came to the wall; but from the diſtance it could not be expected for ſome time. During which, Captain Smith ordered the Europeans to fire their muſkets now and then againſt the parapet, as well to convince the enemy that they were determined not to relinquiſh the attack, as to divert the chance of their diſcovering the party with Ramanaig, whoſe arrival, too long delayed, had for ſome time created much doubt and anxiety. At eight o'clock more ammunition came up, when the firing of the field-piece and muſketry renewed again with great vivacity, and was equally returned by the enemy. Soon after, firing was heard in the rear of the wall, and the ſound of Ding Mahomed echoed from every part of the wood; this is the ſucceſsful ſhout of the Sepoys, and ſignifies the faith of their Prophet. They were already in the path, advancing at full pace; the troops of the rampart were flying, and met their fire; after which all reſiſtance ceaſed;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. and Ramanaig breaking down the gate, let in his friends without. There remained three miles of the path to the town, but impeded with no more defences, nor were the thickets on either hand ſo cloſe. The troops were gathered, the Sepoys and Coffres who had kept back came on, and all proceeded to the town, which they found abandoned. The reigning Rheddy, and all his people, had eſcaped into the hills, excepting a few men who could not remove, having been blown-up with gunpowder intended to load a field-piece, which they were dragging to the wall in the paſs. The delay of Ramanaig's party had been cauſed by the timidity of his guides, who, on ſome fright, left them ſoon after they entered the wood, to find their way as they could. Of 70 Europeans 4 were killed and 28 wounded in the attack; Mahomed Iſſoof was ſhot through the arm, but, binding up his wound, continued on the ground until all was over. A great number of ſcaling ladders were found at the Rheddy's houſe, which had been prepared, and were lying in readineſs for the French to eſcalade Tritchinopoly, when they ſhould ſee the opportunity. The natives of this diſtrict have little reſemblance with any others in the Carnatic; they have large bloated heads, pot bellies, and ſmall limbs. The climate is very unhealthy to ſtrangers, imputed to the nature of the water. The detachment continued in the town a week; and during this ſhort ſtay Captain Smith, all his officers, and moſt of the other Europeans, fell ill. Three companies of Sepoys, with three good ſerjeants, were left to protect the reinſtated Rheddy; and the main body of the detachment returned to Tritchinopoly.

Mr. Lally felt ſeverely, although he did not acknowledge, the diſgrace of his retreat from Tanjore. It exaſperated the natural aſperity of his diſpoſition, and inflamed all his prejudices and animoſities, which, continually expreſſed in the keeneſt ſarcaſms his redundant wit could ſuggeſt, had rendered him odious to all ranks of men, to the natives as to the colony, to the ſquadron as to his own army, in which he ſeems to have allowed capacity with zeal to no one, excepting the Count d'Eſtaigne. On the other hand, no imputations were ſpared by the wounded, or their freinds, which could

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. January.

could aggravate his mortifications; not even cowardice itſelf, although the ſuppoſition aroſe only from the ſtun which he received in the onſet of the Tanjorine horſemen. Being naturally ſuſpicious, and equally inquiſitive, he did not remain ignorant of theſe reports and opinions; but for the preſent ſtifled his reſentment, in hopes of tracing them to principals worthy of notice, whom he ſuſpected to be the firſt in the government, from their adherence to Mr. Buſſy. Theſe reproaches, however, ſtimulated his activity to enter immediately into action; and, on his arrival at Pondicherry, whilſt arranging with Mr. D'Aché, he ordered Saubinet to march with the 600 Europeans who had encamped with Soupire's, and were freſh men, and retake Trinomalee. But before we open this new campaign, it is neceſſary to review the events of Mr. Buſſy in the Decan; and continue the affairs of Bengal to this period; as each were at this time approaching to an immediate relation with the operations of both nations in the Carnatic.

The force with which Mr. Buſſy marched from Rajahmundrum in the beginning of the year, to rejoin Salabadjing at Aurengabad, conſiſted of 500 Europeans infantry and artillery, 200 Europeans mounted as Huſſars and dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10 field-pieces. They ſtruck directly acroſs the country, paſſing through Elore, and proceeded in a high road, which had never before been marched by a body of European troops. The diſtance by the perambulator is nearly 400 miles; which it is ſaid they accompliſhed in 21 days. On their arrival at Aurengabad, they encamped on the weſtern ſide of the city, and in the midſt of four armies: Nizamally's from Berar; the army of the Subahſhip, of which Nizamally had likewiſe aſſumed the command; of Baſſaulet Jung from Adoni; and the Morattoes, now commanded by Balagerow in perſon, who had come as uſual to take advantage of the confuſions in the government, but had ſuſpended hoſtilities.

The approach of Mr. Buſſy and his force, which was equal in efficacy to any of the armies, ſuſpended all intrigues in attention to his conduct. He immediately viſited Salabadjing with much ceremony, and treated him with every mark of reſpect and allegiance; the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. *February.*

the next day he went to Balagerow, who met him half-way in a tent pitched on purpoſe, and then conducted him to his camp, where they had a long conference. Shanavaze Khan had already aſked permiſſion to exculpate himſelf in perſon; but Mr. Buſſy commiſſioned Hyderjung his principal agent to receive his communications, in order, if poſſible, to diſcover his real practices or intentions. The father of Hyderjung was governor of Maſulipatam when the French factory in that city was confiſcated in 1750 by the orders of Nazirjing, of which he evaded the rigour; and afterwards, when the city itſelf was ſurprized by the armament ſent from Pondicherry by Mr. Dupleix, is ſuppoſed to have connived at their ſucceſs. With theſe pretenſions, his ſon came, and tendered his ſervice to Mr. Buſſy at Golcondah on his firſt arrival there with Salabadjing from the Carnatic, when Hyderjung received a command in the French Sepoys, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf; but ſtill more by his ſagacity and addreſs, until by degrees he became the principal confident of Mr. Buſſy, who, to give him weight and dignity, obtained for him high titles from Salabadjing, and even a patent of nobility from Delhi. From this time, his retinue and houſehold were eſtabliſhed with ſumptuouſneſs; and he was allowed to keep a conſtant court or durbar in order to extend his informations; and Jaghires with other emoluments, ſufficient not only to defray his expences, but to eſtabliſh his fortune, were likewiſe conferred on him, as well by Salabadjing as Mr. Buſſy: his penetration ſoon perceived that Shanavaze Khan, naturally timid, was frightened by the arrival of the French army; but that he had been the ſecret ſpring of all the miſchief, in which he had engaged from a perſuaſion that the operations of the war declared between the two European nations would have confined Mr. Buſſy to the protection of the ceded provinces until its concluſion; before which he had no doubt of eſtabliſhing his own arrangements in the government of the Decan, too firmly to be ſhaken. But, as more danger in the preſent circumſtances was to be apprehended from the more audacious character of Nizamally, who, beſides the reſpect which was paid to his birth, had acquired ſome reputation amongſt

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

amongſt the troops, Mr. Buſſy reſolved for the preſent to take Shanavaze Khan in his hand as far as he would go, by which he would at leaſt be more narrowly watched, if not prevented from ſuggeſting reſources to Nizamally, and abetting them with his public influence, which, from his long ſervices, and a perſuaſion of his attachment to the family of Nizamalmuluc, was conſiderable. In conformity to this conduct, Mr. Buſſy, by appointment, viſited Nizamally, but with a very ſtrong eſcort, which, when he entered the tent, was ſo diſpoſed, as to be certain of avenging any attempt on his perſon. The interview continued with calmneſs until Mr. Buſſy adviſed Nizamally to deliver back the great ſeal of the government to Salabadjing; when Nizamally anſwered with much heat, "that he "with his brother Baſſaulet Jung had been obliged to take it from him "by the clamours of his own troops, who having been long diſappointed of their pay, with an army of Morattoes in ſight, could not "have been reſtrained from open revolt, if he and his brother had not "immediately furniſhed a part of their arrears, and given their own "obligations to pay the reſt: it was therefore unjuſt to deprive them of "the means of reimburſing the money they had advanced, and ſtill "more, to diſable them from providing for the diſcharge of their future engagements, the failure of which would, from the ſame cauſe, "expoſe them to the very dangers which they had averted from "Salabadjing." The next day Salabadjing viſited Nizamally in his camp, and demanded the ſeal in form, but received the ſame anſwer. Whether from real or pretended indignation, Nizamally the day after ſent for Shanavaze Khan, and reproached him publickly as the author of this advice: the next day, which was the 14th of February, as Baſſaulet Jung was paſſing on his elephant near the palace of Salabadjing, a muſket in the croud went off, and the ball paſſed through the houſings on which he was ſitting: the man was immediately ſeized, and being queſtioned, ſaid, he had been hired by Shanavaze Khan and Hyder Jung, with the promiſe of 5000 rupees, to ſhoot Baſſaulet Jung. The ſtory was carried, with as much incoherence as it was paſſing in the city, to the camp of Nizamally, who, pretending to believe the life of his brother in danger, mounted

1758. September. *March.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. April.

mounted his elephant, and advanced with what troops were ready to the neareſt gate; but after ſeveral meſſages which aſſured him that Baſſaulet Jung was ſafe, he returned in the evening. The day after Baſſaulet Jung went to the durbar of Salabadjing, ſpoke ſtanding, and with expreſſions of unuſual diſreſpect flung down the ſeal. It is ſo rare in the manners of Indoſtan that any indecorum of words or geſture paſſes amongſt equals, and ſtill more from an inferior, that the officers preſent in the durbar formed ſiniſter conjectures of theſe animoſities amongſt the brothers; and although the few, who reaſon before they believe, imputed the muſket-ball to chance, and the confeſſion of the man to ſubornation, yet the troops even in Salabadjing's camp were perſuaded that he had been employed, if not by Shanaveze Khan, at leaſt by Hyder Jung. Mr. Buſſy ſaw the general odium to which this prejudice, if not removed, would expoſe himſelf and all his nation; and ſuggeſted a means of reconciliation. The ſeal was ſent back to Baſſaulet Jung, but an officer, who was a dependant on Hyder Jung, was appointed to keep it in a ſealed bag, and to be preſent whenever it was uſed. This compliment, ſuch as it was, ſatisfied the officers of Baſſaulet Jung's court, and appeaſed the public; and other advantages were gained by it; for Baſſaulet Jung conſenting, it placed him in ſuch a relation with the adminiſtration of Salabadjing, that he was either likely to relinquiſh, or would not be able to conceal his intrigues with his brother Nizamally. A few days after this reconciliation, Salabadjing ſent a deputation of his principal officers to Nizamally, requeſting him to relinquiſh the government of Berar, and to accept as a compenſation a monthly allowance of 20,000 rupees. Nizamally rejected the propoſal with diſdain, and publiſhed it amongſt the troops, who with equal indignation cried out, that "Nizamally was a ſon of Nizamalmuluck as "well as Salabadjing." This expreſſion of their attachment precluded the employment of force, and, as the only means left to reduce him to compliance, the principal officers of his army were tampered with, and ſeveral of them were gained by promiſes and money to give aſſurances that they would not ſupport him in aſſerting the go-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

vernment of Berar againſt the will of Soubah, provided he received ſome other dignity which he might accept without diſhonour; but by this time Nizamally himſelf was content to diſſemble, and remain quiet, waiting for events. Such was the ſtate of affairs in the city and camps of Aurungabad towards the end of March, when the various agitations, which had hitherto kept every intereſt in conſtant vibration, began to ſubſide; and this temporary tranquillity had been much wiſhed for by Mr. Buſſy, in order to accompliſh another ſcheme he had ſome time been preparing. 1758. September. *March.*

No reliance could be placed on the integrity of Shanavaze Khan's conduct, whilſt in poſſeſſion of ſuch a refuge and reſource as the fortreſs of Doltabad; but no offers were likely to induce him to relinquiſh it, for Balagerow had in vain attempted to purchaſe it from him: and the direct propoſal from Mr. Buſſy to Shanavaze Khan himſelf, would reveal the ſecret, and defeat the intention. Mr. Buſſy therefore employed Hyder Jung to treat with the governor of the fort, who, after a variety of arguments and overtures, at length conſented to betray his truſt on the receipt of a ſum of money in hand, and the promiſe of a more profitable employment: but to ſave the appearance of his honour, dictated the manner. A day or two before the execution of the ſcheme, Mr. Buſſy, as if having leiſure to take ſome amuſement, ſent his compliments to the governor, requeſting his permiſſion to paſs an hour in the upper fort, from which the proſpect is extenſive and magnificent: and the governor invited him to dinner. Mr. Buſſy arrived, eſcorted by 300 Europeans, who were admitted into the ſecond fort, to which the governor, under pretence of reſpect, ſent down all the garriſon of the upper, excepting fifty men, with whom he remained himſelf above to receive the gueſts. Mr. Buſſy went up accompanied by forty men, many of whom were officers. The dinner was ſerved in the hall of the killidar's houſe, and when ready, Mr. Buſſy, with the officers, went into the hall, and his body guard remained at the door: but the killidar, as if from politeneſs, admitted none of his own officers or ſoldiers, and from the menial ſervants who waited, little reſiſtance was to be apprehended. On the invitation to ſit down, Mr. Buſſy told the killidar, that *April.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. *April.*

he could not partake of his hoſpitality, being obliged by the neceſſity of his affairs, to make him a priſoner, and take poſſeſſion of the fort; but that no violence was intended againſt his perſon, provided neither he nor his garriſon attempted any reſiſtance. The killidar, as if ſurprized, ſurrendered his poignard; he was then conducted into the area, and ſignified his condition and the riſque to his ſoldiers, who in deference to his danger gave up their arms. On the ſignal, the French troops below got under arms; by which time meſſengers ſent by the killidar came down and informed the garriſon there of what had happened above; and ſuch was the military reputation of the French troops drawn up before them, that the few, whoſe indignation exhorted their comrades to revenge their lord and defend themſelves, found fewer to ſecond their reſiſtance. Nevertheleſs, ſome ſkirmiſhing enſued, but ſubſided on the death of two or three of theſe leaders; immediately after which, the garriſons were turned out of both the forts; and the defences of the town below were too weak to require heed.

No reconciliation, and every miſchief, was to be expected from Shanavaze Khan after this provocation, and Mr. Buſſy had taken meaſures to prevent the effects of his revenge: a party of Salabadjing's troops ſurrounded his tent in the camp in the very hour that the governor of Doltabad was arreſted; and as the connexion between him and Mahomed Huſſein the king's Duan had lately grown into ſtrict intimacy, another detachment at the ſame time ſecured his perſon likewiſe; they were both made priſoners before they knew why, or the loſs of Doltabad. The news excited univerſal aſtoniſhment, and terrified even thoſe in whom it raiſed the moſt reſentment: for Nizamally recovering from his firſt emotions pretended that the poſſeſſion of Doltabad was a matter in which his intereſts were not concerned.

Balagerow was halting about 50 miles from the city, towards his own country, and immediately returned and encamped again near the army of Salabadjing; not with any intentions of hoſtility, but with the hopes of obtaining the fort of Doltabad from Mr. Buſſy; with whom, after ſeveral complimentary meſſages, he had an inter-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. April.

view; "What advantage, he ſaid, can you Europeans derive from "the poſſeſſion of this poſt, ſituated in the center of Indoſtan? If "you hold it with your own troops, it will only ſerve to weaken your "army every time you quit the neighbourhood of Aurungabad. If "you leave it to the care of Salabadjing's, his enemies, who are yours, "will find means to get it, as Shanavaze Khan lately did. Would it "not be better to give it me? If I obtain it by your means, you have "too much experience of my character to doubt of my gratitude; "and the confuſions which reign in the court of Salabadjing, the ſitu- "ation of your northern provinces, and the war in which you are "engaged with the Engliſh in the Carnatic, may ſoon give me op- "portunities of rendering important ſervices to your nation." Mr. Buſſy replied, that his principal motive for taking poſſeſſion of Doltabad had been to ſecure a certain refuge for the perſonal ſafety of Salabadjing againſt all the accidents of war, and all the convulſions of his government. Balagerow, although diſappointed, manifeſted no umbrage, but continued in his camp, waiting from events ſome better opportunity of renewing his plea.

Many had conjectured the motives of his return, and the enemies of Salabadjing expected an immediate rupture between them; and Nizamally, encouraged by this hope, ſolicited his alliance, promiſing to give him Doltabad if ever in his power. But Balagerow gave no encouragement to his propoſals; on which, he with much hypocriſy pretended to be at length convinced of the miſdemeanors of his late conduct, and aſſured Salabadjing and Mr. Buſſy that he ſhould chearfully accept and abide by their determination of his fortune. His profeſſions, although doubted, were accepted; becauſe the ſeduction of ſome of his connexions, and the impriſonment of the moſt dangerous, had greatly weakened his means of miſchief; but, not to ſhock by too ſudden an humiliation the public reſpect to his birth, it was agreed to give him the government of Hydrabad, which, although much abridged of its ancient domain, ſtill remained a very conſiderable province of the Decan. Nizamally affecting to be perfectly ſatisfied with the lot, viſited Salabadjing, received the inveſtiture in public, and made oſtentatious preparatious to proceed to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. *May.* the capital of his government. The day of his departure was fixed for the 11th of May; and Salabadjing, having no ſuſpicion that he had any other intentions, went two days before to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father Nizamalmuluck, which ſtands ſomewhere about 20 miles from Aurengabad.

In the morning of Nizamally's departure, he held a public durbar to receive the compliments of taking leave from the principal officers of the government: amongſt them went Hyder Jung, whom he received with marked diſtinction: and, when he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, beckoned him, with ſeveral of his own officers, to follow to an inward tent, where they again ſat down, and diſcourſed a while with much ſeeming confidence on public affairs, until Nizamally roſe ſuddenly, as if urged by ſome ſudden neceſſity; but made a motion with his hand to Hyder Jung not to move, ſignifying that he ſhould return immediately, and in the inſtant diſappeared behind a curtain which opened to other apartments. Hyder Jung, notwithſtanding the injunction, was riſing to make his obeiſance; when two officers, who were ſitting one on each hand of him, preſſed him down by the ſhoulders, and a domeſtic, who ſtood ready behind, plunged a dagger into his heart: the ſtruggle was heard, but it was ſome time before the attendants of Hyder Jung were appriſed of his death; for no ſervants are admitted within the centries who guard the tent of audience, and the greateſt part of the retinue remain at a ſtill greater diſtance, in the place where their maſter has alighted. Letters all of the ſame tenor to Salabadjing, Balajerow, Baſſaulet Jung, and even to Mr. Buſſy, had been prepared previous to the aſſaſſination, deſcribing it as the unfortunate conſequence of high words and affront, which had riſen between Hyder Jung and ſome officers in the durbar, after Nizamally had retired: the letter to Mr. Buſſy brought the firſt intelligence which he received of the event, and was interpreted to him by Zulfacar Khan, the very brother of Hyder Jung. The general was immediately beaten, and in a few minutes the whole French army were in battle array, with Mr. Buſſy at their head, mounted on his elephant, uncertain what to expect, and ſurmiſing a combination againſt himſelf of all the powers by which he was ſur-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

surrounded; but Jaffier Ally Khan, who at this time had the principal command in Salabadjing's army, immediately sent him assurances of his attachment, and soon after came up with a large body of troops, who ranged with the French, and others were following: the first care was to send a detachment to strengthen the escort of Salabadjing, and protect his return from his father's tomb: Mr. Bussy had no doubt that Shanavaze Khan and the emperor's Duan Mahomed Hussein had abetted, if not advised, the assassination of Hyder Jung: their confinement had hitherto been gentle, having only centinels round the enclosures of their tents, in which they resided with their families; but Mr. Bussy now supposed, that they would endeavour to escape to, or might be rescued by, Nizamally; to prevent which, as well as to have sureties against the assassination of his own person, he sent a strong detachment to bring them immediately to his own camp, intending to confine them in the fortress of Doltabad, until more certain information was acquired, or tranquillity restored. The detachment consisted of Salabadjing's troops, and French Sepoys. They found a multitude of armed men at the tents, who refused them admission, which they immediately attempted by violence, and were resisted with great resolution, animated by the principals, who supposing their deaths determined, joined and encouraged their adherents; after which no quarter was given; neither did the conflict cease, until Shanavaze Khan with one of his sons, Mahomed Hussein, and most of those who defended them, were killed on the spot. Before the evening closed, an officer deputed by Balajerow came to Mr. Bussy, with assurances of his detestation of the murder of Hyder Jung.

1758. September. *May.*

Nizamally had been waiting in the utmost agitation the consequences of his deed, and seems to have expected a very different result; for the news of Shanavaze Khan's and Mahomed Hussein's death was observed to strike him with dismay. At midnight he quitted the camp, accompanied by the choice of his cavalry; and fled with the utmost speed and perseverance that their horses could endure to gain Brampour, which is one hundred and fifty miles N. of Aurungabad. It is said they reached it in 26 hours, which is impossible.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. impoſſible. Reſpect to Salabadjing had withheld Mr. Buſſy from attacking Nizamally in his camp, which his force would have eaſily beaten up and diſperſed.

September. The next day Salabadjing returned, and immediately held a general council of his principal officers, at which Mr. Buſſy was likewiſe preſent: after many opinions all inſenſibly joined in the neceſſity of puniſhing Nizamally; and this led to a general reſolution of marching directly with the whole army to Brampour. Mr. Buſſy, who knew the characters and connexions of thoſe who compoſed the council, ſuſpected the ſincerity of ſeveral in this advice, foreſeeing that nothing would render him more unpopular in the Decan than the imputation of engaging the Soubah in a war with his brother, to avenge an offence more particularly committed againſt himſelf: he had, moreover, at this time received intelligence from Pondicherry that Mr. Lally was daily expected to arrive there, whoſe orders might not be conſonant to the difficulties or importance of his own ſituation: he therefore endeavoured to revoke the reſolution; but Salabadjing himſelf inſiſted, and reſted the neceſſity on the aſſertion of his own authority. The whole army was in motion the next morning, and advanced with diligence for three days towards Brampour, during which Mr. Buſſy convinced Salabadjing, naturally averſe to endeavour, of the inutility of the purſuit, ſince it was evident that Nizamally with the inſufficient force he commanded would be continually removing out of his reach. The army having halted a day began their march back, thinking that they were returning to Aurungabad; but it was the intention of Mr. Buſſy to lead them by degrees to Golcondah; and in this view he ſuggeſted the expediency of moving towards the frontiers of Berar, in order to ſuppreſs any commotions which might be attempted in that province by the adherents of Nizamally. The army thus proceeded to the ſouth, leaving the city of Aurungabad at a diſtance to the weſt; but, halting continually to ſupport the regulations of the government, advanced ſo ſlowly, that they did not reach the banks of the Gunga, which paſſeth about midway between Golcondah and Aurungabad,

May. June. until the 11th of June, in which interval Mr. Conflans arrived with his

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

his commiſſion to act as ſecond in the command of the French army, and brought a letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. Buſſy, dated the 10th of May, which announced, although it did not order, his recall. The paſſage of the Gunga would decide the continuance of the march to Golcondah, of which the army ſtill remained uncertain; but by this time Mr. Buſſy had gained the concurrence of Baſſaulet Jung by promiſing him the goverment of Hydrabad, which had been intended for his brother Nizamally, together with the office of Duan to the ſoubahſhip: his approbation ſilenced the diſcontent of many others, and the army ſhewed no averſion to go on: and as it was daily expected that the river would begin to riſe, Mr. Buſſy making uſe of this pretence, arranged, that the tents, family, and domeſtic retinue of Salabadjing, ſhould paſs the firſt, and then immediately followed himſelf with the whole body of the French troops, in the midſt of whom he ordered the tents of Salabadjing to be pitched. Having thus ſecured poſſeſſion of this important pledge, he gave out his intentions, which he had hitherto concealed, of not advancing any farther towards Golcondah, before he was joined by the troops he had left to garriſon the fortreſs of Doltabad; they were 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, to whom Mr. Buſſy, on his return from the purſuit of Nizamally, had ſent orders to come away, leaving the fortreſs to an officer nominated by Salabadjing, and to join him where he now was, on the Gunga; his dread of ſome evil chance befalling them, if left far behind, was the cauſe of this precaution; they were already on the way, marching expeditiouſly, and a few days after arrived ſafe at the camp; which then moved forward, and the whole paſſed the river juſt before the rains ſet in, which, as uſual, fell and continued with great violence, and rendered the tranſport of the artillery ſo difficult, that the army did not arrive at Hydrabad until the 15th of July; on which day Mr. Buſſy received a letter written by Mr. Lally on the 13th of June, ordering him to repair to Pondicherry without delay, with all the troops which could be ſpared from the defence of Maſulipatam and the northern provinces, and to take up Mr. Moracin in the way, who had received the ſame orders. In this letter no reſpect was preſerved to the convenience or inclination

1758. September. *June.* *July.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. nation of Salabadjing, whoſe connexions in the preſent conjuncture Mr. Lally conſidered as a chimera of no effect, and who was thus deprived, even without apology, of the only ſupport in his government, on which he had been accuſtomed to rely with confidence. He took leave of Mr. Buſſy with the utmoſt deſpondency, called him the guardian angel of his life and fortune, and foreboded the unhappy fate to which he ſhould be expoſed by his departure. Mr. Buſſy aſſured him, that he ſhould ſoon return; and ſuch was his wiſh and expectation; for although he knew the prejudices which Mr. Lally entertained againſt himſelf, his conduct, and the whole connexion of the French nation with the Subah of the Decan; he imagined, that his repreſentations in perſonal conference would convince Mr. Lally, that this alliance, and the aſſiſtances which might be derived from it, would be the ſureſt means of acquiring and maintaining the ſuperiority of the French nation over the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel. The whole French army, for none were left with Salabadjing, marched from Aurungabad on the 18th of July, the third day after they arrived there. On the third of Auguſt they reached Reyoor on the left bank of the Kriſtna, about 20 miles from Maſulipatam, where Mr. Moracin joined them. Here Mr. Buſſy delivered over the command of the army and the government of all the ceded provinces to Mr. Conflans, taking with him 250 of the beſt of the Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, and 500 Sepoys. They proceeded through Ongole to Nelore, where they arrived on the 4th of September, and were received by Nazeabullah as friends and allies. We ſhall now proceed to the affairs of Bengal.

September. July. Auguſt. September.

War of BENGAL. May.

COLONEL CLIVE on the day he arrived at Muxadavad from Patna, which was the 15th of May, received advices from the coaſt of Coromandel of the arrival of the French ſquadron, and of the engagement between them and the Engliſh on the 29th of April. The confuſion with which the city of Muxadavad was at this time agitated by the conduct of Meerum, required that the ſuperiority which the French were acquiring on ſhore ſhould not be publickly known, and to counteract ſuch opinion, Clive ſpread the news he

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

received, as a complete naval victory; two of the French ſhips ſunk in the fight, inſtead of one ſtranded afterwards by a miſchance; the reſt put to flight, with no likelyhood of being able to land the troops which they had brought for Pondicherry. 1758. May.

The Nabob had tranſmitted to his ſon Meerum his own vexation at the attention which Clive had ſhewn to the preſervation of Roydoolub, by taking him with him to Muxadavad, when the campaign broke up at Bar. Meerum had not been able to ſuppreſs ſome expreſſions of indignation, which were reported to Conjebeharry, the brother of Roydoolub, who acted in the city as his deputy in the office of duan: the brother, too ſolicitous for Roydoolub's ſafety, and his own, had tampered with a conſiderable Jemautdar in the Nabob's ſervice, who gave his oath to act, whenever danger ſhould require, in defence of Roydoolub's houſe. Meerum obtained knowledge of this agreement juſt as Clive and Roydoolub were approaching the city, which he immediately quitted with much appearance of fear, and went to Mootagil, one of the palaces in the neighbourhood, where he ſummoned all the troops and artillery of the government, giving out that he intended to march away to his father, who had not yet paſſed the ſtreight of Tacriagully. The more obſcure the cauſe, the greater was the terror raiſed by this abrupt reſolution. The markets were deſerted, the ſhops were ſhut, the bankers, even the Seats, would do no buſineſs, and many principal families prepared to ſend away their effects. The city had been for two days in this trepidation, when Clive arrived, and on enquiry, found that Meerum affected to ſuſpect even him of joining with Roydoolub in evil intentions againſt his life. He immediately wrote to the Nabob, complaining of Meerum in the ſharpeſt terms, and ſaid, that he would no longer remain in Bengal, ſacrificing zeal to diſtruſt; he, however, ſagaciouſly refrained from making any mention in this letter of the late news from Coromandel, foreſeeing, that it would make a ſtronger impreſſion on the Nabob's mind, when received, magnified as it would come with advantageous circumſtances by the report of others. The Nabob anſwered with much contrition; but before his letter arrived, Meerum had been convinced by Mr. Scrafton,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. May. who was intimate with him, of the meanneſs of his ſuſpicions, and of the raſhneſs of his conduct, and had aſked pardon of Clive in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms. Nevertheleſs, the news of his agitations had induced the Nabob to deſiſt from his huntings, and his intention of paſſing the remainder of the Mahomedan lent at a famous durgar, or tomb near Rajahmahal. He arrived in the city on the 30th of May; but Clive, little ſolicitous of an interview with him, had gone away on the 24th to Calcutta. Two thouſand of the Engliſh Sepoys were ſent thither, and the reſt, with all the Europeans, remained at Coſſimbuzar.

On the 20th of June arrived the Hardwicke, one of the company's ſhips from England, with the arrangements that had been made in conſequence of the news of the loſs of Calcutta. The firſt advices of this event were received in London in the month of Auguſt of the preceding year, when the company appointed a temporary committee of five perſons (in which Clive was to preſide) to manage their affairs in Bengal; but in November they reſolved to diſmiſs Mr. Drake from the government, and nominated a council of ten, in which the four ſenior members were to preſide alternately, each for three months: in this ſucceſſion of the four Mr. Watts ſtood the firſt; the others were Mr. Manningham, Mr. Beecher, and Mr. Holwell, who was not yet returned from England. The firſt reſolution of Auguſt had been ſent in another ſhip, which although diſpatched before was not yet arrived; ſo that the firſt intelligence of it came in the Hardwicke, with that of November. The novelty of this reſolution ſubjected it to the imputation of abſurdity: it was ſaid that the powers of the country, accuſtomed to treat with one chief, would regard the alternate preſidents of Calcutta with mockery inſtead of reſpect; but another cauſe operated on opinions more ſtrongly. Colonel Clive had felt and expreſſed reſentment at the neglect of himſelf in the company's orders, for no ſtation was marked for him in the new eſtabliſhment: much money remained due on the claims of the treaties; the Nabob might prove refractory if Clive ſhould depart; and all concurred in thinking he would beſt defend what he had won, in caſe the French ſhould make any attempt in the province.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The three leading members of the council were more impreſſed than any with theſe apprehenſions, and propoſed to the reſt that Clive ſhould be requeſted to accept of the government under the uſual modes; the vote was unanimous, and the tender was made and accepted on the 26th of June. 1758. June.

Intelligence of the fall of Fort St. David had arrived on the 20th, and left no doubt of Mr. Lally's intention of beſieging Madraſs as ſoon as the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould be obliged by the monſoon to quit the coaſt in October, unleſs he ſhould prefer to detach a part of his force to Bengal.

On the 4th of July, letters were received from Anunderauze-Gauzepetty, who had ſucceeded the Rajah Vizeramrauze, in his power and territory in the provinces of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole. Anunderauze, diſſatisfied with the arrangements made by Mr. Buſſy on the death of his predeceſſor, had waited an opportunity to take his revenge; which occurred ſoon after Mr. Buſſy's departure, by the embarraſſments in which he was involved at Aurengabad by the animoſity of Nizamally, and the orders of Mr. Lally for his return into the Carnatic. Anunderauze, on this intelligence, marched from his reſidence of Vizianagarum, and retook Vizagapatam from the French garriſon, of which he ſent advices, offering to ſurrender the place, to the Preſidency of Madraſs; and requeſting them to ſend a large detachment, which he intended to join with his own forces, and take the four provinces, which the French had obtained from the Subah of the Decan; but finding that no troops could be ſpared from the Carnatic, he now made the ſame propoſals to the preſidency of Bengal, where the project ſeemed deluſive or chimerical to all but Clive. However, nothing could be determined before the month of September, when ſhips might quit the river, and the intentions of Mr. Lally would probably be aſcertained.

The real ſtate of the Engliſh affairs in the Carnatic could be no longer concealed in Bengal, and required more complacency than the government of Calcutta had hitherto ſhewn to the inclinations of Meer Jaffier, who regarded the encreaſe of their diſtreſſes with ſecret joy as the redemption of his own liberty. He would immediately have gratified his favourite vengeance againſt Roydoolub, if

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. July. the diſcontent of his troops for want of pay had not rendered it dangerous to give them ſuch a pretence of tumult, before they were ſatisfied. In other points of the government he was obſerved to aſſume a ſterner air of authority, and told one of his favorites, who betrayed the converſation, that if a French force ſhould come into the province he would aſſiſt them, unleſs the Engliſh releaſed him from all their claims of money, territory, and exemptions.

Clive had expected this change in the Nabob's conduct, becauſe he knew it to be none in his mind; and, in order to prevent him, at leaſt for a while, from committing any exceſſes in his capital, as well as to exhibit the appearance of union and cordiality to the public, the preſidency invited him, as on a viſit of pleaſure, and as a compliment to Clive on his acceptance of the government, to paſs ſome days at Calcutta. Mr. Watts was deputed to give the invitation. The Nabob ſaw the drift, and heſitated, but at length conſented as ſoon as his boats ſhould come from Dacca. They are a magnificent fleet kept at a great expence for pomp and amuſement, and the Nabob, with his family and women, every year paſs a month in them at this ſeaſon, when the Coſſimbuzar river is higheſt. They come from Dacca, decked and adorned, and return thither as ſoon as the feſtival is over, to remain uſeleſs until wanted for the ſame occaſion in the next year.

Scrafton, after Clive left Muxadavad, had attended to the preſervation of Roydoolub in his office; but the Engliſh themſelves had unwittingly planted an engine, which was unſuſpectedly undermining all his protections. Nuncomar had accompanied the army to Patna, and as a Gentoo very converſant in the revenues, was employed with confidence by Roydoolub. When the payment of the tuncaws given by the Nabob at Rajamahal began to fail, he expounded to Colonel Clive the fallacy of the excuſes, and profered, if he were impowered to act as the agent of the Engliſh, ſupported by the authority of the Nabob's government, to find ſummary means of recovering the amount, or of ſubſtituting equivalent payments. Colonel Clive not foreſeeing the end, employed him as he had propoſed, and without the repugnance of Roydoolub. Nuncomar, as his

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

his first measure, threatened the Rajah of Nuddeah with imprison- 1758.
ment, who, frightened, fled to Calcutta, preferring to trust himself July.
to the clemency of the English. This exercise of authority, neither disavowed nor disapproved, immediately placed Nuncomar in that conspicuous station of terror, which is the object of ambition in India, as the certain means of wealth: but knowing that the practices by which he was to make his fortune could not escape the sagacity and experience of Roydoolub, he now became as apprehensive of his controul, as he had hitherto been solicitous of his favour, and cast about to second the Nabob's intention of removing him from the duanny. Scrafton suspected the views of Nuncomar, which deterred him from conferring either with the Nabob or his son, but he held nightly meetings with the emissary in whom they most confided, and represented that the English would no longer interfere in any arrangements, which the Nabob might think proper to make in his government, provided they received the balances of the treaty monies, which he undertook to see regularly paid. His arguments were at this juncture the more welcome, because Roydoolub continued to evade the furnishing of money for the demands of the army, whose impatience had obliged the Nabob to disburse a part of his gold, which was, as usual, treasured up against extremity. The scheme would not have been void of risque, if Nuncomar and others had not estranged the powerful house of the Seats from the interests of Roydoolub, by representations, that they would be called on for money to supply the Nabob's exigencies, if Roydoolub continued to delay the supplies from the revenues. On the 24th Rajahbullub, formerly mentioned in the reign of Allaverdy, as father of Kissendass, and duan to Nowagis Mahomed, who had held in appanage the government of the province of Dacca, was appointed duan to Meerum, and on the 26th Roydoolub was ordered to deliver over to Rajahbullub the accounts and superintendance of that province, Roydoolub saw the whole extent of his danger unexpectedly and at once, and immediately requested leave to retire with his family and effects to Calcutta. The Nabob consented, but Meerum refused, until he had furnished a sum sufficient to satisfy the troops. Matters were in this

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. August. ſtate, when Mr. Watts arrived on the 4th of Auguſt, with the invitation of the council to the Nabob, who, deſirous of appearing unconcerned in what was to follow, conſented to proceed with him to Calcutta. The boats, which were now arrived from Dacca, were ordered to proceed and wait at Augadeep, where the Nabob intended to join them, after he had taken the diverſion of hunting in the iſland of Coſſimbuzar, which in the middle is covered with jungles, the repair of many deer and tigers; but this amuſement was only a pretext to remain within call of the city, which he left on the 6th accompanied by Mr. Watts. Two days after his departure his ſon Meerum ordered a body of troops, who were clamouring for their pay, to go and demand it of Roydoolub. They ſurrounded and beſet the encloſures of his houſe, which were ſpacious; and Roydoolub had gathered a conſiderable number of his own troops, amongſt whom were ſome European deſerters. Mr. Scrafton arrived at Roydoolub's houſe before any blood was ſhed, and prevailed on both ſides to remain quiet, until he could inform Mr. Watts, who was then halting with the Nabob at Moncarrah, 14 miles to the ſouth of the city. The Nabob pretended to know nothing of what was paſſing, and authoriſed Mr. Watts to bring away Roydoolub. He arrived in the city juſt in time to ſave his life; for Meerum, apprehenſive of prevention, had ordered the troops to ſeize his perſon at any riſque; and Roydoolub had prepared a doſe of poiſon to prevent the indignity. Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton immediately put him, with a few attendants, into his boats, and accompanied him with a party of Sepoys in others: they arrived at Calcutta before the Nabob, who waited at Hughley until Clive and moſt of the council paid their reſpects to him there. He then proceeded with them to Calcutta, where he was entertained for ſeveral days with pomp and feſtivity. He ſet out on his return to Muxadavad on the 21ſt of
September. Auguſt, and arrived there on the firſt of September. During his abſence, Meerum had continued guards over the houſe of Roydoolub and of his three brothers, all of whom had employments in the revenue. Mr. Haſtings, who had ſucceeded Mr. Scrafton as the agent of the preſidency at the city, was afraid of giving offence to the Nabob,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September.

Nabob, if he ſhould employ the Engliſh troops at Coſſimbuzar to protect them, and was equally unwilling to adviſe Roydoolub's family to remove without this aid, leſt the women ſhould be ſtopped, and the inſult produce a fray between their retinues, and the troops by which they were beſet; but the repeated requeſts of Clive at length prevailed on the Nabob to permit their departure, and they ſet out for Calcutta on the 12th, eſcorted by a guard of Engliſh ſoldiers. The next night but one the city was alarmed by a new tumult.

On the 4th of September in this year, began the Moharram, or firſt month of the Mahomedan year, of which the firſt ten days are eſpecially conſecrated to devotion. The palaces of the Nabob and his ſon Meerum ſtood on the weſtern bank of the Coſſimbuzar river, but at ſome diſtance from each other. On the night of the 13th of September, which was the 9th of the Moharram, the Nabob went to his ſon's in a boat, and obſerved the ſhore crouded with a much greater number of people than uſual. Returning in his palankin, he ſtopped to pay his devotions at the principal moſque of the city, and had previouſly ordered his general, Coja Hadde, to ſtation a ſufficient number of troops to keep off the populace; but, on entering the encloſure of the moſque, found it filled and ſurrounded by ſepoys, amongſt whom were ſeveral jemautdars belonging to Coja Haddee, who, inſtead of the uſual reſpect, kept their ſeats within, whilſt their ſoldiery thronged tumultuouſly about the Nabob, and prevented his paſſage. He, nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting no danger, was endeavouring to get through them, until one of the ſpies, who, as uſual, attended his perſon, returned out of the croud, and told him, that Coja Haddee had armed all his own troops with ſome bad intention; on which the Nabob waited until all his own retinue had gathered about him, and in the mean time many more were coming from the palaces. The Jemautdars of Coja Haddee then roſe and went away haſtily, and their ſoldiers likewiſe diſperſed.

The next morning a Jemautdar of another diviſion of the army informed the Nabob that Coja Haddee had armed his ſoldiery, and aſſembled them at the pavilion, with the intention of killing him in the tumult of a fray, which, in the night, might appear accidental,

between

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. between them and the Nabob's guard: presently after, another officer, who had served in the division of troops commanded by Roydoolub, came in, and said that Roydoolub had sent a bill of exchange from Calcutta for two lacks of rupees, which was to be paid by Meer Allee, one of his dependants, to Coja Haddee, who was to distribute this money amongst the troops, to induce them to rise under pretence of demanding their arrears, when they were to surround and cut off the Nabob. The Nabob, without farther examination, dismissed Coja Haddee from his service, with orders to leave the city, and appointed Mahmdee Cawn, a Pitan, to the post of Buxey, or captain general of his forces.

In this manner was the story related on the second day after the tumult at the pavilion by the Nabob himself to Mr. Hastings; and the very day after it happened, Rajah Binderbund, one of Roydoolub's brothers, in a private conference on this subject, told Mr. Hastings, that the troops then assembled were at his devotion. This suggestion induced Mr. Hastings to believe the accusation against Roydoolub; but Colonel Clive suspected, and ordered stricter enquiry. In the mean time, the Nabob had informed Mr. Hastings, that he had got possession of a letter written by Roydoolub to Coja Haddee, in which Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were mentioned as having consented to their project of destroying him; but he refused to give a copy of the letter until he saw Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton. Mr. Hastings represented the implication and indignity of their coming to be confronted with such an accusation; on which the Nabob requested him to write, and sent one of his own officers to Calcutta, to request that they might be sent, in order to settle a new scheme he had projected for discharging the monies for which he had given tuncaw: on the provinces. Before this he had paid the arrears due to the troops under the immediate command of Coja Haddee, which were 1400 horse, and had obliged them to quit the province in different bands by different routs; but Coja Haddee himself was suffered to remain in the city until the 11th of October, when he was permitted to depart, accompanied by 30 horsemen, and with assurances that he should receive no injury, provided he raised no disturbance.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

turbance. A few days after, the Nabob was informed that Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton were not likely to come to him, on which he delivered a copy of the letter imputed to Roydoolub; and, although he had before ſaid it had been intercepted, he now confeſſed that his ſon Meerum had obtained it from Coja Haddee, on a promiſe of reconciliation. The letter "exhorts Coja Haddee to carry the affair "in which he is engaged into immediate execution. Roydoolub will "be with him in time; has written to Meer Alli to ſupply the ex- "pences; has half engaged Seid Coſſim Ally Khan, and leaves it to "the diſcretion of Coja Haddee to bring him over entirely; will "aſſuredly comply with what was agreed upon between himſelf and "Coja Haddee; has gained the concurrence of Colonel Clive by the "means of Mr. Watts and Mr. Scrafton, and has taken the diſ- "charge of the tuncaws, and the arrears of the Nabob's army upon "himſelf." The caution of Roydoolub during the confederacy againſt Surajah Dowlah, in which he never ventured to write, or even to ſend a meſſage, rendered it ſcarcely probable that he ſhould thus throw himſelf into the power of Coja Haddee, on pretences he knew to be fictitious; and it was ſtill more abſurd to ſuppoſe, that, living in Calcutta without means of eſcape, he ſhould dare ſo heinous a falſity againſt Clive, whoſe ſeverity he had learned to dread as much as he reſpected his protection. Clive regarded the letter as a forgery of the Nabob's and his ſon in order to exaſperate him againſt Roydoolub, whom, if he ſhould not puniſh more ſeverely, they expected at leaſt he would turn out of Calcutta, when they might plunder him, without controul, of his wealth, as the ranſom of his life. But on the other hand it appeared ſtrange that they ſhould produce a letter, which, if not true, might be eaſily diſproved by a ſtrict examination of Coja Haddee on the whole ſeries of his connexion with Roydoolub. Their permiſſion of Coja Haddee's departure was already a ſtrong indication of their apprehenſion of this teſt, and a few days after came news, that he and ſeveral of his followers had been killed in a fray with the troops ſtationed at Rajahmahal, under the command of Daud Khan, who was the Nabob's brother. His head was brought

1758. September.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. to Muxadavad and viewed with much complacence by the Nabob and his ſon. Still it remained to examine Seid Coſſim Ally Khan, and Meer Alli; but at this time the forces of the Engliſh preſidency were ſo much diminiſhed by an armament ſent out of the river to the province of Chicacole, that it became neceſſary not to provoke the Nabob, by probing the ignominy of his conduct; of which Clive had acquired a ſufficient proof, by a letter written in his own hand to Nuncomar at Hughley, offering him a title and jaghire, if he would bring the affair of Roydoolub's letter to a good end: it was therefore deemed imprudent to inflict the reproach he deſerved; but Clive told him, that if he gave ear to ſuch tales, there would be an end to all confidence between him and the Engliſh nation.

Farther letters had been received in Auguſt, from the Rajah Anunderauze; and other advices, which were not very correct, gave ſome account of the diſcords between Mr. Buſſy and Nizamally at Aurengabad. Anunderauze repeated more earneſtly, and with greater confidence, his requeſt of a body of troops to drive the French out of the ceded provinces, and now propoſed, as equally feaſible, the reduction of Maſulipatam. Letters of the ſame purport came at the ſame time from Mr. Briſtol, who had been the agent at Cutteck, and had proceeded from thence to Ingeram; had viſited Anunderauze on the way, and was received by him with much good-will. A few days after arrived advices from the preſidency at Madraſs of the ſecond engagement between the ſquadrons on the 3d of Auguſt, with their opinion, that the French ſhips were ſo much diſabled that they muſt return to their iſlands to refit before they ventured another; that the French army was before Tanjore, and that Mr. Buſſy was on his march from Hyderabad to Maſulipatam, from whence he was to join Mr. Lally with the greateſt part of the force under his command: that this meaſure indicated Mr. Lally's intention of exerting his whole ſtrength in the Carnatic, and left no apprehenſions of his making any attempt againſt Bengal; for which reaſon they expected the preſidency in this province would immediately ſend a conſiderable part of their force to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

enable Madraſs to ſtand the brunt of the arduous conflict which muſt ſoon enſue. 1758. September.

No one doubted that Madraſs would be beſieged as ſoon as the Monſoon had ſent the ſquadrons off the coaſt, if reinforcements ſhould not arrive before; but Clive did not entertain the ſurmiſe that it could be taken whilſt it had proviſions; and as troops were known to be in the way from England, if the ſhips in which they were embarked ſhould loſe their paſſage in this year, they would probably arrive in the firſt months of the next. Nevertheleſs it was neceſſary, if poſſible, to alleviate the inequality between the Engliſh and French force in Coromandel.

But the preference which each of the Company's preſidencies was naturally inclined to give to its own ſafety, as the only ground on which the property and fortunes of the whole community were eſtabliſhed, ſuggeſted apprehenſions, that Madraſs, in the ſame manner as it had been treated by the preſidency of Calcutta, would, whatſoever might be the neceſſity of Bengal, detain, on their own ſervice, whatſoever troops might be ſent to their aſſiſtance; and, although little was to be immediately apprehended in Bengal from the French, yet the intire eſtrangement of the Nabob, and the hazard of all that remained due from him, were to be expected, if he ſaw the Engliſh force too conſiderably diminiſhed, without the immediate power of recall, to oppoſe either his own attempts againſt them; or to afford the aſſiſtance he might want, whether in the maintenance of his authority againſt his own ſubjects, or the defence of his territory againſt foreign enemies.

In conſequence of theſe concluſions it was determined not to ſend a body of troops to Madraſs, but to employ all that could with prudence be ſpared, in concert with Anunderauze, againſt the French in the ceded provinces; which would either occaſion a diverſion of their troops in the Carnatic, or, if they neglected this aſſiſtance, would deprive them at once of all they had acquired by their long connexion with the Subah of the decan: and, leſt any danger during the expedition ſhould threaten Bengal, the troops were only to obey the immediate orders of Calcutta.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. September. The conduct of the expedition was committed to Lieutenant Colonel Forde, who, on the invitation of the presidency to take the command of the army in case of the departure of Colonel Clive, had quitted the King's service in Adlercron's regiment, and arrived from the coast in the month of April. Mr. George Grey was sent to continue the course of intelligence at Cutteck, and Mr. John Johnstone was dispatched in the Mermaid sloop to make the necessary preparations in concert with Anunderauze at Vizagapatam. The force allotted for the expedition was 500 Europeans, including the artillery-men, 2000 Sepoys, and 100 Lascars: the artillery were six field-pieces, the best brass six-pounders, six 24 pounders for battery, a howitz, and an eight-inch mortar. 80000 rupees, and 4000 gold mohurs, equivalent to 60,000 rupees, were the military chest for immediate expences. The embarkation was made on three of the Company's ships arrived lately from Europe, on the Thames, a private ship of 700 tons, with two of the pilot sloops of the river. The Thames likewise carried a great quantity of provisions intended for Madrass, whither she was to proceed as soon as the present service would permit. By altercations in the council, for the measure was too vigorous to be acceptable to all of them, and by delays in the equipment, the vessels were detained in the river until the end of September. Their departure left the English force in the province barely equal to what they carrried away.

The progress of this expedition after the departure of the armament, bears more relation to the affairs of Coromandel than of Bengal. The events which immediately ensued in the provinces of Behar and Bengal, originated from the distractions which had for many years prevailed at Delhi, the capital of the empire, and from the views and operations of a variety of great interests and powers acting in the center of Indostan. The developement of these causes, and their effects, require an uninterrupted investigation of no little complication and extent. But the important and nearer contest already opened between the English and French nations in the Carnatic, continues from this time forth with such incessant energy,

that

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

that our narrative, once engaged, cannot quit their operations without impairing the perſpicuity neceſſary to explain the ſtrict ſucceſſion of influences, by which preceding events were continually producing thoſe which immediately followed. We have therefore determined to continue this portion of our ſtory without interruption, until the events themſelves begin to take reſpite; when we ſhall return to the affairs of Bengal. 1758. October.

END *of the* NINTH BOOK.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION

ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN

CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

VOLUME II.

SECTION THE SECOND.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN NOURSE,

BOOKSELLER IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

M.DCC.LXXVIII.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

BOOK X.

THE French detachment, which marched under the command of Saubinet, againſt Trinomalee, were reſiſted with bravery by the kellidar appointed by Rangarow of Thiagar, who ſtood three aſſaults, in the laſt of which the French ſtormed the pagoda, and with much fury put 500 men to the ſword. This conqueſt was gained on the 10th of September, and on the 16th Mr. Soupire appeared with a large diviſion of the army before Carangoly, which Murzafabeg not thinking tenable had left with a few troops to reſiſt ſlight aſſaults, and returned with the reſt to defend Trivatore. Carangoly ſubmitted on the firſt ſummons, and at the ſame time another detachment under the command of the Chevalier de Crillon marched againſt Trivatore, where Murzafabeg, with 300 horſe of his own, joined by as many belonging to the Nabob, from Arcot, and a body of Sepoys, met the enemy in the field, and were ſoon defeated and diſperſed; in conſequence of which Trivatore was re-taken without farther reſiſtance. In the mean time Mr. Lally himſelf, with an eſcort of horſe, viſited Alamparva, Gingee, Carangoly, Chittapet, and ſeveral minor poſts, and then came to Vandiwaſh, where all the detachments had aſſembled from their different expeditions. Here he was joined by Mr. Buſſy, who, leaving the troops which he had brought from the northward to the conduct of Moracin at Nelore, had paſſed from hence with his private retinue, under the ſafeguard of a paſſport granted by the preſidency of Madraſs. From Vandiwaſh Mr. Lally detached the Count D'Eſtaigne with a part of the army to re-

1758. September.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. October. duce the fort of Arcot, to whom Timery ſurrendered in the way without reſiſtance; and before he arrived at Arcot, Rajahſaheb had ſucceeded in a negotiation with the Nabob's kellidar to deliver up the fort on an inſignificant capitulation. Mr. Lally, thinking that the taking poſſeſſion of the citadel of the capital would magnify his reputation in the province, reſolved to receive the ſurrender in perſon, and made his entry into the fort on the 4th of October, under the diſcharge of all the cannon; and diſpatched orders to Pondicherry and the other French garriſons to proclaim the acquiſition with the ſame oſtentation.

The preſidency of Madraſs ſaw in theſe operations nothing but what they expected would have happened immediately after the fall of Fort St. David; and the preſervation of Chinglapet, if in their power, gave them more ſollicitude, than the abandoning of all the other forts together, which the inferiority of their force had left them no means of preſerving. At the requeſt of the renter of Chinglapet, they had ſent two companies of Sepoys to guard this fort, whilſt his own men with arms were employed in protecting the harveſts, and the ſame number of Sepoys were ſent at the ſame time to garriſon Conjeveram. Towards the end of Auguſt a lieutenant was appointed to command thoſe in Chinglapet, and carried with him another company. On the 14th of September arrived the Company's ſhip Pitt, of 50 guns: ſhe ſailed from England on the 6th of March together with ſix others, under the convoy of the Grafton of 70, and the Sunderland of 60 guns, coming to reinforce Mr. Pocock's ſquadron: on board of theſe ſhips were embarked 900 men of the king's troops, embodied in a regiment under the command of lieutenant colonel Draper, who, with major Brereton, and 100 of the regiment, arrived and landed from on board the Pitt, but 50 had died on the paſſage of a contagion, then called the Breſt fever, which had paſſed during the war from the French marine into many Engliſh ſhips. The troops which came in the Pitt, and the expectation that the other ſhips with the reſt would arrive before the change of the monſoon, encouraged the Preſidency to ſend four companies more of Sepoys to Chinglapet: this reinforcement ſtopped the march of a conſiderable detachment,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

tachment, which had set out on the 19th from Carangoly to attack Chinglapet, where, immediately after, arrived the two companies of Sepoys from Conjeveram, retreating as soon as Trivatore was reduced. The garrison, now consisting of nine companies, was deemed almost sufficient to maintain the fort, until relieved from Madrass; and captain Richard Smith was appointed to take the command, and with him were sent two commissioned officers, a serjeant, a corporal, and 12 European gunners, and two field-pieces; so that the whole number of Europeans, including the serjeants of the Sepoys, were thirty chosen men, and captain Smith was ordered to defend the fort at all events and extremities. On the 25th, the squadron commanded by Mr. Pococke anchored in the road, having executed a secret commission which had detained him all this while to the southward, and had given rise to a variety of erroneous reports and conjectures. The presidency on the 25th of August had finally resolved to recall Major Calliaud from Tritchinopoly, with all the European soldiers and Coffrees in the garrison, excepting such as were in the service of the artillery, or annexed to the Sepoys. Calliaud, just as he was ready to march, received intelligence on the 5th of September, that a very large fleet of English ships were arrived at Anjengo there; which, although doubtful, required him to suspend his departure until more certain advices, which he received on the 15th and the next day began his march, with 180 Europeans and 50 Coffrees, leaving, according to his instructions, the command of the garrison, in which were now included the 2000 Sepoys brought by Mahomed Issoof from Tinivelly, to captain Joseph Smith. The detachment marching through the Tanjore country met every kind of assistance in their way, and on the 23d embarked from Negapatam on board the squadron, which arrived two days after at Madrass. This reinforcement increased the means of protecting Chinglapet; and four more field-pieces, with a complement of Lascars to work them, were sent thither on the 2d of October. 1758. October.

Mr. Lally at length saw the importance of this place, which, 20 days before, he might have taken by escalade in open day, and resolved to march against it with his whole force as soon as he had settled some

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. October. arrangements in the government of Arcot, and the adjacent countries. In the mean time his communication with Chinglapet was opened by the poſſeſſion of Covrepauk and Conjeveram, which his detachments found evacuated. But his late acquiſitions had not hitherto reimburſed the expences of the field, nor eſtabliſhed his credit to borrow: ſo that his treaſury could barely ſupply the pay of the ſoldiers, and could not provide the other means of putting the army in motion, and all that the government of Pondicherry could immediately furniſh was 10,000 rupees: pretending therefore much indignation at this diſappointment, he diſtributed the troops into various cantonments, and returned himſelf, accompanied by Mr. Buſſy, to Pondicherry, where as uſual he imputed the failure of his intentions againſt Chinglapet to the miſmanagements of the Company's adminiſtration. Notwithſtanding his deep animoſity to Mr. Buſſy, reſpect to the diſtinguiſhed character of this officer confined Mr. Lally to the obſervances of public civility; which impoſed on no one, as he had ſtill more publickly expreſſed his real opinions. The rank which Mr. Buſſy held at this time was only that of lieutenant colonel; and beſides Mr. Soupire, who was a major general, ſix of the officers arrived from France were colonels, who of courſe muſt command him on all ſervices when acting together. The colonels, ſenſible of the advantages which might be derived from his abilities, and his experience and reputation in the country, and how much the opportunities would be precluded by the preſent inferiority of his rank, ſigned a declaration, requeſting on theſe conſiderations that he might be appointed a Brigadier General, in ſuperſeſſion to themſelves, which would place him next in command to Mr. Soupire. The public zeal which dictated this requeſt, conferred as much honour on thoſe who made it, as their teſtimony on Mr. Buſſy. Their names, highly worthy of record on this occaſion, were moſtly of antient and noble deſcent; D'Eſtaign, de Landiviſiau, de la Faire, Bretueil, Verdiere, and Crillon. Mr. Lally could make no objection, but with his uſual aſperity imputed the compliment to the influence of Mr. Buſſy's money, inſtead of his reputation.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The approach of the ſtormy monſoon warned the Engliſh ſquadron to quit the coaſt; and Mr. Pococke, as on all other occaſions of conſequence, conſulted the preſidency on the ſecurity of Madraſs during his abſence. They were of opinion that the enemy, if at all, would not attack the town before the rains had ceaſed, which generally happens about the end of November, and had no doubt of defending it until reinforcements ſhould arrive, or the ſquadron return. But as the lateneſs of the ſeaſon might deter the ſhips expected from England from venturing on the coaſt until the month of January, they requeſted Mr. Pococke to lend the marines of the ſquadron, with which he complied without heſitation. One hundred men were landed, and on the 11th the ſquadron weighed anchor and ſailed for Bombay. 1758. October.

Mr. Moracin, having purpoſely waited at Nelore until the end of September, then began his march with the detachment left to his care by Mr. Buſſy, and was accompanied by Nazeabulla with the troops of his government: proceeding through the woods and mountains of Bangar Yatcham Naigue, they arrived at the pagoda of Tripetty on the 5th of October, the day on which the great annual feaſt began; which laſts 25 days. They were here joined by Abdulwahab Cawn, with his troops from Chandergherry: they gave no diſturbance to the pilgrims, but ſummoned the renter to diſmiſs his guards and deliver up the avenues, who, not having a force ſufficient to make any effectual oppoſition, made propoſals to rent the revenue of this, and the enſuing feaſts, from the French, on the ſame terms as he had hitherto held them from the Engliſh goverment, and tendered a ſum in hand, which Moracin accepted, and confirmed him in the employment. Then leaving a part of his detachment to guard this valuable acquiſition, he proceeded on the 16th with the reſt, and the troops of Nazeabulla to Arcot through the country of Bomrauze, who, inſtead of oppoſing their paſſage, paid them a viſit. But Abdulwahab, much offended that the management of the pagoda, which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes, was not granted to himſelf, retired with his troops to Chandergherry. Nazeabulla

and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. October. and Moracin arrived at Arcot on the 12th, and leaving their troops there went on to attend Mr. Lally at Pondicherry.

The deſiſtance of Mr. Lally from marching againſt Chinglapet after the reduction of Arcot, gave the preſidency of Madraſs encouragement and opportunity to ſtrengthen that place more effectually. The partizan Murzafabeg, having ſince the French ſucceſſes no employment for the troops he had levied, had brought the beſt of them, 70 horſe and 200 Sepoys, to Chinglapet, where they were taken into the company's pay; and on the 30th of October it was determined to encreaſe the garriſon to 100 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys, to ſend ſeveral pieces of battering cannon, to lay-in three months proviſions, and to repair the works. At the ſame time Captain Smith was recalled to Madraſs, to ſerve in his former employment of aid de camp to Colonel Lawrence, and captain Preſton was ſent to take the command of Chinglapet, which illneſs had obliged him to quit. Before his arrival captain R. Smith had detached Murzafabeg on the 29th, with four companies of Sepoys and ſome of the horſe, to diſlodge a party of the enemy's Sepoys, who had taken poſt in the village of Polipore, ſituated about two miles from the other ſide of the Paliar; Murzafabeg attacked them at day-break, killed and wounded 20, diſperſed the reſt, and gathered 60 of their muſkets, which they had thrown down in their flight.

The arrival of a veſſel at Pondicherry on the 18th, from Mauritius, which brought treaſure, together with 100,000 rupees, brought by Mr. Moracin from Tripetti, enabled Mr. Lally to put the French troops into motion again: and, as the ſymptoms of the rainy ſeaſon hung back even at the end of the month, parties began to aſſemble at Carangoly, Salawauk, and Conjeveram, and Mr. Lally himſelf came from Pondicherry to Vandiwaſh. On the 2d of November 250 Europeans, 100 troopers, with ſome black horſe and Sepoys, marched from Salawauk, and took poſt again at Polipore, where they were joined on the 5th by 400 more Europeans, with ſeveral pieces of battering cannon, and a mortar: intelligence of which came to Madraſs the next day, a few hours after the laſt convoy of ſupplies had ſet out for Chinglapet; and as the main-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

maintenance of this place depended on the arrival of these supplies, it was resolved that 1200 Europeans and 1800 Sepoys, by far the greatest part of the garrison of Madrass, should immediately take the field to cover them; of which one half, under the command of lieutenant colonel Draper, were to advance as far as Vendalore, within 10 miles of Chinglapet; whilst the other, with colonel Lawrence, were to halt at St. Thomas's mount, ready to support Draper's division: they marched on the 7th in the morning; and the news stopped the French troops at Polipore from crossing the river, and the march of a detachment advancing from Conjeveram under the command of Saubinet, both intending to intercept the convoy; which got safe into Chinglapet on the evening of the ninth. Colonel Draper continued at Vendalore until the 11th, when he received some intelligence of the approach of the whole of the enemy's army, on which he marched back with his division, and joined that with colonel Lawrence at the mount. 1758. November.

Every day had proved the good effects of re-establishing the possession of Chinglapet; for, under the protection of this barrier, the country behind, which is more extensive than the districts protected by Pondomalee and Tripassour, continued to furnish Madrass with daily supplies of all kinds of provisions and necessaries, by which the stock laid up in store to sustain the impending siege was saved; and to preserve this benefit as long as possible, the troops which had been sent abroad with Draper and Lawrence were ordered to remain encamped at the mount until the last hour which might endanger the safety of their retreat to the town; after which, as the best of external means to protract the siege when commenced, it was determined to have a body of troops in the field distinct from those already belonging to the garrison, which, if nothing more, were to be continually employed in harrassing the enemy's convoys of stores and provisions. Accordingly a contract, which had for some months been under discussion, was concluded with the agent of Morarirow for the service of 2000 Morattoe horse, of which 500 were to arrive in 25 days, and the rest in 45; but as no sureties were received, the punctuality of this assistance could not be relied on. The presidency, therefore, as a surer resource, ordered the commandant Mahomed

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. November. homed Iſſoof to take the field with 2000 of their own Sepoys from the garriſon of Tritchinopoly; and requeſted the king of Tanjore to join this body with 1000 of his horſe, and the Polygar Tondiman, and even the diſtant Moravars, with the beſt of their troops; for whom, however, Mahomed Iſſoof was not to wait; and, in caſe none of theſe allies arrived in time, he was impowered to enliſt 500 good horſe if to be found in his march. The Nabob ſtill maintained 300 horſe, part of whom attended his perſon at St. Thomé, and the reſt were diſperſed in the adjacent diſtricts, who on the receipt of ſome money joined the army at the Mount; to which all the polygars to the northward of Madraſs were likewiſe commanded to ſend their troops; but none came: and the Partizan Murzafabeg, having been refuſed an increaſe of pay which he demanded in this hour of neceſſity, went off in the night with his 70 horſe and ſome of his Sepoys, and took ſervice with the French army at Conjeveram.

The troops, of whoſe approach L. Colonel Draper had received intelligence, were 500 irregular Sepoys, under the command of an active adventurer named Lambert, with part of the horſe levied by Rajahſaheb, who had been ſent forward to plunder and terrify the country. They croſſed the Paliar, and on the 15th, appeared before Tripaſſour, and attacked the pettah, but were repulſed at the hedge which ſurrounds it, with the loſs of 20 men, by the Peons of the renter, and the two companies of Sepoys ſtationed in the fort.

But the French army were not in ſuch readineſs as the Engliſh imagined to commence the ſiege of Madraſs. All the draught bullocks which Pondicherry had been able to collect were not ſufficient to tranſport one half of the heavy artillery neceſſary for the attack; and the greateſt part of the train, with many other ſtores, had been laden a month before on the Harlem taken from the Dutch, which ſhip ſailed acroſs the bay, in order to work to the northward on the other ſide, when ſhe was to ſtretch acroſs again and fall in with Maſulipatam, where ſhe was to receive more cannon and ſtores, and then come down the coaſt to Madraſs. The time was elapſed in which a well-ſailing veſſel might have made this paſſage, and without news of the Harlem; and on this diſappointment

Mr.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. November.

Mr. Lally ordered another ſtore of artillery, which had been depoſited at Alamparva, to be ſhipped on two frigates, the Diligence and the Expedition, which were in the road of Pondicherry, but laden for other voyages; ſo that it would require a month before they could get this artillery on board, and work up againſt the wind and current to Madraſs. However, the French army might have advanced many days before, if they had not been in want of many other articles, which, although of much more minute detail, were equally of abſolute neceſſity. As ſoon as theſe were ſupplied, the firſt diviſion moved from Conjeveram on the 19th; but Mr. Lally being very ill, had detained the reſerve until the 22d, when the great body of the monſoon rain fell with the utmoſt violence, and laſted without intermiſſion for three days: the troops abroad, warned by the ſky, were on their march back to Conjeveram when the rain began, but nevertheleſs gained their way with much difficulty and diſtreſs, and after it had ceaſed, the ſurface of the country continued impaſſable for ſeveral days.

Whilſt the collected force of both nations in the Carnatic were thus waiting the impending conflict, each were equally ſolicitous concerning the ſucceſs of the armament ſent from Bengal into the northern provinces. Mr. Johnſtone, who had been ſent from Calcutta to concert preparations with the Rajah Anunderauze, arrived on the 12th of September at Vizagapatam, of which the Rajah's officers there immediately put him in poſſeſſion, as the Company's repreſentative. The Rajah himſelf was encamped with his forces at Coſſimcotah, a fort 20 miles to the weſt of Vizagapatam, and 15 inland from the ſea. His letter to Mr. Johnſtone expreſſed much ſatisfaction that the Engliſh troops were coming, but ſignified his intention not to furniſh any money towards their expences. Tempeſtuous weather from the ſouth delayed the arrival of the ſhips and veſſels with Colonel Ford until the 20th of October. As ſoon as the diſembarkation was made, two of the Company's ſhips were ſent back to Bengal; but the other, the Hardwicke, and the two ſloops, remained to attend the progreſs of the expedition. The troops moved from Vizagapatam on the 1ſt of November, and on the third joined

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. November. the Rajah and his army at Coſſimcotah, from whence it was determined to march againſt Rajahmundrum, where Mr. Conflans had collected the French troops from all parts, and they were already advancing to attack the Rajah; but, on hearing that the Engliſh troops were in motion to join him, they halted and encamped.

Mr. Johnſtone had diſpatched the ſloop in which he came, with advices to Madraſs of his reception at Vizagapatam; on which they immediately ſent away Mr. Andrews, with ſeveral aſſiſtants, to reeſtabliſh the factory under their own authority, on which the ſettlement had always been dependent: They likewiſe ſent Captain Callendar, an officer on the Madraſs eſtabliſhment, to act as ſecond under Colonel Forde. The veſſel which brought them arrived at Vizagapatam on the 21ſt of November; and Andrews with Callendar immediately went to the camp, which, by long halts and ſhort marches, had not yet advanced 30 miles beyond Coſſimcotah. Various excuſes were employed by the Rajah to extenuate this delay; but the real cauſe was his repugnance to furniſh the money which Colonel Forde demanded, who was not a little offended at his evaſions. Mr. Andrews, who, having been chief of Madapollam, had long been perſonally known to the Rajah, adjuſted their differences by a treaty, which ſtipulated, "that all plunder ſhould be equally divided; that "all the countries which might be conquered ſhould be delivered "to the Rajah, who was to collect the revenues; but that the ſea-"ports and towns at the mouths of the rivers ſhould belong to the "company, with the revenues of the diſtricts annexed to them; that "no treaty for the diſpoſal or reſtitution, whether of the Rajah's or "the Engliſh poſſeſſions, ſhould be made without the conſent of "both parties; that the Rajah ſhould ſupply 50,000 rupees a month "for the expences of the army, and 6000, to commence from their "arrival at Vizagapatam, for the particular expences of the officers." He held out likewiſe other propoſals of future alliance, which he had not yet authority to ratify.

The united forces now moved in earneſt, and on the 3d of December came in ſight of the enemy, who were encamped 40 miles on this ſide of Rajahmundrum, in a ſtrong ſituation which commanded the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

the high road, near a village called Gallapool, and in ſight of a fort called Peddipore. They had 500 Europeans, many more pieces of cannon than they could uſe at once, a great number of the troops of the country, of which 500 were horſe, and 6000 Sepoys. Of the Engliſh force embarked from Bengal, only 30 Europeans and a few Sepoys were wanting, who had been left ſick at Vizagapatam; ſo that there were in the field 470 Europeans, and 1900 Sepoys. The Rajah had 500 paltry horſe, and 5000 foot, ſome with aukward fire-arms, the reſt with pikes and bows; but he had collected 40 Europeans, who managed four field-pieces under the command of Mr. Briſtol; beſides which his own troops had ſome uſeleſs cannon. On the 6th, the Engliſh and the Rajah's army advanced and took poſſeſſion of a village called Chambole, on the high road likewiſe, within four miles of the enemy, when each deemed the ſituation of the other too ſtrong to be attacked: on which Colonel Forde, as the only means to draw the enemy from theirs to a general action, reſolved to march round and regain the road to Rajahmundrum in their rear, by paſſing under the hills to their left, where the enemy could not derive much advantage from their horſe. The Rajah approved; and on the 9th, at four in the morning, the Engliſh troops were in motion; but the Rajah's with their uſual indolence not prepared to march. Near the foot of the hills, about three miles to the right of the village of Chambole, was another called Condore, to gain which, the Engliſh troops having filed from the right, were in march, when at day-break they heard a ſtrong cannonade towards the Rajah's camp. It was from 6 guns, which Mr. Conflans, ignorant of Colonel Forde's march, had ſent on in the night, under the guidance of an intelligent deſerter, who had noticed a ſpot that bore upon the camp; and Mr. Conflans was following to ſupport them with his whole army and the reſt of his field-artillery. The Rajah ſent meſſages after meſſages, which met the Engliſh troops returning to his relief; and his own, quickened by the danger, were removing as faſt as they could out of the reach of it; and having, in much confuſion, joined the Engliſh, continued marching on with them to the village of Condore, where all arrived at eight o'clock. The enemy, although

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December. from long distances, continued to cannonade whilst any of the English or the Rajah's troops remained within probable reach.

When arrived at the village of Condore, the army was just as far as before from the French encampment at Gallapole, but with better ground between, and a village midway, which would afford a strong advanced post. Mr. Conflans imagined that the English troops had marched from their encampment to Condore, in order from hence to take possession of this village, and in this persuasion crossed the plain to prevent them, with his whole army, and succeeded in his wish without interruption; for Colonel Forde remained halting at Condore, to regulate his future motions by the enemy's. Mr. Conflans imputed this inaction to a consciousness of inferiority, and now imagined that the English intended to march back to their encampment at Chambole, to prevent which, he formed his line, and advanced in much haste, and little order.

The French battalion of Europeans was in the centre of the line, with 13 field-pieces, divided on their flanks, the horse 500 were on the left of the battalion; 3000 Sepoys formed the right wing, and the same number the left, and with each wing were five or six pieces of cumbrous cannon. The English army drew up with their Europeans in the centre, the six field-pieces divided on their flanks; the 1800 Sepoys were likewise equally divided on the wings. Colonel Forde placed no reliance on the Rajah's infantry or horse, and ordered them to form aloof, and extend on each flank of the Sepoys: all this rabble kept behind, but the renegade Europeans under Bristol, who managed the four field-pieces belonging to the Rajah, advanced, and formed with the division of artillery on the left of the English battalion. The line having had time, were in exact order, and had advanced a mile in front of the village of Condore, during which, the enemy cannonaded hotly from all their guns. At length the impetuosity of the enemy's approach, who came on, out-marching their cannon, obliged the English line to halt for action; and it chanced that the whole of their battalion stopped near and opposite to a field of Indian corn, which was grown so tall that it intirely intercepted them from the enemy; but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

but the Sepoys on the wings were free in the plain on each hand. For what reaſon is not known, Colonel Forde had ordered his Sepoys to furl their colours, which, beſides the principal flag, are ſeveral ſmall banners to a company, and to let them lay on the ground during the action. 1758. December.

The Sepoys and horſe of the enemy's wings greatly outſtretched the wings of the Engliſh line, and came on each in a curve to gain their flanks; the French battalion in the centre, inſtead of advancing parallel to where by the wings they might judge the centre of the Engliſh line would be, inclined obliquely to the right, which brought them beyond the field of Indian corn, oppoſite to the Engliſh Sepoys on the left wing; whom from their red jackets, and the want of their uſual banners, they from the firſt approach miſtook for the Engliſh battalion; reſpecting them as ſuch, they halted to dreſs their ranks before they engaged, and then began to fire in platoons advancing, but at the diſtance of 200 yards. Nevertheleſs, this was ſufficient; for the Sepoys, ſeeing themſelves attacked without cover by Europeans in front, and the horſe and multitude of the enemy's Sepoys, gaining their rear, or coming down on their flank, ſcarcely preſerved courage to give their fire, hurried, ſcattered, and without command; and then immediately broke, and ran away to ſhelter themſelves in the village of Chambole, and were followed by the neareſt of the enemy's horſe. This ſucceſs was greater than even the confidence of the enemy expected; and ſeveral platoons of the French battalion were ſetting off to purſue them likewiſe, when they ſaw a line of men with ſhouldered arms marching faſt and firm from behind the field of Indian corn acroſs their way, to occupy the ground which the Sepoys had abandoned.

Colonel Forde had been with the Sepoys before their flight, encouraging them to reſolution; but ſaw, by the uſual ſymptoms of trepidation, that they would not ſtand the ſhock, which prepared him to order the judicious movement, which the officers were now performing with ſo much ſteadineſs and ſpirit. Captain Adnet, commanding on the left, led the line, and as ſoon as the laſt files were got clear of the corn, the word was given, when the whole halted,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

halted, and faced at once, in full front of the enemy. This motion was quickly executed; for the foremoſt man had not more than 300 yards to march, and the field-pieces were left behind. During this ſhort interval, the French battalion were endeavouring with much buſtle to get into order again; for ſome of their platoons had advanced a conſiderable diſtance before others; and thus the fire of the Engliſh line commenced before the enemy's was ready; it was given in diviſions, that is, the whole battalion divided into five, andbegan from Captain Adnet's on the left, which was within piſtol ſhot, and brought down half the enemy's grenadiers; the fire ran on, and before the time came for Adnet's diviſion to repeat theirs, the whole of the enemy's line were in confuſion, and went about running faſt to regain their guns, which they had left half a mile behind them on the plain.

The ardour of the Engliſh battalion to purſue was ſo great, that Colonel Forde judged it beſt to indulge it in the inſtant, although not certain of the ſucceſs of the Sepoys on the right, but concluding that the enemy's Sepoys who were to attack them, would not continue long, if they ſaw their Europeans compleatly routed. The order was given for the battalion to march on in following diviſions, the left leading. Nothing could repreſs their eagerneſs. All marched too faſt to keep their rank, excepting the fourth diviſion commanded by Captain Yorke, who to have a reſerve for the whole battalion, if broken, as the enemy had been, by their own impetuoſity, obliged his men to advance in ſtrict order. The French battalion rallied at their guns, which were 13 in number, ſpread in different brigades, or ſets, as they chanced to ſtand when left by the troops advancing to the action. This artillery began to fire as ſoon as the ground was clear of their own troops, and killed ſome men, which only quickened the approach of the diviſions to cloſe in with the guns, of which ſeveral fired, when the firſt diviſion was within piſtol ſhot, and Adnet fell mortally wounded; but his men ruſhing on drove the enemy from the guns they attacked, and the other diviſions following with the ſame ſpirit, obliged them to abandon all the others.

The day, if not completely victorious, was at leaſt ſecured from reverſe by the poſſeſſion of all the enemy's field artillery fit

5 for

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

for quick firing; but their camp, to which they were retiring, ſtill remained to be attacked; and Colonel Forde halted until joined by his Sepoys, and, if they would come, by the Rajah's troops. 1758. December.

The Sepoys and horſe of the enemy's right wing were in their turn panic-ſtruck by the fire of the Engliſh battalion routing their own, and all turned to gain the rear of the guns, keeping aloof to the left of the Engliſh diviſions; and then went off again with the French battalion to the camp. Their left wing of Sepoys behaved better, advancing to the uſe of muſketry againſt the Engliſh Sepoys of the left, with whom the battalion, when filing off to oppoſe the French, left the three field-pieces of their right; and the Sepoys, encouraged by this aſſiſtance, the ardour of the Europeans marching off, and the ſpirit of their own commander Captain Knox, maintained their ground, facing and firing in various directions behind the banks of the rice fields, in which they had drawn up. The enemy's wing nevertheleſs continued the diſtant fire, until they ſaw their battalion of Europeans quitting their guns, and the Sepoys and horſe of the right retreating with them to the camp; when they went off likewiſe; ſtretching round to the left of the Engliſh battalion halting at the guns, and keeping out of their reach. Captain Knox then advanced to join the battalion with his own Sepoys, and the ſix field-pieces, and had collected moſt of the fugitives of the other wing. Meſſages had been continually ſent to the Rajah's horſe to advance, but they could not be prevailed upon to quit the ſhelter of a large tank, at this time dry, in which they, his foot, and himſelf in the midſt of them, had remained cowering from the beginning of the action.

As ſoon as the Sepoys joined, and all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made, which took an hour, Colonel Forde advanced to attack the enemy's camp; but, not to retard the march, left the field-pieces to follow. A deep hollow way paſſed along the ſkirt of the camp, behind which appeared a conſiderable number of Europeans regularly drawn up, as if to defend the paſſage of the hollow way, and ſeveral ſhot were fired from heavy cannon planted to defend the approach. Juſt as the Engliſh troops came near, and the firſt diviſion of the Europeans ſtept out to give their fire, the field-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December. field-pieces were arrived within ſhot; on which all the enemy went to the right-about, abandoned their camp, and retreated, ſeemingly every man as he liſted, in the utmoſt confuſion; but the Engliſh battalion croſſing after them, many threw down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. Mr. Conflans had previouſly ſent away four of the ſmalleſt field-pieces; and the money of the military cheſt, laden for expedition on two camels. The ſpoil of the field and camp was 30 pieces of cannon, moſt of which were braſs; 50 tumbrils, and other carriages laden with ammunition; ſeven mortars from thirteen to eight inches, with a large proviſion of ſhells; 1000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. Three of their officers were killed in the field, and three died of their wounds the ſame evening; 70 of their rank and file were likewiſe killed, or mortally wounded: ſix officers and 50 rank and file were taken priſoners, and the ſame number of wounded were ſuppoſed to have eſcaped. Of the Engliſh battalion, Captain Adnet and 15 rank and file, were killed; Mr. Macguire, the pay-maſter, and Mr. Johnſtone, the commiſſary, who joined the grenadiers, two officers, and 20 of the rank and file, were wounded; the Sepoys had 100 killed and more wounded. No victory could be more compleat. Mr. Conflans, the commander of the French army, changing horſes, arrived on the full gallop at Rajahmundrum before midnight, although the diſtance is 40 miles from the field on which the battle was loſt; the troops took various routs, but moſt of them towards Rajahmundrum.

The cavalry of Anunderauze, although incapable of fighting, were very active as ſcouts to obſerve the flying enemy, and the concurrence of their reports determined Colonel Forde to ſend forward 500 Sepoys, which in the army were ranked the firſt battalion of theſe troops, under the command of Captain Knox. They were in march at five in the afternoon. The next day intelligence was received, that many of the enemy's Europeans, and ſome of their black fugitives, had ſtopped at Rajahmundrum; on which 1000 more Sepoys were ſent to join thoſe with Captain Knox; and the whole, now 1500, arrived there at break of day on the 10th.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

This city, the capital of the province, is ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the Godaveri, 40 miles from the ſea. In the middle of the town, and near the river, ſtands a large fort, with mud walls of little defence. The French troops, having loſt all their beſt cannon, would not truſt to thoſe in the fort, and report had repreſented the Engliſh Sepoys as the whole army, the Rajah's and all, in full purſuit; and in this perſuaſion they had begun to croſs the river at midnight. Fifteen Europeans, with all the ſtores, baggage, and bullocks, which had eſcaped from the battle, had not yet embarked, and were immediately ſeized; a boat loaded with many more Europeans was in the ſtream; and four ſmall field-pieces, with a thirteen-inch mortar of braſs taken out of the fort, had juſt reached the other ſhore when the Engliſh Sepoys arrived, who fired for half an hour, as well with their muſkets as from the cannon of the fort, upon the boat and the oppoſite ſhore, which deterred the enemy from carrying off the field-pieces and mortar, or from remaining near them; and a party of Sepoys croſſing the river in boats, brought them back the ſame day without moleſtation: a large quantity of ammunition and military ſtores, laid up for the French army, was taken in the fort.

Colonel Forde, with the reſt of the Engliſh forces, arrived at Rajahmundrum the next day; but the Rajah, with his, remained at Peddipoor performing the ceremony of burying the few of his people which had chanced to be killed by the ſtraggling ſhot of the fight. The Hardwicke, and the two ſloops, were at anchor on the coaſt ſome leagues above the field of battle, which is about 10 miles from the ſea; and the day after the victory they ſailed to cruize on the enemy's veſſels between Maſulipatam and their factories on the Godaveri: and a few days after the ſhip Thames was diſpatched from Vizagapatam, fully laden with proviſions, to Madraſs.

The delay of every day which had retarded Mr. Lally from advancing againſt Madraſs was an advantage gained; Captain Joſeph Smith commanding in Tritchinopoly, as ſoon as he received the orders of the preſidency, equipped 2000 Sepoys from his garriſon, and delivered them, with two ſmall field-pieces, to the command of Mahomed Iſſoof, who croſſed the Coleroon with this force on the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December. 21st of November, without waiting for the troops of the allies, whose assistance the presidency had requested. The polygar Tondiman gave assurances, and was really collecting some, but the Moraver had returned no answer, and the king of Tanjore had expressed himself in such equivocal terms, that the Presidency resolved to send major Calliaud, in whom the king had confidence, to convince him of the impolicy of his indifference: accordingly this officer embarked on the 30th in a common massoolah, intending to land at Tranquebar.

The French army moved again from Conjeveram on the 29th of November, advancing on the high road towards Madrass: but a large detachment under the command of Mr. Soupire proceeded along the bank of the Paliar, with orders to halt between the river and Chinglapet. On the same day the partizan Lambert, with his troops and two small field-pieces, attacked the pettah of Pondomalee, which the ensign, Crowley, attempted to defend, but was driven into the fort with the loss of 30 or 40 of his Sepoys killed and wounded, and two of their serjeants, Europeans, were made prisoners. On the 4th of December, Mr. Lally reconnoitred the fort of Chinglapet in person, within musket-shot; and contrary to the sound rules of war, and perhaps his own conviction, determined to leave it in his rear. On the 7th, the whole army halted at Vendaloor, and Lambert's party appeared in sight of the Mount, where the English army had been reinforced with 400 more Europeans from the town, being all that remained, excepting the invalids and artillery: 300 had been posted, a mile and half in the rear of the main camp, at Sidapet or the little Mount, to guard the bridge and ford over the river of St. Thomé; but on the night after the appearance of Lambert's party, these troops were sent back to the town, and the same number were detached to supply their place from the camp; for Colonel Lawrence had no intention to risk a general action. In the afternoon of the ninth a considerable body of the enemy appeared in sight of the Mount; but Mr. Lally had left his camp standing at Vendaloor, of which Colonel Lawrence received intelligence, and regarded this appearance of not moving far from it, as a feint to cover the intention of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

a forced march in the night, higher up, acroſs the river of St. Thomé, which might bring the French army before morning between the Engliſh camp and Madraſs, and cut off their retreat to the town: he therefore immediately ſtruck his tents and marched back with the whole army to the Choultry plain. 1758. December.

The ground ſo called commenceth about 2000 yards ſouth-weſt of the white town of Madraſs, or Fort St. George, from which it is ſeparated by two rivers. The one, called the river of Triplicane, winding from the weſt, gains the ſea about a thouſand yards to the ſouth of the glacis. The other coming from the northweſt, paſſeth near the weſtern ſide of the black town, the extremity of which is high ground, which the river rounds, and continues to the Eaſt, until within 100 yards of the ſea, where it waſheth the foot of the glacis, and then turning to the ſouth continueth parallel with the beach, until it joins the mouth and bar of the river of Triplicane. From the turning of the river at the high ground, a canal, ſtriking to the ſouth, communicates with the river of Triplicane. The low ground included by the channels of the two rivers and the canal, is called the Iſland, which is about 3000 yards in circumference. 1200 yards from the ſtrand of the ſea is a long bridge leading from the iſland over the Triplicane river, to a road which continues ſouth to the town of St. Thomé. Another bridge over the canal, leads to the weſt, and amongſt others to a village called Egmore, from which this bridge takes its name. Coming from the ſouth or weſt, theſe two bridges afford the only convenient acceſs to the Fort or white town, excepting another along the ſtrand of the ſea, when the bar of the Triplicane river is choaked with ſand. All the ground between the St. Thomé road and the ſea is filled with villages and encloſures; and ſo is that on the left, for half a mile towards the Choultry plain, from which a road and ſeveral ſmaller paſſages leads through them to the St. Thomé Road.

It was neither the intention of the Preſidency, nor of Colonel Lawrence himſelf, to riſque the army on the Choultry plain, more than they had at the Mount; for a defeat in the field was the certain loſs of Madraſs, as the enemy in their ſuperiority had 300 European

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

horſe, excellently mounted and diſciplined; the greateſt number which had hitherto appeared together in India. The intention was to gain time, for every day was precious; and not to diſpirit the troops, who were to ſuſtain the impending ſiege, and might have made ſiniſter reflections if they had been haſtily led back within the walls, before their own underſtandings were convinced of the neceſſity. The ground and the advantages which were taken of it by Colonel Lawrence, ſecured their retreat, when it ſhould become neceſſary.

The Choultry plain extends two miles to the weſt of the encloſures which bound the St. Thomé road, and terminates on the other ſide at a large body of water called the Meliapore Tank, behind which runs with deep windings, the Triplicane river. The road from the Mount paſſes two miles and a half under the mound of the tank, and at its iſſue into the Choultry plain, was a kind of defile, formed by the mound on one hand, and buildings with thick encloſures on the other. Colonel Lawrence, retreating from the mount, halted and remained during that and the next day, which was the 10th, oppoſite to this defile. On the 11th he cut through the mound of the tank, which ſwamped the whole length of the road, and then retreated to the other extremity of the plain, cloſe to the encloſures neareſt the Triplicane river. In this ſituation his field-pieces commanded the road leading acroſs the plain to that part of the encloſures through which this road continues to that of St. Thomé, which from the junction continues ſtreight to the bridge of Triplicane. Three companies of Sepoys were advanced in front on the left, to a choultry ſtanding at the ſkirt of the plain, where the road enters the encloſures.

The French army remained at the Mount during the 11th, but marched before day-break on the 12th; and at ſun-riſe all their European cavalry, having taken a circuit to the ſouth of the plain, appeared at the choultry ſo unexpectedly, that the Sepoys ſcarcely ſtaid to give their firſt fire, and ran into the encloſures on their left, through which they gained the main body. The cavalry, thinking themſelves ſecured by a ſmall grove, which was in the rear of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

choultry, drew up in front of it, but were immediately annoyed by the advanced field-pieces; of which, ſeveral ſhot made way through the trees and killed three troopers; on which, all galloped away to the St. Thomé road, intending, it ſhould ſeem, to puſh to Triplicane-bridge, and then either continue on the iſland, or advance along the ſtrand of the river in the rear of the Engliſh army: but oppoſite to the governor's garden, 500 yards from the bridge, they found the road ſtockaded acroſs, as well as the lane on the left, along the garden-wall, by which they might likewiſe have come round; and in theſe two poſts were three companies of Sepoys, with two guns; and the St. Thomé road, for a long way, had no other iſſue to the left. The firſt fire from the ſtockades drove the cavalry up the road until out of reach. 1758. December.

Mean while the main body of the French army appeared iſſuing from along the mound of the Meliapore tank, and advanced along the road, which was here between an avenue of trees, cannonading at intervals from ſome of their field-pieces: they were anſwered without intermiſſion by ſix from the Engliſh line, until their van were half through the avenue, and within 1000 yards, when Colonel Lawrence ordered the retreat. The line marched off their ground by the right, and paſſing a village called Chindadrapettah, croſſed the river of Triplicane, where it was fordable without difficulty; they then continued round two or three hamlets to the Egmore bridge, which leads over the canal into the Iſland. Here they halted ſome time to receive a guard of 30 Europeans poſted in a redoubt at Egmore, in which was the powder-mill of the garriſon. As ſoon as this party joined, the whole army croſſed the bridge, and after ſome detachments of Europeans and Sepoys had been draughted and ſent to defend the paſſes of the black town, the reſt of the army marched into the fort. Mr. Lally gave no interruption to the retreat, probably becauſe he ſuſpected ſome ſtratagems. Three Europeans were killed in the cannonade, but the French loſt 10, and as many wounded.

At the ſame time that the main body of the French army were advancing to the Choultry plain, their irregular Sepoys with Lam-

bert

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December. bert had proceeded along the ſouth ſide of the San Thomé river, in order to attack a redoubt ſituated on the ſide of it near the ſea. The guard was only one company of Sepoys, who getting intelligence in time, retreated along the beach and arrived ſafe in the garriſon.

As ſoon as Colonel Lawrence came into the fort, the council of the preſidency aſſembled, and by an unanimous vote committed the defence of the ſiege to the governor Mr. Pigot, recommending to him to conſult Colonel Lawrence on all occaſions, and on extraordinary emergencies to aſſemble a council of the ſuperior officers of the garriſon. The French army immediately encamped on the ground which the Engliſh had quitted, but ſent a detachment acroſs the Triplicane river, which took poſt in the redoubt at Egmore.

As the French army were advancing from the Mount, 300 Europeans, with two twelve-pounders, had been ſent off under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Murphy, againſt Pondamalee. They arrived at noon, and Murphy ſummoned Enſign Crowley, with threats, as reſiſting in an untenable poſt, although the fort was of ſtone, and ſurrounded by a wet ditch. On Crowley's refuſal, the twelve-pounders were employed until night, when 20 of the French detachment had been killed or wounded, and little damage had been done to the wall; but the Sepoys within, expecting neither ſuccour nor quarter, began to waver; on which, Crowley marched with them out of the fort in deep ſilence at midnight, and paſſing where he was apprized the enemy kept ſlight watch, got out of reach before they were ready to purſue; and, knowing the country, came in the next morning by the north of the black town. The number was 500, in five companies, of which three were the garriſon of Pondamalee, and two had retreated hither from the fort of Tripaſſore.

Their arrival brought in the laſt of the troops, ſtationed in diſtant out-poſts, and completed the force with which Madraſs was to ſuſtain the ſiege. The roll of the European military, including the officers with 64 topaſſes, and 89 coffrees incorporated in the compa-

nies,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

nies, amounted to 1758 men. The Sepoys were 2220. Of the Europeans 24 were troopers mounted. The Nabob's horſe were 200; but, from experience, very little ſervice was expected from them. The European inhabitants not military were 150 men, and they were appropriated without diſtinction to ſerve out ſtores and proviſions to the garriſon. The native boatmen, who alone can ply acroſs the ſurf, had been retained by ſpecial encouragements, and their huts, with their maſſoolas or boats, extended under the wall next the ſea, where it was ſuppoſed not a ſhot was likely to fall. The Nabob, with his family and attendants, had come into the fort on the day that the army retreated from the Mount; but, although lodged in one of the beſt houſes, were much ſtraitened for want of the room and conveniencies to which they had been accuſtomed.

The French army continued on the other ſide of the Triplicane river during the day they arrived from the Mount, and all the next; but at two in the morning of the 14th were in motion, and having paſſed the river where the Engliſh had croſſed, proceeded at the back of Egmore to the village of Viparee, which is about a mile to the north-weſt of that poſt, and from whence a good road leads nearly weſt to the northern part of the black town. Parts of the ancient bound hedge, and the ruins of ſome guard-houſes, ſtill remained along the north and weſt ſides of the black town; and, with the channel of the northern river, rendered the greateſt part of the weſtern ſide very defenſible: but on the ſide facing the north, were many gaps, too open to be maintained. The army, having advanced to the ford acroſs which the road from Viparee leads into the town, fired their field-pieces before them, which the guards returned with their muſketry, but the Sepoys only with one fire, and then ran away. The Europeans, nevertheleſs, defended the ford, and ſeveral other acceſſes on either hand, until they perceived that ſeveral parties of the enemy had entered on the north ſide; when all retreated as faſt as they could to the fort, and none were intercepted. In the ſkirmiſhes, three of them had been killed; but of the enemy, eleven. Soon after, the whole of the French army appeared

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

peared in the ſouthern parts of the town, where the ſtreets opened upon the eſplanade of the fort. The regiment of Lally took up their quarters near the beach of the ſea. Lorrain, with the battalion of India, on the riſing ground to the weſt; but both behind buildings which ſcreened them from the fire of the ramparts. A multitude of the natives, with the uſual deſpondency of their character, had remained in their habitations until the laſt hour, and now came pouring upon the glacis, imploring admittance into the covered way, but were refuſed, and adviſed to make their eſcape as well as they could in the night; ſeveral ſpies and two or three deſerters came mingled amongſt them, who reported that the French troops were all employed in ranſacking the houſes, and that they had diſcovered ſeveral warehouſes filled with arrack, with which moſt of them had already got drunk; and ſuch as were perceived from the town, appeared ſtaggering under their loads and liquor; on which it was reſolved to make a ſtrong ſally before they ſhould have time to recover themſelves.

Five hundred of the beſt men were draughted, and given to the command of Lieutenant Colonel Draper, who ſuggeſted the deſign; and 100 with major Brereton were to follow a little while after, as a covering party. At eleven o'clock Draper's detachment marched out of the weſtern ravelin; two companies of grenadiers led the line, but the two field-pieces were in the rear. Their way was, firſt, 300 yards ſtreight on to the weſt, where a bridge croſſes a ſtagnated arm of the river that communicates with the weſtern ditch of the fort. This bridge gives acceſs to and from the black town by the aſcent of the riſing ground, and is laid pointing to the N. W.: the aſcent begins almoſt as ſoon as you have croſſed the bridge, and the road to the top continues about 300 yards in that direction, when it turns into a long ſtreet of Indian houſes, which runs nearly north and ſouth, and is croſſed by ſeveral others on either hand. Such was the negligence and ſecurity of the French army, that they did not perceive the approach of the detachment, until appriſed by a miſtake of the Engliſh drummers, moſt of whom being black boys, began to beat the grenadiers march as ſoon as they entered the ſtreet: and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

on which the whole line from one end to the other ſet up their huzza; but even on this warning the enemy did not look out with ſufficient attention to be certified in which ſtreet the detachment was advancing, but drew up at the head of another, which ran parallel to it, about 100 yards on the left; in which they advanced 2 or 3 platoons about 50 yards lower down, at the opening of a croſs-ſtreet which gave a ſtrait communication between the two: the Engliſh troops marching on did not receive a ſhot until they came oppoſite to this advanced guard, which then fired, and with execution, for the diſtance was point blank: the firſt of the line returned the fire, but being the company of grenadiers halted no longer than this operation, and then proceeded; for Draper, knowing how near, and where the enemy's main body were drawn up, would not ſtop the line, but ſtationed two platoons from the ſucceeding companies to continue the fire, and prevent the enemy from breaking through the ſtreet. He at the ſame time ordered the two field-pieces to advance from the rear to the front, and the troops marching in whole files opened to the right and left to let them paſs; but before they were brought up, the grenadiers and ſome more had puſhed on to the head of the long ſtreet, in which they were marching. This was terminated by another much broader that croſſed it, coming on the right from the eſplanade of the fort to the eaſt, and continued 100 yards on the other hand to the weſt of the long ſtreet, where the croſs-ſtreet turned to the north and then again to the weſt. In that part of the croſs-ſtreet to the left appeared the regiment of Lorrain, with four field-pieces, drawn up facing the ſouth, oppoſite to the ſtreet in which they had poſted their advanced guard, and were expecting the Engliſh troops; to whom in this poſition they preſented their flank quite naked. Beyond them, in the continuation of the ſtreet, after it has turned to the north, the battalion of India, which comprized the troops belonging to the French company, were aſſembling. Not a moment was loſt in taking the advantage; the grenadiers, and as many more as the breadth of the ſtreet, which was here 50 yards, would admit, faced and fired; but had ſcarcely time to give a ſecond, before the two field-pieces came up. In that part of the croſs-ſtreet where the Engliſh troops had faced, and in

1758. December.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

front of their left, almoſt adjoining to the long ſtreet they had paſſed through, lay the ruins of a demoliſhed houſe, which ſpread more than half-way over the croſs-ſtreet, and although not high enough to prevent a ſingle rank of muſketry from firing over the rubbiſh, did not admit the field-pieces, which were therefore drawn up to the right of the rubbiſh, and the troops which had ſtood there made room for them, by crowding along the adjoining walls on that ſide of the croſs-ſtreet. Theſe alterations created ſome confuſion; for they were made with much hurry from the ardour of ſetting the field-pieces to work; which did not diſappoint the expectation, but firing with grape knocked down numbers. Lorrain ſcarcely ſtood a minute before all the men ran into the oppoſite houſes; and all the officers could do was to turn the field-pieces, which the gunners likewiſe abandoned after the very firſt diſcharge. Draper immediately commanded his own firing to ceaſe, and the grenadiers to follow him to the enemy's guns, to which he ran, and fired a piſtol, but without effect, at an officer who remained by them, which the officer having returned with as little, offered to ſurrender himſelf and the guns, when Draper perceived that he had been followed by only four grenadiers. In the ſame inſtant, many of the French ſoldiers, encouraged by the ceaſing of the Engliſh fire, and the backwardneſs of the men to advance with Draper, gathered again in the ſtreet, and began to fire; by which two of the grenadiers were killed, and the other two wounded before they got back to their own men, and Draper returned with them. Now the field-pieces and muſketry on both ſides commenced the hotteſt fire; but with encreaſing havock from the enemy, whoſe numbers were augmented every moment by the battalion of India; and many of the Engliſh ſoldiers began in their turn to take ſhelter in the neareſt houſes and encloſures. Nevertheleſs, the brunt of this fight continued 20 minutes, when Draper convinced that no ſucceſs was to be expected, and that the arrival of Lally's regiment from the ſea-ſide might cut off the whole detachment, ordered the retreat; but not a ſingle drummer was found to beat it. The grenadiers of the Company's troops, not having room to be employed in the croſs-ſtreet

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſtreet occupied by other platoons and the field-pieces, had gone into a large encloſure on the ſide of the ſtreet oppoſite to the rubbiſh; and as well as the others who had taken ſhelter in houſes on the right were not apprized of the retreat: all who were marched huddled together down the croſs-ſtreet, which opened in leſs than 300 yards upon the eſplanade, and under the protection of the guns of the fort; but the enemy followed ſo cloſe, and their fire both of cannon and muſketry became ſo ſuperior, that the two field-pieces in the rear of the detachment were abandoned; and the enemy's diviſions had advanced to the encloſure in which the grenadiers had taken refuge, before they had thought of marching out. They were offered quarter, which they accepted, becauſe they could make no effectual reſiſtance, although they were eighty, the prime men of the garriſon. During the fight in the weſtern part of the black town, the regiment of Lally towards the ſea were with much difficulty got under arms by Mr. Buſſy, for moſt of the common men were reeling drunk. However, they had advanced, ſheltered by houſes from the fire of the fort, until they came within 300 yards of the ſtreet in which the Engliſh were retreating, and arrived there juſt as the line were coming out of it upon the eſplanade, when the interval between them was open to the fire of the fort; the fear of which, and the miſtruſt of their intoxicated men, deterred the officers from leading them on to the fair attack before them; and they only fired random muſketry, and from two field-pieces ill-pointed at Draper's line, who, as ſoon as out of the ſtreet, turned ſhort to the ſouth, and proceeded on the lower ground under the houſes which ſkirted the weſt face of the eſplanade, until they came oppoſite to the north-weſt angle of the glacis, and met in the way the covering party with Major Brereton, which had advanced and was waiting for them in good order: the nearer the line came to the fort, the greater became their hurry to get into it, for many ran over the glacis; but all the officers, with as many men as they could keep together, marched in order to the entrance on the eaſtern face of the north ravelin. No officer, excepting Lieutenant Billock, was killed on the ſpot; but Major Polier, Captain Hume, and Enſign Chace, were

1758. December.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

mortally wounded: Polier came into the fort, but the other two were taken. Captain Paſcall and Lieutenant Elliot were ſhot through the body; Lieutenants Stephen Smith and Blair, and Enſign Cook, were wounded and taken; but recovered. Of rank and file 103 were taken, of whom 19 were wounded: Fifty came in wounded, and fifty were left dead abroad, of whom all did not fall in the open action, for more than 20 were found killed in different houſes, moſtly ſtabbed with bayonets, and with their antagoniſts lying dead beſide them; ſo that the garriſon loſt the lives or ſervice of more than 200 ſoldiers and ſix officers by this ſally. The French acknowledged 200 of their rank and file killed and wounded; and had 12 officers wounded, Saubinet mortally, and three killed on the ſpot; they loſt only four priſoners, of whom one was the Count D'Eſtaign; his quarters were with Lally's regiment near the beach, and on the firſt firing he mounted his horſe, and came galloping down the croſs-ſtreet to the rear of the Engliſh grenadiers, whom, being ſhort-ſighted, or perhaps not ſeeing at all through the ſmoke, he took for French troops, nor perceived his miſtake until within a few yards, when his horſe ſtumbling, threw him, and before he could recover himſelf, he was ſeized by two drummers, who had their ſwords drawn to ſtab him, when Lieutenant Smith, the ſame who was afterwards taken priſoner himſelf, ſtepped between: his conſequence being known, he was immediately ſent away with an officer and a file of men to the fort. Mr. Lally blamed exceſſively his own regiment for not marching on the firſt fire, which had they done, and the troops been leſs intoxicated, it is probable that very few of the Engliſh detachment would have eſcaped. He endeavoured to fix the fault on Mr. Buſſy, who juſtified himſelf by the delay of Mr. Lally's orders, without which, according to the regulations of the ſervice, the regiment could not march; and then Buſſy led them. Mr. Lally regretted exceedingly the loſs of Saubinet and the Count D'Eſtaign, and with reaſon; for the one poſſeſſed all the qualities of an able general, and the other of an active partizan.

Very

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

Very few caſes permit a ſtrong ſally from the garriſon at the opening of a ſiege; the preſent was in ſome meaſure juſtified by the ſuppoſition that the enemy's troops were intoxicated and in confuſion: but, notwithſtanding the ardour of the onſet, it left no advantageous impreſſion of the firmneſs of the garriſon with the French officers; and Murphy, one of the moſt experience, propoſed that a general aſſault ſhould be made on the town in the enſuing night, in four diviſions, and offered to lead the principal attack himſelf. It was lucky for them that his advice was not followed.

The next day the French army began to prepare their batteries, but in ſituations concealed by houſes from the view of the ramparts; however, the motions to and fro left little doubt where they were at work, and ſhells as well as ſhot were fired at intervals throughout the day to interrupt them; although ſparingly, except when certain of effect; and this prudent thrift was obſerved throughout all the days, until they opened their batteries: but their artillery which had embarked for the ſiege was ſtill at a diſtance at ſea, and on the day of the ſally a party of four companies of Sepoys, detached with Lieutenant Airey by Captain Preſton from Chinglapet, took the only 13 inch mortar, which was coming by land: it was eſcorted by 150 Sepoys; they were intercepted and defeated between Sadraſs and Cobelong; but Airey, having no bullocks to draw off the mortar, ruined it as well as he could, and left it on the road.

Intelligence had been received, that one of the veſſels which had been laden with artillery at Alamparva, was detained at anchor off the point of Conimere, about 15 miles to the South of Sadraſs, by the contrary wind and current; and a Dutch Snow being in the road of Madraſs, it was reſolved to equip and employ her, to attack the French veſſel; accordingly 20 ſailors belonging to the ſquadron who had been lately exchanged, and 40 of the marines left by Mr. Pococke, were ſent on board under the command of a naval officer of experience; but juſt as he was going to weigh, the ſailors refuſed to ſerve, pretending that they knew the French ſhip was much too ſtrong for them; on which they were relanded on the 10th, and the attempt was relinquiſhed.

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

The experience of the very few days that the fort had been inveſted, had convinced the Nabob of the increaſing inconveniences which he and his family would ſuffer by continuing in it through the ſiege; and the garriſon ſtill more wiſhed to be freed from the uſeleſs conſumption and embarraſſment of his retinue, which conſiſted of 400 men, with 200 horſes, beſides other cattle, who, nevertheleſs, could not decently be diſmiſſed whilſt he remained. It was therefore reſolved, with mutual ſatisfaction, that he ſhould proceed by ſea with his wife, women, and children, and their immediate attendants, on board the Dutch ſnow, which was to land them at the Dutch ſettlement of Negapatam; from whence, being in the Tanjore country, they might proceed ſecurely to Tritchinopoly. They embarked, attended by one of the council, on the night of the 20th, and before morning were out of ſight; the Nabob's dependants were then told, that they might provide for their own ſafety, and in a few nights moſt of them quitted the town.

On the 16th at night, a ſally was made to the north by 40 Europeans, and as many Sepoys; but they were diſcovered before they got clear of the glacis, and returned without firing. Two ſallies were made on the night of the 19th: the one by 20 Europeans and 30 Sepoys, under the command of Enſign Bonjour, who proceeded to the northward under the beach to the firſt houſes beyond the eſplanade, when ſome of the Sepoys cried out they ſaw horſe, and giving a ſcattering fire, took flight, which obliged the Europeans, after giving theirs, to retreat likewiſe, but, before they were out of reach, they received the enemy's, by which one was killed and two wounded. The other ſally was of 1000 Sepoys, under the command of Jemaul Saheb, to the ſouthward; they were to beat up a guard poſted at the garden-houſe, and then proceed to St. Thomé, in order to ſeize a piece of battering cannon which was waiting there for bullocks, under the eſcort of a company of Sepoys: they marched over the Triplicane-bridge, but had ſcarcely got into the St. Thomé Road, when they received a fire from the firſt encloſure on the left, which threw the whole body into a panick, and all excepting

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December.

cepting 30 or 40 returned into the fort, and none of them had received a wound.

On the 21ſt another detachment of 1000 Sepoys with 20 Europeans ſallied at 10 o'clock in the day, under the conduct of Lieutenant Balantyne and Enſign Crowley, in order to beat up a party with 2 guns which were reported to be poſted at the pagoda in the village of Triplicane about a mile to the ſouth of the fort. They croſſed the bar of the Triplicane river, and proceeded driving ſeveral ſmall Sepoy guards before them to the pagoda; where, not finding either the party or the guns they were ſeeking, they turned into the St. Thomé road, and croſſing it, marched along the other road, which leads to the Choultry-plain, intending to attack the enemy's guards on the outſide of the encloſures near the village of Chindadrepettah; but before they arrived on the plain 300 Europeans were reported advancing from Triplicane river, on which the detachment marched back to the bridge, and returned by the ſtrand of the river to the bar, where a company of grenadiers were waiting to cover their retreat. Whilſt this detachment was abroad, two pieces of battering cannon, drawn by a great many bullocks and coolies, were perceived croſſing from the village of Chindadrepettah to the s. w. towards the black town, and being within random ſhot of the weſtern baſtions ſeveral cannon were fired upon them, which ſoon ſtopt the bullocks and coolies, and one of the guns ſunk to the axle-tree in the mud; upon which 300 Sepoys, encouraged by the promiſe of a reward, marched with Jemaul Saheb to ſpike up theſe guns: on their appearance the drivers caſt off and hurried away the bullocks, and the coolies ran away; but before the Sepoys got to the bridge, which leads to Egmore, 200 European horſe, followed by ſome infantry, appeared advancing from the camp in the black town; on which the party was recalled into the fort.

On the 17th, all the Engliſh priſoners that had been taken at the ſally were ſent away for Pondicherry. They were 100, and were eſcorted by 150 of the European horſe, 40 European foot, and 500 Sepoys. They moved ſlowly, and proceeded towards Sadraſs, by the road near the ſea ſhore, which paſſeth by Cobelong, where they were

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December. halting on the 19th. Captain Preſton, zealous to recover the priſoners, marched in the night of the 19th, with the greateſt part of the garriſon of Chinglapet, to intercept them. His party was only 80 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and two field-pieces. They croſſed the country, and halted at 10 o'clock next day ſix miles to the ſouth of Sadraſs. A channel of 20 miles in length extends from Cobelong to within three miles of Sadraſs, and has at each extremity an opening to the ſea, from which it receives its water, and at times enough to overflow the country a mile a-croſs, in which ſtate it was at preſent. Beſides the road leading from Cobelong to Sadraſs along the ſea ſhore, there is another within the inundation, and Preſton remaining where he had halted ſent half his force over the water with lieutenant Airey, to wait for the enemy on the other road; two hours after appeared a body of 400 Sepoys, with ſome black horſe, whom Preſton kept at a diſtance and diſperſed; and in the evening, Airey's party returned without any tidings of the eſcort, which had paſſed on to Sadraſs before he croſſed the water, on which Preſton marched back to his garriſon, where he arrived the next day.

The commandant Mahomed Iſſoof, after having been detained three days at Outatore by the rains, arrived on the 29th of November at Thiagar, where he was joined by the killidar, Kiſtnarow, with 250 horſe, and 1000 foot; and Mahomed Iſſoof himſelf had enliſted 100 horſe on the road. Their forces marched on the firſt of December, and inveſted Elavanaſore, which ſtands ten miles to the weſt of Thiagar. There were in the fort two companies of Sepoys belonging to the French, with a lieutenant, Dumeſnil, and three other Europeans, a ſerjeant, and two gunners, and two field-pieces: this garriſon defended themſelves until the cloſe of the evening, when they ſurrendered. Fifty of the Sepoys took ſervice with Mahomed Iſſoof; the reſt were diſarmed and permitted to go where they pleaſed, but the four Europeans were ſent to Tritchinopoly: ſome ſtores and ammunition were found in the fort. The next day Kiſtnarow went away with his own troops to get plunder, and on the 7th burnt a village in ſight of Fort St. David; but Mahomed Iſſoof did not move until the 5th, when he proceeded to Tricolore,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

a fortified pagoda, ten miles to the north of Elavanaſore. On the 6th, he was joined by 200 horſe, 1500 Colleries, and 250 Peons, ſent by the polygar Tondiman, and the day after attacked the pagoda, in which were three companies of Sepoys, who defended it with much activity until eight at night, when they offered to ſurrender provided they were permitted to march away with their arms and effects; and having already killed 15 and wounded 55 of Mahomed Iſſoof's troops, he accepted their terms; and then following the track of Kiſtnarow marched to the eaſtward, ſpreading his army to ravage the country, all of which, as far as the ſea, paid revenue to the French. On the 15th they appeared at Villenore, within ſight of Pondicherry, and brought ſo much terror, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages took ſhelter in crowds within the bound hedge. On the 18th they cut the mound of the great tank at Valdoor, and let out the water to deſtroy the cultivations it was reſerved to fertilize. The ſword was little uſed, but fire every where, and the cattle were driven away to Tricaloor. Mr. Lally on hearing of theſe devaſtations, ſent word to Mr. Pigot, that he would retaliate, by putting men, women, and children to the ſword in the territory about Madraſs; he however forbore to execute the threat. On the 21ſt Mahomed Iſſoof was joined by 300 horſe from Tanjore, not furniſhed by the king, but hired there with his permiſſion, by Mahomed Iſſoof's agents: on the ſame day Kiſtnarow returned with all his troops to Thiagar. The next, Mahomed Iſſoof began his march from Villaporum to the northward, ſtill continuing his ravages. Rajahſaheb, with a conſiderable body of horſe, had been for ſome time at Conjeveram, waiting to protect thoſe diſtricts from his excurſions, and on his approach croſſed the Paliar, and advanced to Salavauck, as ſeemingly with intention to give him battle; but on better intelligence of his force, took ſhelter under the guns of Vandiwaſh. Lambert was alſo on the other ſide of the Paliar with 400 Sepoys, 25 Europeans, and two guns, but on the ſame information marched round and ſtopt at two days diſtance in his rear. On the 25th Mahomed Iſſoof with his army joined Captain Preſton at Chinglapet. 1758. December.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1758. December. On the 22d the Harlem, ſo long expected by the enemy, anchored in the evening at Onore, three leagues to the north of the black town. The next day, the Thames, laden with all kinds of proviſions, arrived in the road from Vizagapatam; the wind was high, and the ſhip had but two anchors, and in the next forenoon parted from that by which ſhe was riding, before one that was coming from the ſhore on a catamaran could reach her; and the Harlem getting under weigh from Onore at the ſame time, ſhe ſtood out to ſea, intending to regain the road in the evening, but before night was driven out of ſight to leeward. She brought the news of the victory gained by Colonel Forde at Pedipore over the French troops with Mr. Conflans, which the fort anounced to the enemy by 21 guns pointed upon their quarters from the northern baſtions, and the fire of the whole garriſon drawn up in the covered way. The next day the Harlem ſtopped and ſeized a veſſel trading from the norward, laden with 1000 bags of rice, of which the French camp was much in want. The artillery brought by the Harlem was not ſufficient to ſupply the intended batteries; but ſeveral cannon and mortars of thoſe unladen from the Diligent and Expedition at Alamparvah, and brought in boats from thence to San Thomé, paſſed every day from this place to the camp in the black town, and generally acroſs the plain of Egmore, within ſight of the fort; but ſince the ſally of the Sepoys on the 21ſt, the eſcorts were too ſtrong to be attacked by any parties which the garriſon could with prudence riſque at that diſtance. But the ſtock of gun-powder neceſſary for the batteries was not yet completed; for this was brought the whole way from Pondicherry or Alamparvah, by land; and for the want of bullocks with much delay.

The commandant Mahomed Iſſoof on his arrival at Chinglapet diſpatched the greateſt part of his horſe, which were now near 1000, to ravage and deſtroy the country about Conjeveram, from which the French government drew revenues, and their army before Madraſs, proviſions. On the 27th, he marched himſelf with his infantry, intending according to inſtructions he had received from Mr. Pigot, to ſurprize the French troops which were quartered in the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

town of San Thomé; but Captain Preſton thinking this a hazardous enterprize, reſolved to participate in it, and accompanied him with 80 Europeans, two field-pieces, and ſix companies of Sepoys, from his garriſon. They arrived at the Mount on the 29th, and were rejoined the ſame day by the horſe from Conjeveram: during the enſuing night, a detachment of 500 Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, 600 Sepoys, and 800 black horſe, marched from the black town and other poſts, under the command of Mr. Soupire, and at day-break the next morning had paſſed the village of Sidapet, and were within ſight of the Mount before their approach was known; however, the activity of Preſton and Mahomed Iſſoof ſtopt the effects of the ſurprize, and in a few minutes the troops from both their camps were in march: the enemy halted and began to cannonade, which was returned and continued until 10 o'clock, when Captain Preſton ſeeing an advantage, made a puſh with the Chinglapet troops, and ſeized two of their guns, whilſt Mahomed Iſſoof with his kept the main body at bay and prevented them from making an effort to reſcue them; however, the enemy retreated in good order to Sidapte for the greateſt part of Mahomed Iſſoof's cavalry were, if poſſible, worſe than the black horſe with the French, and few of either ventured within arm's length of each other. Fifteen of the French Europeans, with ſome of their Sepoys and horſes, were left dead on the plain, but they carried away their wounded, of whom fifteen were troopers; moſt of this execution was done by the field-pieces; the Chinglapet troops loſt only one European, but ſeveral Sepoys; and more of Mahomed Iſſoof's Sepoys with ſome of his horſemen, were killed and wounded: both Preſton's and Mahomed Iſſoof's diviſions continued at the mount. 1758. December.

At break of day the next morning, 1000 Sepoys, with the troop of horſe, ſallied from the garriſon of Fort St. George by the ſouthern gate, in order to beat up the guards at the bar of the river, the garden-houſe, and the village of Triplicane, which they effected without oppoſition; they likewiſe intercepted a tappy or letter-carrier, coming with many to the French army, which gave information of the arrival of a veſſel at Pondicherry from the iſland of Mauritius with 70 cheſts of ſilver. This

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January. day closed the year. Mr. Lally intended to open the next with his first fire against the fort; but the preparations to equip a large detachment intended to attack the troops with Preston and Mahomed Issoof, deferred the battery to the 2d of January.

The French, whilst in possession of Fort St. George, after taken by Labourdonnais, had made several improvements and additions to the slight works they found, which nevertheless, rendered the fort little capable of long resistance against the regular approaches of an European enemy; nor had they given any extension to the internal area, which did not exceed 15 acres of ground. Nevertheless, the English let the place remain in the state they received it from the French in 1751, until the beginning of the year 1756; when the expectation of another war with that nation, and the reports of the great preparations making in France against India, dictated the necessity of rendering it completely defensible. Accordingly all the coolies, labourers, and tank diggers, which the adjacent country could supply, were from this time constantly employed on the fortifications: their daily number generally amounted to 4000 men, women, and children, who had continued on the works until lately driven away by the approach of the French army from Conjeveram.

An addition had been projected in the year 1743 by the engineer Mr. Smith, father of Captain Joseph Smith, which included as much ground as the former area of the fort: the ditch which marked its limits was then dug and faced with brick, and was supplied with water by a communication with the northern river, which at that time ran along the foot of the ancient wall to the west; but on account of the expence, nothing was then raised above the surface, and the naked ditch remained when Delabourdonnais came before the town, neither an obstruction nor an advantage to his attack. It was in the same condition in 1756, when the new works were resolved on; and the plan of Mr. Smith having been approved by Mr. Robins, the fortifications on this side were raised in conformity to that projection. To join the new rampart with the old bastion to the s.w. and to gain the ground in the new area which was occupied by the river, its bed was filled up, beginning from the s.w. bastion, with earth dug from the edge of the rising ground of the black

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

black town to the north-weſt, which the excavation removed 40 yards farther from the works: but only two-thirds of the bed of the river under the old wall had been choaked up. The river ſtopped in its former channel, was directed in another, which environed the weſt and part of the ſouth face of the new works, waſhing in ſome places the foot of the glacis, until it rejoined its former bed at the head of the ſpit of ſand. The old wall of the weſtern ſide ſtill remained as a retrenchment to capitulate on, in caſe the outward ſhould be carried. The new extention on this ſide comprized three large baſtions and their out-works. The ſouthern of theſe three baſtions communicated with the old baſtion, which ſtood before on the S.W. angle, by the curtain raiſed acroſs the former chanel of the river; and this curtain encreaſed the ſouth face of the fort from 130 to 210 yards. Nevertheleſs, the works on this ſide were much leſs defenſible than thoſe to the weſt and north; but the ſurface of water and quagmire in the river before it, rendered this front inacceſſible, excepting by the labours of a much greater army, than the preſent attack. The ground on the north of the fort gave the beſieger much more advantage than on the other ſides; and this face was therefore ſtrengthened in proportion: the two former baſtions and rampart, as improved and left by the French, were ſuffered to remain, but the ditch and glacis which they had dug and raiſed, were, the one filled up, and the other removed further out, to admit better works. In the front of the N.W. baſtion was raiſed another capable of mounting 28 guns; each of the faces were 100 yards in length, and a battalion might be drawn up on its rampart, although a large vacancy was left in the gorge, or back part, to increaſe the interval towards the former baſtion behind, which this was intended to cover; it was from its ſuperior ſtrength called the royal baſtion. A demi baſtion coreſponding with the royal was raiſed before the old N.E. baſtion, that ſtood on the beach of the ſea, which however the demi baſtion did not entirely envelop; for its right hand or eaſt face extending in a line parallel to the ſea, adjoined to the ſhoulder angle of the nothern face of the old baſtion, leaving this face free to fire forward, but confining the extent of ground it commanded to the ſame width as the ſpace between the eaſt face of the demibaſtion and the ſea:

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

to the weſtward, the old baſtion had two guns clear of the demi baſtion, which ſupplied the defence on this ſide by four guns in the flank, and 7 in its northen face. The two new baſtions communicated with each other by a broad fauſſebray that paſſed along the foot of the old rampart and baſtions; this fauſſebray was defended by a ſtout parapet ſeven feet high, which adjoined to the flanks of the new baſtions. The ditch on this front was dry, becauſe the ground here was ſeven feet higher than the level of the canal which ſupplied the ditches to the weſt and ſouth; but a Cuvette or trench ſeven feet deep and 25 feet broad was dug the whole length of the ditch, which before the fauſſebray was 180 feet wide, and before the baſtions, ninety. The covered way of this front was broad and well palliſaded, and contained between the two baſtions a large ravelin capable of 18 guns, 9 in each of its faces. The glacis was excellent, and little was wanting to compleat the defences on this ſide, excepting mines, which the want of time and bricklayers had not allowed. The weſtern face had likewiſe its covered way paliſaded, and glacis, and contained three ravelins, of which that in the middle was the largeſt. The eaſtern face extended along the beach of the ſea within twenty yards of the ſurf, but ſhips could not approach near enough to batter it with any effect; and no guns could be brought to bear upon it by land. Before the ſea gate, which ſtands in the middle of the curtain, was a battery of thirteen guns; fifty yards on the right of this battery was a platform of old ſtanding, with 14 guns to return ſalutes, which had hitherto been left without a parapet: the original curtain, although nothing more than a brick wall four feet thick, had never been ſtrengthened; but a trench ſix feet deep, and 10 wide, had lately been dug before it; and a ditch with paliſadoes was intended to have been carried round the battery and the platform, but had not been executed at either. The only danger on this ſide was from a ſudden aſſault or ſurprize, which could rarely come by boats landing unawares acroſs the ſurf; but always, and with eaſe, by a body of men paſſing on the edge of it by either of the baſtions at the extremities; to prevent which, a row of anchors, backed by paliſades, and

a trench

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

a trench were extended from the neck of each baſtion quite into the ſurf. No buildings, excepting ſheds, had been raiſed in the new ground taken in to the weſtward; and in thoſe of the old, the bomb-proof lodgments were not ſufficient for the ſecurity of the garriſon.

The firſt appearance of any work done by the enemy had been diſcerned in the morning of the 18th of December, when Lally's regiment had compleated a breaſt-work cloſe to the ſea, 580 yards from the covered way; it was ſheltered by houſes on the right, but open in front to a direct fire from the north-eaſt and demi baſtions: from this breaſtwork they continued a trench by two zig zags 180 yards nearer the fort, which brought the trench 40 yards upon the eſplanade: here they began a battery intended for many guns, which extended from the beach, parallel to the ſame fire as the breaſt-work, and behind this battery on the right they raiſed another for ſix mortars, which they compleated by the end of the month; but the conſtant fire of the fort had retarded their work and prevented them from opening any embraſures in the battery for the cannon, becauſe they had not enough ready for this, and another battery of ſix guns, which the regiment of Lorrain had on their ſide compleated at the opening of a ſtreet on the riſing ground to the weſtward, which enfiladed the face of the royal baſtion, and the covered way before it; behind this battery were two mortars imprudently ſheltered by the rubbiſh of houſes, which had been demoliſhed for the purpoſe. The garriſon called this the Lorrain, and the other by the ſea, Lally's battery.

At break of day, on the 2d of January, the Lorrain battery began to fire both its cannon and mortars, which were ſoon followed by four thirteen-inch mortars from Lally's, which threw their ſhells in vollies all together. The fort returned with ſhells as well as ſhot upon the Lorrain battery with 11 guns, four on the weſt face of the Royal, five on the flank of the Demi, and two on the weſt flank of the old north-eaſt baſtion: this ſuperiority in leſs than an hour diſmounted two of the Lorrain guns, and obliged them to withdraw the other four; but againſt the mortars, either here or at Lally's, the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

the fire of the defences could have little effect, excepting by luck, ſince they were concealed and defended, as uſual, by a high and ſtrong parapet: this annoyance, therefore, continued until ſeven in the evening, during which time only 80 ſhells had been thrown from both, all of which fell about the middle of the inhabited part of the fort, where ſtood the government houſe, againſt which they ſeemed to have been aimed, and two went through the upper roof: much miſchief was alſo done to the adjoining buildings; but not a ſingle perſon was either killed or wounded by their fall or exploſions, nor had any one ſuffered by the cannon ſhot of the morning.

As ſoon as the night cloſed, ſeveral of the principal European women, with their children, were ſent away in three maſſoolah boats, to reſide under the protection of the Dutch ſettlement at Sadraſs; they had not been gone two hours before intelligence was received from Captain Preſton, that a French detachment had ſurprized the fort of Sadraſs, taken poſſeſſion of the town, and made the garriſon and all the Dutch inhabitants priſoners; but it was too late to recall the Maſſoolahs. Another letter from Preſton, which came in the morning, gave information of an action which he had ſuſtained the day before.

The town of San Thomé was become a poſt of great conſequence to the French army. The remains of an ancient ditch and bad ground round moſt parts of the town, with the river and the Engliſh redoubt to the ſouth, ſecured it from ſurprize, unleſs attempted by very ſuperior numbers. They accordingly made the town the ſtation of their boats, as well as the temporary repoſitory of their convoys coming by land, and had likewiſe eſtabliſhed in it one of the hoſpitals of their camp: but the junction of Mahomed Iſſoof's troops, with Preſton's, rendered the maintenance of the town an object of much greater doubt and ſolicitude, than when it was only expoſed to ſallies from the garriſon of Fort St. George; and the body of French troops which had engaged Preſton and Mahomed Iſſoof at the mount on the 30th of December retreated immediately after the action to San Thomé. The day after the action Preſton received intelligence that the partizan, Lambert, was advancing

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

advancing from the south, with a large quantity of stores and a strong escort; on which he moved from the Mount, in order to intercept them, and encamped at Trivambore, which is a village with a pagoda, situated two miles to the south of San Thomé, and one from the sea shore. He was followed by the troops of Mahomed Issoof; it having been agreed, in order to prevent jealousies as well as confusion, that the two commands should move and encamp in separate bodies. The troops of Mahomed Issoof consisted of 3500 foot, 500 horse, with three bad field-pieces; they encamped to the north of the village, and extended almost to the sea, with their front towards San Thomé. Captain Preston, with his division, which consisted of 600 Sepoys, with 80 Europeans, and two brass three-pounders, pitched their tents to the south, looking out for Lambert towards Sadras. Mr. Lally, apprehensive that they intended to attack San Thomé, encreased the European infantry there to 500 rank and file, and the European horse to 150. Mr. Soupire commanded, and leaving all the black troops, whether horse or Sepoys, marched at three in the morning with the Europeans only, who were 650 horse and foot, and without field-pieces. Half an hour before day they fell on the camp of Mahomed Issoof, which had gained no warning of their approach. The surprize and confusion was so great, that Mahomed Issoof himself escaped at the back of his tent, and his troops fled every way under the enemy's fire, which lasted fifteen minutes without interruption; during which Preston turned out his line, and sent forward his piquets to discover, who returned without perceiving any signs of troops to the south; at the same time the croud of fugitives shewed that the enemy were in possession of Mahomed Issoof's camp, and Preston, judging that their order must have been much broken by the onset, the action, the darkness, and the interruptions spread over the ground, immediately resolved to attack them; and marching with his whole division at the back of the village to the westward, came on the flank of Mahomed Issoof's camp, almost as soon as his approach was discovered; where the French troops, thinking they had routed all their enemies, were collecting the plun-

1759. January.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

der; nor could the officers recall them to any order, before the fire of Preſton's diviſion, led by his two field-pieces loaded with grape, ſcoured through the camp, and his muſketry was augmented by the return of the beſt of Mahomed Iſſooff's Sepoys. Nevertheleſs, ſome of the enemy in different parties endeavoured to rally; but, having no ſtrong or collected fire to return, they fell, the more they ventured to make reſiſtance, and all at length broke in confuſion; but when at ſome diſtance the officers prevailed on them to ſtop, and they marched off in order. They had got poſſeſſion of the two field-pieces, of Mahomed Iſſoof's diviſion, but did not tarry to draw them off. Thirty-ſix of their Europeans were counted dead; of whom one was a captain, and another a lieutenant. Of the Engliſh troops in both actions two Europeans were killed and ſix wounded; of the Sepoys 60, and 121; but only three of the black cavalry, and five horſes were killed. On a review at three o'clock in the afternoon, only 700 of Mahomed Iſſoof's Sepoys were numbered; all the reſt of his troops, cavalry, colleries, and ſepoys, on a ſuppoſition that Preſton's diviſion had been as eaſily routed as themſelves, fled acroſs the country, nor thought themſelves ſafe before they got under the guns of Chinglapett, and according to their example the market-people ran away with their bullocks and proviſions, of which there was not ſufficient for one meal left in the camp; and this want obliged the troops which remained to march away the ſame evening with the appearance of defeat as far as Vendaloor, in order to meet a ſupply from Chinglapett.

The ſuperior fire of the fort in the morning determined the enemy to wait until they could renew the attack with leſs diſproportion. On the 4th a ſmall ſloop laden with ſtores and ammunition worked through the road and anchored near the Harlem, and maſſoolas had every day paſſed between St. Thomé and the black town. At day-break on the 6th, a volley of ſix mortars were thrown from Lally's battery, as a ſignal of preparation, and they were the firſt, either ſhot or ſhell, which the enemy had fired ſince their mortars ceaſed on the evening of the 2d, although the fort had conſtantly fired both to interrupt their work. At ſun-riſe they commenced a regular cannonade

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

nade and bombardment, which conſiſted of ſeven guns and ſix large mortars from Lally's, and ſeven guns, with a howitz, from the Lorrain battery, with the two mortars in this quarter, which, however, fired but ſeldom. Although the Lorrain battery fired only from ſeven embraſures, it had been augmented to ten, of which the additional four were in a return, or extending from an angle to the right of the other ſix, and bore upon Pigot's, the next baſtion on the weſt front to the left of the royal. The enemy's fire, both of ſhot and ſhells, was directed more againſt the buildings than againſt the works. The fort returned on Lally's battery 11 guns from the old north-eaſt baſtion, the north ravelin, and the royal baſtion. Againſt the Lorrain battery, likewiſe, eleven guns, four from the royal baſtion, two from the north-weſt curtain near Pigot's baſtion, and three from the center ravelin called St. George's on the weſt: but more guns bore upon the batteries, if it had been neceſſary to uſe them. 1759. January.

The enemy's mortars continued through the night, and were rejoined in the morning by the cannon of the preceding day, and two more, from a battery intended for four, which was raiſed on the eſplanade, adjoining to the weſt-ſide of the burying-ground, about 400 yards to the weſt of Lally's battery, and almoſt in the perpendicular of the N. W. or ſalient angle of the royal baſtion, from which it was diſtant 450 yards. The two guns, now opened in the burying ground, bore upon the weſt face of the north ravelin and on the weſt flank of the old N. E. baſtion. The enemy's cannon ſtill continuing to point high, did little damage to the works, but the buildings, much damaged before, ſuffered greatly by the fall of their ſhells. At the twilight of the next day, the 8th of the month, the three maſſoolas which had been ſent with the Engliſh women to Sadraſs, landed at the fort. The French being in poſſeſſion of Sadraſs had ſeized theſe boats, laden them with 50 barrels of gunpowder, and ſeveral other military ſtores, and ſent them with the ſame boatmen guarded by a French ſoldier in each, to their own army in the black town. At four in the morning when oppoſite to the fort, each of the ſoldiers had fallen faſt aſleep, on which the boatmen concerted in their own language with

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

the certainty of not being underſtood, although overheard; and having firſt poured water into the firelocks, overpowered and bound the ſoldiers, and then landed the boats at the ſea gate. This uncommon inſtance of fidelity and ſpirit in men, who are deemed a mean and outcaſt race, was rewarded and encouraged by paying them immediately the full value of the gunpowder and ſtores.

The enemy's mortars renewed at midnight, and at day-break their cannon, with two pieces more, mounted in the battery at the burying ground. In the afternoon they ſet fire to a warehouſe near the S. E. baſtion, full of ſaltpetre and brimſtone, which could not be extinguiſhed for ſeveral hours; during which the enemy plied the ſpot, where the black column of ſmoke aroſe, with ſhells and plunging ſhot, which did no damage. Lieutenant Brooke, a diligent officer in the artillery, was killed by a cannon ball in the demi-baſtion. The enemy's ſhip Diligent, reladen with artillery and all kind of ſtores, anchored in the morning off the black town, having been 30 days in working along the coaſt from Alamparva, although the ſtreight diſtance is not 60 miles.

The ſame fire, but more frequent on both ſides, continued on the 9th, the enemy's mortars ſtill againſt the buildings; but their cannon, which in the two preceding days had only ſilenced two guns, in this diſabled or diſmounted five, and two mortars. In the night, beſides the uſual repairs, five embraſures were cut through the glacis of the ſalient angle before the demi-baſtion, pointing obliquely againſt Lally's battery, and guns were mounted in them; but Lally's, nevertheleſs, diſmounted two guns on the demi-baſtion the next day; and on the 11th all the five towards the land on the old N. E. baſtion were diſabled by this and the Lorrain battery. Early this morning the enemy likewiſe opened two more guns in a ricochet battery intended for four, which they had raiſed near the Engliſh hoſpital, on the riſing ground fronting the center ravelin on the weſt ſide of the fort, againſt which, however, it was not intended to fire, but to enfilade the royal baſtion: it likewiſe bore upon part of the north-weſt curtain towards Pigot's. Notwithſtanding this battery ſtood at a much greater diſtance from the fort, than any of the other three, it was more expoſed than either of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

of them to a ſally; for none of their guns had embraſures, but fired, plunging over the parapet, and the guard might be beaten up, and the guns ſpiked, before ſuccour could arrive from the neareſt of the enemy's quarters: aware of this they had carried on a trench, from the end of the ſtreet through which Draper had marched, to the foot of the bridge, which croſſed the ground fronting the battery, and a picquet guard was conſtantly kept in the trench, ready to give the alarm. They had likewiſe began a breaſt-work at the bar of the Triplicane river to the ſouth, in order to annoy the black people and cattle, which were ſheltered on the ſpit of ſand at the foot of the glacis on this ſide; and as many inconveniences would enſue from their diſperſion, it was reſolved to drive the enemy from the breaſt-work.

Accordingly a detachment of 200 Europeans, of which half were grenadiers, and 400 Sepoys, marched under the command of Major Brereton, between four and five in the morning, whilſt it was ſtill dark: when arrived at the bar they received a fire from ſome Sepoys poſted behind the unfiniſhed parapet, which killed one and wounded two of the grenadiers; but, as the Sepoys immediately diſappeared, the fire was not returned, and the detachment proceeded through the coco-nut groves to the left, without meeting any other oppoſition, until they came into the lane which leads into the St. Thomé road, along the garden wall of the governor's houſe, when a trooper, ſent forward, diſcovered a party of the enemy drawn up at the end of the lane, with a field-piece. On this intelligence the advanced guard of grenadiers marched up briſkly, fired, and puſhing on, received the diſcharge of the gun loaded with grape, as well as the muſketry that ſupported it, by which five of them were wounded, and lieutenant Robſon mortally: the reſt, nevertheleſs, ſeized the gun before the enemy had time to fire it again, who took ſhelter in a houſe and garden on their right, from whence their fire killed three Sepoys and wounded two, with an European, before they were diſlodged. It was yet ſcarcely twilight, and as the grenadiers were drawing off the gun, Jemaul Saheb, the commandant of the Sepoys, who had been prying in the St. Thomé road, diſcovered another

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January. gun a little below the garden-houſe, and appearing jealous of the honour, was permitted to ſeize and bring it off with a party of Sepoys only, which they effected without receiving any return to their firſt fire. The detachment marched back the ſame way they had come, and arrived in the fort at ſun-riſe with the two guns, and five European priſoners, one of whom was an officer ſeverely wounded. Previous to this, two other, but ſlight ſallies had been made; the one to the N. w. bridge, which fired into the enemy's trench before the hoſpital battery; the other, to diſturb the workmen in the zig-zags to the northward; this party advanced to the head of the work, killed a centinel, and brought away two or three muſkets, without any loſs. The enemy's mortars ſlackened this day, but the fire of their cannon continued with as much vivacity as before, and diſabled four guns, which as uſual were replaced before the next morning.

By this time it was evident that the enemy intended to direct the ſtreſs of their attack againſt the two northern baſtions, which dictated the neceſſity of ſecuring them with additional defences: accordingly a paliſade was begun in the ditch on the hither ſide of the cuvette, to extend quite round the demibaſtion; a blind, or rampart of earth, at 30 yards diſtance, in the ditch before the N. E. baſtion; and a faſcine battery of ſix guns, on the ſtrand between the eaſt curtain and the ſea, a little in the rear of the ſhoulder angle of this baſtion. Early the next morning, which was the 13th, a ſhell from the fort ſet fire to ſome huts behind Lally's battery, which ſpreading, caught a magazine, and blew it up, with a number of loaded bombs: no fire paſſed this day either from or againſt the N. E. or demi baſtions; and no gun was diſmounted in any part of the fort; but the enemy doubled the number of their workmen in the zig zag, who were interrupted as much as poſſible by what fire bore upon them from the royal baſtion, the north ravelin, and the embraſures of the ſalient angle before the demi-baſtion; in the night the enemy fired with a field-piece loaded with grape, from the head of their works, on a ſmall party poſted near this angle, under the cover of a boat, and wounded three of them, on which the reſt retired into the covered way.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

In the morning of the 14th, the enemy opened a battery of three mortars between Lally's and the burying-ground, but in the rear of both, and concealed by the houſes between them, from the ſight of the fort: their fire this day diſabled a mortar and two guns: during the night a conſtant fire of muſketry from the covered way, and of cannon and mortars from the works of the north front, was kept up againſt the enemy's approaches, and retarded their progreſs. On the 15th, they had 10 guns mounted in Lally's, and kept up through the day a fire from 21, beſides their 11 mortars as before: but Lally's guns did all the miſchief to the works, diſmounting two guns in the Demi, and two in the north-eaſt baſtion, and their ſhot, which flew over, took in flank the three other batteries towards the ſea, and diſmounted two guns on the ſea-gate battery, two on the ſaluting battery, and one on the S.E. or St. Thomé baſtion, in all eleven: the fire on the trenches continued through the night, from which the enemy, nevertheleſs, detached a picquet, which drove in the party poſted on the ſalient angle of the glacis.

The enemy's cannonade continued on the 16th, with the addition of two guns on Lally's battery, which now fired with 12, all 24 or 18 pounders, to which the fort could only oppoſe the direct fire of ſix of equal weight, which were from the north-eaſt and demi baſtions; for the guns in the ſalient angle of the glacis, and in the faſcine battery on the ground below, were of inferior calibres; and as it was conſtantly neceſſary to employ many men in reinſtating the damages of the demi-baſtion, a traverſe was raiſed to preſerve the guns in its flank from the infilading fire of Lally's; and whilſt this and other work was doing, the three embraſures of its face to the right, which were open to the ſhot of Lally's, were kept cloſed until the next day; ſo that no guns in this baſtion were either fired againſt, or diſmounted by that battery; which having the more to uſe againſt the other works diſabled one on the north-eaſt, and obliged the garriſon to withdraw the five guns in the ſalient angle of the glacis; and as the trenches were now advanced within 50 yards, theſe embraſures were filled up, and the earth leveled again to the general ſlope of the glacis. At 11 at night a ſally was made from St. George's or the weſt ravelin

to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

to fire into the trench extending before the hoſpital battery; but the guard there taking the alarm in time, 50 men advanced acroſs the bridge leading to it, and after a fire given and returned, drove the party back into the covered way. Another ſally of 12 Europeans was made at one in the morning, under the command of enſign Barnes, againſt the head of the enemy's trenches, into which they gave their fire, and finding only five or ſix men in it, advanced, until a relief of 40 or 50 came up from the rear, who drove them back, and before they regained the covered way, enſign Barnes, with two of the ſoldiers, were killed. Before and after this ſally, a conſtant fire, as in the preceding nights, was kept up until morning on the enemy's workmen; who, notwithſtanding theſe interruptions, advanced the ſap above 20 yards.

Even the garriſon acknowledged the activity of the enemy's progreſs, and frequent letters had been diſpatched, enjoining Captain Preſton and Mahomed Iſſoof to approach, and interrupt their operations; but theſe officers were no longer maſters of their own. Retreating after the action at Trivambore, they arrived at Vendaloor on the 3d, where they found ſome proviſions. Preſton's diviſion was unimpaired; of Mahomed Iſſoof's, moſt of the Tritchinopoly Sepoys, and 150 of the new-levied horſe, had rejoined the reſt of thoſe who had fled to Chinglapet, who were the 1500 Colleries and 500 horſe ſent by Tondiman, the 300 horſe from Tanjore, and the ſame number of his own levies; and all theſe troops refuſed to march back from Chinglapett to Vendalore. The kind of warfare for which they were intended, and only fit, rendered their deſertion in the preſent conjuncture of too much conſequence to be neglected: and after ſeveral ineffectual meſſages, the two commanders marched on the 6th from Vendalore, and joined them at Chinglapett. On expoſtulation, the cavalry in general, pleaded with much complaint, the loſs, although owing to their own cowardice, of their baggage and effects at Trivambore, and little leſs than declared, that they had not engaged in the ſervice, with the expectation of expoſing their horſes againſt Europeans, but were willing to act in their uſual modes; which Preſton rightly interpreted plunder; and to gratify their wiſhes,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

wiſhes, conſented to march with them into the French diſtricts around Conjeveram, in which they continued ſeveral days employed in plunder and ravage; and no ſhelter grounds protected the cattle from the ſearch of the colleries. On the 13th, Preſton thinking they had been ſufficiently indulged with booty, began his march back from Conjeveram, intending to come again in ſight of Madraſs; but on the firſt halt, all the troops which he had endeavoured with ſo much complacence to conciliate, colleries as well as cavalry, left him and croſſed the Paliar. This ſecond deſertion left no doubt of their inutility, and Preſton reſolved not to act with them any longer, even if they ſhould return of their own accord; but as the horſe of Rajahſaheb, who were 800, and the European cavalry of the French army, rendered it impoſſible for the infantry of both the Engliſh commands, although many, if unſupported by horſe, to continue near enough to harraſs the enemy's camp, without more riſque to themſelves, Preſton reſolved to march to Arcot, in order to collect a body of better cavalry, of which he heard ſeveral parties were waiting ready to take ſervice on the weſtern confines of the province. Mr. Pigot received intelligence of this motion and its motives on the 16th of the month, but concealed it, as every other which might diſpirit the garriſon. 1759. January.

The enemy's fire, continuing the ſame on the 17th as the day before, diſmounted three guns and a mortar. Ever ſince the ninth of the month, two ſhips had been ſeen off St. Thomé, which had every day weighed anchor, endeavouring to get to the northward, but were conſtantly ſtemmed by the current from gaining ground: but this evening they paſſed the road, and joined the three other veſſels off the black town. They were the Expedition, laden with artilley and ſtores, which had left Pondicherry on the 12th of December; and the Briſtol of 30 guns, manned with Europeans, which had lately arrived there from Perſia, and was immediately laden with ſhot and ſhells for the camp.

On the morning of the 18th the enemy had compleated three more embraſures in Lally's battery, which joining the former on the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

left, reached almoſt to the ſurf, and being a little turned to the S.W. bore upon the north ravelin, which before night was much impaired by them. Nevertheleſs, the general fire from the north was diminiſhed, for theſe new embraſures in Lally's were ſupplied with three guns from other embraſures of the ſame battery; and the four in the Lorrain, which bore upon the royal baſtion, ceaſed entirely, and their embraſures were filled up; but Lally's and the burying-ground diſabled two guns in the demi baſtion, two in the north ravelin, a mortar in the royal, and rendered the three northern embraſures of the N.E. baſtion unfit for ſervice. A party of the enemy had been employed through the day in raiſing a breaſtwork at a little diſtance to the left behind their former poſt at the bar, and began to fire from it at duſk with two field-pieces in barbet againſt ſome Sepoys poſted on the ſpit of ſand: their mortars continued firing vehemently through the day and night, but, as from the beginning of the bombardment, ſtill againſt the inſide of the fort. Every day one, two, or three of the garriſon, and ſometimes more, had ſuffered by the fire; but on this day five Europeans and three Sepoys were killed, and five of each wounded. Notwithſtanding a conſtant fire of cannon and ſmall arms, whereſoever probable, through the night, the enemy advanced their zig-zag acroſs the foot of the ſalient angle of the glacis, inclining a little to the left towards the ſurf; and being ſo near, the governor iſſued inſtructions to the officers of the different poſts, how to conduct themſelves and diſpoſe their parties in caſe they ſhould aſſault the outworks.

The next day, which was the 19th, the enemy changed their two field-pieces to the ſouth for two eighteen-pounders, from which they fired ſhot into the fort: in the forenoon their muſketry in the advanced or ſecond crochet had fired ſmartly upon the north ravelin and the covered way; their mortars continued inceſſantly through the day, and ſet fire to three buildings in different parts of the fort at once, but ceaſed in the night: during which they only produced their third zig-zag obliquely from the ridge of the glacis to the water mark of the ſea, which was not more than 15 yards. The next day, which was the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the 20th, they fired none of the four guns on Lally's battery, which bore on the north-east bastion; but continued with the seven bearing on the demi bastion, and the three on the north ravelin, although more sparingly than usual, but those in the burying-ground battery with more vivacity: a platform on the demi bastion, and a mortar on the north ravelin were ruined by shells: five Europeans were killed; and seven, with three Sepoys, wounded. During the night, they threw few shot or shells, and made but little advance in their approaches, but enlarged their second crochet, and worked hard in erecting a battery, which projected from it along their last or third zig-zag leading to the crochet which terminated this zig-zag on the glacis. Two small sallies were made upon the trenches during the night, in both of which only one European was killed. 1759. January.

On the 21st the enemy's batteries remained almost silent, but the musketry in their trenches fired briskly on all they saw moving. At five in the evening, a serjeant and ten men went out by a sally port in the east curtain, and an officer with 20 by the barrier in the north-east angle of the covered way, who were followed by 40 pioneers with their captain: the soldiers advanced to the second crochet, which was only 30 yards from the foot of the glacis; out of which their first fire drove all the troops, who were mostly Sepoys: after which they maintained the crochet for 10 minutes before the guard of the trenches arrived; and during this time the pioneers worked hard in destroying the gabions, and what other materials were collected for the construction of the intended battery: the sally was preceded and followed by a fire of mortars, cannon, and small arms from the fort, upon all whom the alarm brought within sight and reach; and it was supposed with much effect: two serjeants were killed, and five of the pioneers wounded; in the fort one European and one Sepoy were killed, and a ten-inch mortar disabled. In the night the enemy worked hard in thickening the crochet out of which they had been driven, compleated their third zig-zag, which extended 100 yards beyond it, mostly on the glacis, but inclining to the left of the salient angle; and not only began, but finished their

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

third crochet, which extended to the right from the head of this zig-zag acroſs the ridge of the glacis: they threw few mortars during the night, but moſtly into the works; their cannon ſlackened likewiſe the enſuing day, which was the 22d, and eſpecially from Lally's battery, in which moſt of the embraſures were blinded; nevertheleſs, the few employed were very effectual, for the repeated repairs, which had been made in the demi and north-eaſt baſtions, rendered the ſubſtituted merlons ſo weak that they crumbled to every ſhot: a twelve-pounder was diſabled on the north ravelin by a ſhell, three Europeans and a Sepoy were killed, and ſeven with nine Sepoys wounded. In the night the enemy puſhed on the ſap of the fourth zig-zag 20 yards beyond their third crochet, and having made a ſmall return or ſhoulder to the left, continued it from hence quite up to the ſalient angle of the covered way, and fixed ſome gabions on the creſt of the glacis on the right hand of this angle: the conteſt was now brought very near the walls, and was diſputed without intermiſſion: the whole progreſs of the fourth zig-zag was expoſed to the fire of the ſtockade of palmyra trees which the garriſon had planted acroſs the eaſt ſide of the glacis to the ſurf, and from this ſtockade the guard kept up a conſtant fire of muſketry on the enemy's workmen, as did another guard from the ſalient angle of the glacis; and parties of grenadiers were ſent out every hour along the beach beyond the ſtockade to fire upon the third crochet, and all the ſap advanced beyond it: cannon, mortars, and muſketry, were likewiſe fired throughout the night from every part that bore upon their work; but could not ſtop it, for the enemy had encreaſed the number both of their workmen and guards; they likewiſe finiſhed their battery at the end of their third zig-zag, which ſhouldered on their ſecond crochet, and opened it the next morning, which was the 23d, with four guns: but it was ſo ill conſtructed, that only one of the guns could be brought to bear upon the north ravelin, which it was intended to batter. The Lorrain battery remained cloſed, but the hoſpital, the burying-ground, and Lally's, with the mortars as before, continued a ſlackening fire, the cannon only in the day, but the mortars through the night likewiſe. The ammunition of both

began

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

began to wax ſcant, and they were waiting for more which had been embarked on the 14th in a brigantine from Pondicherry. However, their fire diſabled a twenty-four-pounder on the royal baſtion, and compleated the ruin of all the embraſures on the right face of the ravelin; in which a ſhot from Lally's penetrated quite through the merlon: in the night, the enemy attempted to puſh their gabions cloſe to the covered way of the N. E. ſalient angle, from whence pioneers were ſent to overſet them, who rolled ſome into the ſea, and pulled others into the covered way; this conteſt was maintained at repetitions for three or four hours, and ſupported by the hotteſt fire of muſketry, and of grape ſhot from the north-eaſt baſtion, and the faſcine battery on the beach: ſeventy diſcharges were made out of one of the guns: five Europeans were killed and ten wounded in the night and day, moſt of whom ſuffered in theſe attacks: one Sepoy was likewiſe killed, and ſix wounded: on the 24th, a twenty-four pounder was diſabled on the north-eaſt baſtion, of which the works had ſcarcely received in the night a repair adequate to the detriment of the preceding day: but ſix of the embraſures in the north-ravelin were reſtored; the other three ſtill remained unfit for ſervice. 1759. January.

At ſeven in the evening, a party of the enemy conſiſting of 50 men, who had waited for the dark, advanced from the neareſt crochet to the ſtockade, from which the guard, which conſiſted only of 12 men, ran away to the blind before the N. E. baſtion; they were immediately ſent back with the addition of a more reſolute ſerjeant and ten grenadiers; but were ſcarcely returned, when this ſerjeant was ſhot dead, through the ſtockade; on which the party ſtopped, waiting for directions; and the officer commanding at the blind recalled them; after which it was thought imprudent to make another attempt to recover the ſtockade, although capable of giving much annoyance to the enemy's work.

At night, a meſſenger from Tritchinopoly brought a letter from Captain Joſeph Smith with intelligence he had received from Angengo. The Preſidency ten days before had received advices from Mr. Pococke, that the ſquadron had arrived on the 10th of December at Bombay, where he found ſix of the company's ſhips and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

and two of the line, with 600 men of Draper's regiment on board; which were arrived there a few days before, having paſſed the Cape of Good Hope too late in the ſeaſon to gain the coaſt of Coromandel; the letter from Captain Smith gave intelligence that the Company's ſhips with all the troops on board had ſailed under the convoy of two frigates from Bombay on the 31ſt: and the ſpies which came in from the enemy's camp reported that this news was likewiſe known there, and had determined Mr. Lally to make a general aſſault on the fort this very night; on which the whole garriſon and all the inhabitants were ſtationed and remained under arms at their reſpective poſts until the morning.

The fire of the cannon, muſketry, and mortars, from the fort, although maintained conſtantly throughout the night, did not prevent the enemy from advancing their ſap along the glacis on the eaſt face of the covered way as far as the left of the ſtockade, and they made a return on the right to the creſt of the glacis; but had not time to extend the ſap to the left along the front of the ſtockade towards the ſurf, nor even to compleat a proper lodgement in the return, the want of which left their workmen expoſed to the fire of the covered way; but on the other ſide of the ſalient angle they had raiſed gabions, and made conſiderable progreſs in a retrenchment intended for a battery.

The night paſſed without any alarms of the ſuppoſed aſſault; and the enſuing day, which was the 25th, continued with the uſual fire of cannon and mortars until two in the afternoon, when a ſally was made by the guard at the blind, and the ſame number of grenadiers, in all forty ſoldiers with arms, who covered twenty pioneers with tools. Juſt before the blind, on the eaſt face of the covered way, parallel to the ſame face of the demi baſtion, was a paſſage cut in the glacis towards the ſurf; through which the party paſſed, and then proceeding along the ſurf, round the right of the ſtockade, came in flank of the head of the enemy's ſap, from which their firſt fire drove all their guards and workmen, who retreated to their retrenchment at the ſalient angle waiting for ſuccours; during which the Engliſh ſoldiers maintained their ground, and the pioneers overſet the gabions, ſome into the ſea, others into the covered

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

covered way, and deſtroyed whatſoever implements they found: this attack laſted 20 minutes, by which time the enemy had gathered, and were advancing in much ſuperior numbers from the retrenchment; upon which the party was recalled, and retreated, giving and receiving fire. A ſerjeant with three grenadiers were killed; ſix others of the ſoldiers, with captain Black, who commanded the ſally, and lieutenant Fitzpatrick, were wounded. The enemy's artillery bore moſt on the royal and demi baſtions; their mortars falling on the works wounded many more than uſual. The total loſs, including that in the ſallies, was eight Europeans and three Sepoys killed, and 17 Europeans with 13 Sepoys wounded. 1759. January.

The enemy's ſap being advanced to the eaſt flank of the covered way threatened immediate danger by ſurprize on the eaſt face of the fort, to which the ſea-gate gave the faireſt opening; for the embraſures in the north flank of the battery before it had been ruined by the enemy's ſhot which had miſſed or flown over the N.E. baſtion and faſcine battery; and the gateway itſelf was a ſpacious arch ſhut occaſionally with folding doors; ſo that, ſhould the enemy ever make a general aſſault on the ruined works to the north, a party ſent at the ſame time along the ſurf, or even in boats, might force their way through the gate with petards; and this party might paſs without much interruption; for the faſcine battery which barricaded the beach was nearly demoliſhed. The whole of the working party of the night was therefore allotted to remedy theſe defects, and before morning they repaired the faſcine battery, reſtored the embraſures of the battery before the ſea-gate, bricked up the arch of the gateway, and opened a ſmall gate on the left hand, which had been cloſed. In the ſucceeding nights the workmen began and continued the intended ditch with palliſadoes round the ſea-gate battery, which had hitherto been deferred for ſervices of more immediate neceſſity. The enemy employed the night with equal diligence, and puſhed the ſap of their retrenchment from the ſalient angle 70 yards along the north face of the covered way, and widened the work in an excavation ſufficient to contain cannon and a large detachment of troops: this work, with what was done the night before on

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

the other ſide, entirely embraced the ſalient angle of the covered way.

The following day, which was the 26th, the enemy fired moſt of their ſhot into the town; and moſt of their ſhells, as in the preceding night, into the works of the north front, by which a twenty-four pounder was diſmounted on the N. E. baſtion, and the caſualties from the evening to the evening were five Seapoys and one European killed, and 11 wounded, of whom were the lieutenants Lang, and Little who loſt his left arm. In the ſucceeding night the enemy widened and raiſed their work on the creſt of the glacis, notwithſtanding the conſtant fire of the defences; and no guards could any longer be kept at the ſalient angle they had inveſted, but centries were advanced every quarter of an hour from the blind before the N. E. baſtion, to obſerve whether they were beginning any new works, but diſcovered none. In the 24 hours to the evening of the 27th, no damage was done to any of the artillery, but five Europeans were killed and five wounded, and one with five Sepoys. The enemy's workmen remained very ſilent in their trenches through the night.

Three hundred Sepoys were intended to ſally before day-break on the 28th, in order to ſurprize the enemy's battery of two guns to the ſouth of the bar: but marching too late were diſcerned, and received the fire of the battery before they had croſſed the bar, on which they were immediately recalled into the fort. In the morning the enemy began to fire again from the battery near their ſecond crochet, which had remained ſilent ever ſince they opened it ineffectually on the 23d, and during this interval they had endeavoured to rectify the erroneous conſtruction of the embraſures, which were intended againſt the right face of the north ravelin: they had likewiſe brought up two ten-inch mortars to this battery, with which, and three guns, they commenced their fire; but one of the guns failed at nine o'clock, and another at ten; in the afternoon another, which they were trying in the 4th embraſure, was diſabled by a ſhot from the fort; after which, the cannonade from this battery ceaſed entirely, but the mortars continued. At noon a party with many

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

yoke of oxen aſſembled at the bar, in order to draw off the two guns there; but the firing of the fort ſoon made them remove the cattle out of reach. The caſualties from the preceding night to the evening of this day were one European and one Laſcar killed, with ten Europeansand nine Sepoys wounded. 1759. January.

During the night the enemy drew off one of the guns at the bar; their workmen carried on a mining ſap from the left of the palmyra ſtockade acroſs the glacis, and on a level lower than the covered way, intending to paſs under this likewiſe in order to open the counterſcarp of the ditch: they executed this work with ſo much ſilence, that the garriſon had no ſuſpicion of it until two the next afternoon, when the ſap was advanced as far as the ſcarp, or brick facing of the glacis, and being carried too high, the earth of the covered way with the facing fell in, and diſcovered them; ſome grenadiers were immediately ſent to fire and throw granades into the hole, which obliged the miners to ſtop, but they renewed their ſap lower. Their mortars continued during theſe 24 hours againſt the works. A nine-pounder was diſabled on the N. W. ravelin by the fire from the hoſpital; and the embraſures of Pigot's baſtion, and of Lawrence's, the next on the left, were much damaged by ſhells and ſtray ſhot; for both theſe works were out of the front attack, nor was there a ſingle gun which bore directly upon them; for the enemy had for ſome days ceaſed the 4 they opened on the 7th of the month in this direction, which adjoined to the left ſhoulder of the Lorrain battery. The caſualties from the evening to the evening were two Europeans and three Sepoys killed, and two and one wounded. In the enſuing night the enemy threw many ſhells into the town, and continued hard at work both in their covered ſap and in raiſing a battery on the creſt of the glacis, but with ſo much ſilence, that the garriſon could not diſcover what they were doing: the working party of the fort were employed in reſtoring the right face of the north ravelin, and the ſame ſide of the caponiere leading to it acroſs the ditch.

In the interval ſince the deſertion of the black troops at Conjeveram, ſeveral letters and other notices had been received from Cap-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

tain Preſton and Mahomed Iſſoof. Purſuing their intention of enliſting a body of better cavalry, they arrived on the 12th at Lallapet, a town of great reſort, 10 miles to the N. W. of Arcot, where their invitations ſoon collected 500 Mooriſh horſe, and 600 Morattoes. The Nabob's brother, Abdulwahab Cawn, was at this time reſiding with their mother at Chitore, and being urged by her repreſentations to ſome compunction for the diſtreſs of the Nabob's affairs, he profered his aſſiſtance; on which Mahomed Iſſoof, with a ſmalle ſcort, went to Chitore, and in a few days returned, accompanied by Abdulwahab with 1000 horſe, and more foot, being the troops he had kept in pay ſince he quitted Arcot in the preceding year. Overtures were likewiſe made to a body of 3000 Morattoes belonging to Balagerow, and commanded by an officer named Gopaulharry, who were lying at the paſs of Damalcherry; but Gopaulharry inſiſted on receiving money before any moved, on which Preſton ſent him the bill of an opulent ſhrof for 60,000 rupees, which was to be paid as ſoon as the horſe arrived at Velore; but as the meſſages and march required eight days, the army in the interval ſet out from Lallapet on the 22d, and halted on the 25th at Trivalore, within four miles of the fort of Tripaſſore, in which, as well as Pondamalée, the French had a garriſon of Sepoys; but the pettah of Pondamallée being much opener than of Trivalore, Mahomed Iſſoof ſent off a detachment to plunder it, which they effected after ſome ſkirmiſhing with the Sepoys from the fort, of whom ſeveral were killed. Beſides the booty they got in the pettah, the detachment returned with 3000 ſheep and oxen, which had been collected from the country, and were kept under the protection of the garriſon, in the common round the fort, to ſupply the French army before Madraſs. The Nabob's brother Nazeabulla, who had accompanied Mr. Moracin to Pondicherry, and afterwards the French army to the ſiege, had lately returned to Nelore; and the example and exhortations of his brother Abdulwahab, had reclaimed him ſo far, as to promiſe to join him at Trivalore with his force; but he delayed, and the army having been reinforced with ammunition and two more three-pounders from Chinglapet, proceeded on the 27th to Trimliwaſh, a town ſituated on the

ſkirts

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

skirts of Malrawzes wood, 12 miles to the N. W. of Madrass. The polygar, with an agent who had been sent to him by the governor, came to the camp, and promised to bring 2000 peons and a supply of rice: but, finding no money was intended to be given him, returned the next day into his wood, and appeared no more. Mahomed Issoof, as soon as the camp was pitched, rode with a party of horse as far as Maskelyne's garden, which stands two miles N. W. of Fort St. George, where most of the oxen belonging to the French army were kept under the care of a guard of Sepoys and black horse; whom Mahomed Issoof's party put to flight, and seized most of the cattle. The next day the whole body of French cavalry, who were 300, and Rajahsaheb's who were 800, encamped to the north of the garden, and on the 29th one of their parties routed one of Abdulwahab's, and took ten prisoners. The attention to this army, since their arrival in the neighbourhood, diminished the activity of the enemy's operations against the fort, by the detachments they were obliged to send and recall on different reports and alrms. Their approach just as the enemy's works were advanced so near the defences increased the alacrity of the garrison. 1759. January.

On the 30th, at 11 in the forenoon, a sail was descried to the southward; when nearer, her colours were discerned to be English, and her form that of one of the Company's ships. All the French vessels, which were five, flung out English colours likewise; and the two ships, the Harlem and Bristol, prepared to get under weigh. A cattamaran was immediately dispatched from the fort, warning the stranger to beware of them; in the evening Mr. Dalrymple was sent in a boat, with farther instructions to the captain. The cattamaran got on board before the ship came to an anchor, which was not until nine at night; and soon after the Bristol came up, received and returned a broadside, and fell to leeward. The ship was the Shaftsbury East Indiaman, commanded by captain Nathaniel Inglis, and one of those which were bringing Draper's regiment from Bombay: but, sailing much worse than the others, they made her the hospital ship, and left her off the south of Ceylon on the 7th of the month, after which, a luckier vein of wind and current brought her to her port before them. The sick, who were

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

36 men of the regiment, only added to the diſtreſs of the garriſon; but ſhe had on board 37 cheſts of ſilver, and many military ſtores, amongſt them, hand-grenades, and bombs of the largeſt ſizes, of which the garriſon were much in need, having nearly expended their ſtock of theſe articles. The communication of letters was eaſy and expeditious, after the ſhip came to an anchor; and, by the governor's order, ſhe threw out at day-break the enſigns of a man of war, and received, as if ſuch, a ſalute of 13 guns from the fort. At the ſame time the enemy on ſhore began to fire upon her with one gun from their neglected battery at the ſecond crochet, and two from the breaſt-work to the ſouth, near the bar; all the three were twenty-four pounders; and ſometimes ſent red-hot balls. At three in the afternoon, the Briſtol, which had fallen far to leeward, worked up again into the road: whilſt drawing nigh, boats with ſoldiers went off to her from the black town. The Harlem, which had likewiſe been manned from the ſhore, bore down at the ſame time, and the Shaftſbury had got under weigh to change her ſtation, but being intercepted by the Briſtol ſuſtained the engagement under ſail for two hours, and then anchored, where directed, as near as the ſoundings would admit oppoſite to the ſouth-eaſt baſtion. The other ſhips anchored likewiſe, but far out in the offing, and nevertheleſs continued firing until night. The rigging of the Shaftſbury was much damaged by the fire of ſhips, and ſhe received ſeveral ſhot through her hull from the ſhore: but no one was wounded except Lieutenant Browne of the regiment, who loſt his right arm. Before 10, the maſſoolas of the garriſon landed the ſick and the treaſure; and it being ſuſpected that the enemy's ſhips might attempt to board the Shaftſbury with their boats, the governor ſent optional orders to captain Ingliſs, either to eſcape out of the road, maintain his ſtation, or run the ſhip aſhore. The confidence was well placed, and Ingliſs determined on the choice of danger. The next day, which was the firſt of February, ſhe ſtood the ſame fire from the ſhore, ſome from the Harlem, but none from the Briſtol, for this ſhip had ſailed away in the night to Pondicherry; and on the 2d, none from the Harlem, which anchored far out in the Offing; but the fire upon her from the ſhore ſtill continued.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January.

The preparations of the enemy on ſhore againſt the Shaftſbury, ſlackened their fire againſt the fort on the 30th, the day ſhe was diſcerned. The three embraſures on the left of Lally's battery, which bore upon the right face of the north ravelin, continued; the two next to them, which were the left of the four that had hitherto been employed againſt the north-eaſt baſtion, likewiſe remained free; but the interpoſition of their own work on the creſt of the glacis precluded the uſe of the two other embraſures againſt this baſtion, as well as of the four which had battered in breach the ſaliant angle of the demi baſtion: but they did not think it worth their while to remove the guns of theſe embraſures into thoſe on the right, in order to batter towards the ſhoulder angle, that next the flank of this baſtion, becauſe they intended, as uſual, to make the breach at the ſalient angle, in which their fire had already almoſt ruined the parapet. The fire of the burying-ground battery, with four guns, continued on the left face of the north ravelin, and the flank of the demi baſtion, and the four guns in the hoſpital battery enfiladed the whole of the north front. The outward gun in Lally's battery which remained free againſt the north-eaſt baſtion, they turned againſt the ſhoulder merlon on the left of the faſcine battery, raiſed by the garriſon on the edge of the ſurf, of which all the four guns bore on this and the three next embraſures of Lally's, to the left. Their mortars in this, the burying-ground, and the battery between them, likewiſe continued as before. Such was their fire at the cloſe of this day; and in theſe 24 hours one 18 pounder was diſmounted by the hoſpital battery on Pigot's baſtion, 1 European, with 3 Sepoys, were killed, and 9 Europeas, with 2 Sepoys, wounded.

The enemy's mortars continued through the enſuing night, and moſtly againſt the defences. They worked hard under ground from the palmyra ſtockade; but, as before, without being diſcovered: and the earth they threw up on the creſt of the glacis likewiſe concealed there intentions there, although the garriſon gave frequent alerts, and threw grenades every half hour, hoping the occaſion of a ſucceſsful ſally to explore their work; but the enemy here took

no

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. January. no alarm. It was ſuppoſed they were carrying on a covered ſap towards the blind before the north-eaſt baſtion, which threatened the moſt dangerous mine they could ſpring; and to counteract their intention by meeting their work, the garriſon opened a ſap from the left of the ditch, and directed it acroſs and under the ground immediately in front of the blind. The mining gallery towards their battery on the creſt of the glacis was likewiſe puſhed on with much diligence. The enſuing morning, the enemy at ſunriſe opened four embraſures in this battery, which extended to the right from the ſummit of the ſalient angle: one of them pointed to the N. E. baſtion, and all the four bore on the ſalient angle of the demi; but they had raiſed the embraſures ſo high, that none of their ſhot could ſtrike the parapet, but all flew over the fort; ſo that after five or ſix rounds they ceaſed firing, and cloſed the embraſures in order to alter the level. Beſides the guns which they opened and kept up againſt the Shaftſbury, their other batteries againſt the fort continued through the day: the hoſpital and burying-ground, with all their guns, but Lally's only with five, three of which were thoſe againſt the north ravelin, and the other two, which were the next to them, fired moſtly againſt the faſcine battery, where they diſabled two twelve pounders: a twenty-four pounder was likewiſe diſmounted on the royal baſtion: the caſualties to the troops were 4 Europeans killed, and 9, with 3 Sepoys wounded. During the night, the garriſon, beſides the repair of the works, continued their gallery towards the ſalient angle, and the covered ſap before the blind. The enemy continued their ſap likewiſe ſtill undiſcovered, and worked in altering their breaching battery; but when they opened it again the next morning with five guns, the ſhot as before flew over, and they were again obliged to cloſe the embraſures.

February. This day was the firſt of February: the fire of the two guns from the bar to the S. and the other to the N. at the ſecond crochet, continued a croſſing fire againſt the Shaftſbury with much aim, and ſometimes with red-hot ſhot, of which ſeveral went through the hull. The Harlem likewiſe fired and helped to ruin her rigging. The fort fired upon the Harlem and on the enemy's ſouthern guns, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and in the evening a twenty-four pounder, which bore on them from the San Thomé or ſouth-eaſt baſtion, burſt, whilſt Mr. Pigot the governor was there; he and two other men were ſlightly wounded, but four more died of their hurts. The reſt of the fire on both ſides continued as the day before, excepting that the enemy's mortars were not ſo frequent. The Cuddalore, a ſchooner belonging to the company, which had lain ſome days at Paliacate where ſhe had ſtopped ſeveral boats coming from the northward to the enemy's camp, came this day near the road; but ſeeing the Harlem ready to weigh, ſtood out again to ſea. A twenty-four pounder was diſabled in the ſaluting battery of the fort by its own fire on the Harlem. The caſualties, beſides thoſe who ſuffered on the San Thomé baſtion, were 2 Europeans killed, and 4, with 2 Sepoys, wounded. In the night, as well as the day, the pioneers of the garriſon continued the two galleries, the one towards the enemy's battery on the ſalient angle of the glacis, the other under the blind, and the reſt of the workmen were chiefly employed in repairing the parapet towards the ſalient angle of the demi baſtion. 1759. February.

In the morning of the 2d, the enemy opened again their embraſures on the creſt of the glacis, which they had been repairing all night, but with as little judgment as in the preceding, for their ſhot ſtill flew too high; and the guns being expoſed as before without reſiſtance to the cannon and mortars of the defences, were cloſed again in an hour after they had opened, and remained ſilent the reſt of the day. The other batteries continued as before. The Harlem had weighed before day-break, and anchored out of gun-ſhot of the Shaftſbury, which now only ſuſtained the fire of the three guns on ſhore; and theirs leſs frequent than in the preceding days. At eight in the morning, ſeveral parties of horſe were diſcerned from the ſteeple, advancing in the plain about five miles N.W. of the fort; and ſoon after appeared the whole army, with Preſton and Mahomed Iſſoof. The enemy's cavalry at Viparee drew out, reinforcements joined them from the black town, and at three in the afternoon firing commenced, which laſted until ſunſet.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

The governor had repeatedly recommended to Preſton and Mahomed Iſſoof to march round, and take poſſeſſion of St. Thomé, and from thence to come by the ſea-ſhore into the fort; or to penetrate wherever elſe they ſhould ſee an opening; the intention of this junction was to concert meaſures for a general attack on the enemy's camp, which could not be explained by letters in cypher, and liable to interception. The effort, however, was not to be made by a ſally of the united force from the fort; but Preſton's army, after being furniſhed with money and four days proviſions, which the garriſon could ſpare, were to march out and encamp abroad again; and at the appointed hour fall on the black town, whilſt the garriſon at the ſame time ſallied upon the enemy's works. This project was ſcarcely feaſible; for the enemy, knowing the junction in the fort, would be on ſtrict guard in all their poſts. Preſton, although he diſapproved the ſcheme, was as ſolicitous as the governor to carry it into execution; but the Polygars had failed to ſupply the proviſion of rice they had promiſed, which obliged the army to ſend for it as far as Chinglapet and Conjeveram, and detained them three days at Trimliwaſh until the morning of the 2d; when they marched, intending to paſs to San Thomé between the black town and the Mount, notwithſtanding the whole body of the enemy's cavalry were lying in the way, at Viparee. Mr. Lally, hearing of their approach, took a detachment of 300 European infantry, 500 Sepoys, and ſix field-pieces, from the black town, and joined his two bodies of cavalry which were lying at Viparee. He was accompanied by Mr. Buſſy, and moſt of the principal officers, of the army. They marched onward in the plain towards Preſton's force, who ſeeing, them coming, halted on the other ſide of a long moraſs formed by paddy fields, which interſected the whole extent of the plain from weſt to eaſt: the cavalry with Preſton, to avoid the enemy's cannonade, kept at a diſtance in the rear; but the infantry drew up under the ſhelter of banks which continued along the edge of the moraſs. Mr. Lally made ſeveral motions to intice them to croſs; but they were not ſeduced: on which he took poſt at three o'clock in a ſpot of ground covered by hedges and trees, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and opened his cannon acroſs the moraſs, although at the diſtance of 1000 yards, which were anſwered by only ſix three-pounders. The Sepoys, and even the Europeans on both ſides, fired ſometimes likewiſe with their ſmall arms: but the horſe were never near each other. From the advantage of ſituation, notwithſtanding the diſparity of the cannon, the loſs in Preſton's army did not much exceed the enemy's, being 15 Sepoys, one European, and five horſe killed, and five Sepoys wounded; whereas the enemy left nine Europeans and thirteen horſes dead on the plain. At ſunſet they retreated to Viparee, where Mr. Lally likewiſe remained with the detachment of infantry; and Preſton, for want of proviſions, returned to Trimliwaſh. 1759. February.

In the night the enemy threw fewer ſhells than uſual: from the morning of the 2d to the morning of the 3d, was the firſt day ſince the 4th of January, in which no one was killed in the fort; and no Sepoys received any hurt, but five Europeans were wounded. The pioneers of the garriſon continued the two mines: they who were at work under the blind diſcovered no ſigns of the ſap they ſuſpected; but the miners, who were puſhing under the covered way towards the breaching battery, heard, at two in the morning, the ſound of men working near them in the enemy's mine on the right under the eaſt face of the glacis, which it was ſuppoſed they had relinquiſhed ſince it failed on the 23d. At day-break they ſprung this mine on the inſide of the covered way, through the counterſcarp of the ditch, at the extremity of the cuvette; into which the bulk of the exploſion was thrown. Fragments of the brick-work wounded five Europeans and a Sepoy; but the exploſion itſelf blew up none; nevertheleſs, to deſtroy many men ſeemed the only intent; for if it was meant to facilitate the deſcent into the ditch, their approaches were not ſufficiently forward to attempt this operation; ſince the excavation was entirely commanded by the three innermoſt guns in the flank of the royal baſtion, of which all the ſeven being covered on the flank by the oreillon, and by traverſes in the rear, had received no hurt from the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

enemy's cannon, and none of their mortars had chanced to light amongſt them; ſo that all remained in perfect condition, and the enemy, before they ſprung the mine, ſhould have raiſed a battery in the ſame direction, on the creſt of the glacis, to take off theſe defences. Immediately after the exploſion, they began to fire from two embraſures of their breaching battery in the ſalient angle, which the fire of the fort, as before, ſoon obliged them to cloſe; their other batteries likewiſe ſlackened, and their mortars ſtill more. Their workmen were chiefly employed during the night, in lowering the embraſures of their breaching battery; the garriſon, beſides the repairs of the demi-baſtion, againſt which the greateſt part of the enemy's fire had been directed, worked at their two mining galleries. The caſualties of the day and night, beſides the men wounded by the enemy's mine, were only one Sepoy killed, and one wounded.

At day-light on the 4th, the enemy again opened their breaching battery on the creſt of the glacis, and for the firſt time fired from all the ſix embraſures, which, although ſomething lowered, ſtill remained too high to ſtrike below the parapet of the baſtions; and the endeavour neceſſary to reduce them even to this level retarded the repetitions of their fire. The two embraſures in the left of the battery bore on the north-eaſt, the other four on the demi-baſtion. The N. E. returned with three guns, but the demi-baſtion with none; for the embraſures were cloſed, in order to let the workmen thicken the parapet within; and their fire was much better ſupplied by the four innermoſt guns in the flank of the royal baſtion, upon which not a gun in the breaching battery againſt which they fired, nor from any other, could bear; and the gunners, ſenſible of their ſecurity, fired with deliberate aim, whilſt the three guns on the N. E. baſtion continued hotly on their oppoſites, and both together obliged the enemy in leſs than an hour to withdraw their guns, and cloſe the embraſures; nor did they attempt to open them again during the reſt of the day. At ſeven the gallery carrying on towards this battery having been puſhed to the banquet of the covered way fell in at the end

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

end there, and the light came in; but the miners ſtopped the hole ſo ſoon, that the enemy did not diſcover the miſchance. The gallery was then filled five or ſix feet back, and from hence a return made to the right, from which it was again continued ſtreight forward under the glacis. In the night, the enemy had withdrawn the two twenty-four pounders from the bar, in order to replace others, which had been diſabled in the north front of the attack; they however ſubſtituted a ſix-pounder to check any ſally from the fort. The ceſſation of this fire to the ſouth releaſed the Shafteſbury from the greateſt moleſtation ſhe had endured, by which ſeveral of her men had been killed and wounded, her hull ſhot through in many places, and all her maſts and rigging ruined. In the morning, before day-light, ſhe had moved from her ſtation under the guns of the S. E. or San Thomé baſtion, and anchored about a mile in the offing, oppoſite to the ſea-gate. The French ſhips continued at their anchors out of gun-ſhot; ſo that all the annoyance which ſhe received through the day was a ſhot now and then from the ſingle gun at the ſecond crochet. Againſt the fort, the four guns at the burying-ground continued with vivacity, but the two enfilading in the Lorrain, and the four crochet on the hoſpital battery with leſs frequency: all the enemy's firſt-rate bombs were expended, and moſt of the next ſizes, ſo that they only fired a few ſhells of eight and ten inches from the ſecond crochet. In the evening, a ſloop from Pondicherry anchored at San Thomé with a ſupply of ſtores. During the night, the enemy fired a great deal of muſketry upon the covered way, and the garriſon, beſides the repairs, continued the two mines. The caſualties of the night and day were one European and three Sepoys killed, and four with two wounded, and a twenty-four pounder was diſabled on the demi-baſtion. 1759. February.

Early in the morning of the 5th, the Harlem, the Diligent, and three ſmaller veſſels, got under ſail from their ſtation before the black town, where they left only one, a ſmall ſloop, and ſtanding to the ſouthward were out of ſight before the evening. The cauſe of their ſudden departure, was a report from Pondicherry, that ſeveral ſhips of force had been ſeen off Negapatam. At ſun-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February. riſe, the enemy again opened their breaching battery, but before they had fired three rounds were obliged to cloſe it again by the ſame fire as the day before. At nine, a red flag ſeen on the mount ſignified that Preſton's and Mahomed Iſſoof's army were arrived there from Trimliwaiſh; they had before repreſented the neceſſity of remaining at a diſtance until ſupplied with ammunition and ſtores from Chinglapett, proviſions from the country, and money from Madraſs. Mr. Pigot ordered them at all events to attempt the effort ſo often recommended of marching into the fort; but, leſt it ſhould fail, diſpatched in the evening ten of the troop of European horſe, with captain Vaſſerot, each carrying a thouſand pagodas, who croſſed the Iſland, forced through the enemy's guard at Chindadrapettah, and arrived at the Mount at ten at night, of which they immediately gave notice to the garriſon by four rockets and a large fire. The fire of the enemy's batteries was ſlacker than uſual in the day, their ſhells very few, and little muſketry in the night. Nevertheleſs the caſualties until the morning of the 6th, were another twenty-four pounder diſabled on the demi-baſtion, one European and three Sepoys killed, and four Europeans wounded.

The enemy's breaching battery remained ſilent during the 6th; nor had they repaired the damages it had ſuſtained; but in Lally's, of which the fire had ceaſed ſince the 30th of the laſt month, ſix embraſures appeared to have been reſtored to good condition for ſervice; but ſo many of the enemy's guns had been ruined, that they were obliged to withdraw the four from the recochet battery at the hoſpital, to furniſh the embraſures at Lally's, which, however, they did not open until the next day; ſo that their fire this day was from fewer guns than in any ſince they began the ſiege, conſiſting only of the four guns at the burying ground, and two in the Lorrain battery; but they added two ten-inch mortars to the two already eſtabliſhed at the ſecond crochet. All their cavalry, European, as well as the black, were obſerved filing off to the Choultry Plain; and Sepoys, with guns and tumbrils, were ſeen marching that way from the black town. The night paſſed without ſkirmiſh, for the enemy were not heard at work on the creſt of the glacis; but their mortars

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

continued. In the day and night two Europeans were killed, and two wounded, but none of the Sepoys were hurt. 1759. February.

In the morning of the 7th the enemy began to fire, as was expected, from Lally's battery, but only from four of the embraſures and with a mortar on the right, all bearing upon the demi and north-eaſt baſtions, which together returned ſix guns: the other batteries continued as the day before, and the mortars in the night; during which no alarms were given either by the enemy or the garriſon: two guns were diſabled on the north-eaſt baſtion; two Europeans were killed, and five, and two Sepoys, wounded.

Notwithſtanding the inefficacy of the breaching battery, the reſt of the enemy's fire had by this time rent the ſalient angle of the demi baſtion from top to bottom; and Mr. Lally, who viewed every thing with enthuſiaſm, ordered the principal engineers and artillery officers to give their opinion on the feaſibility of ſtorming this breach, and declared his own of ſucceſs; but the officers conſidered the queſtion with more deliberation. They agreed that the deſcent into the covered way from the breaching battery on one ſide, and the gabions on the other, of the ſalient angle of the glacis, was eaſy, and that the deſcent into the ditch and paſſage acroſs it had been rendered very practicable by the mine they had ſprung in the covered way from the eaſtern ſide of the glacis, of which the exploſion had filled up a ſufficient ſpace at the end of the cuvette or trench of water dug along the middle of the ditch; but a rank of ſtrong paliſadoes ranged along the other ſide of the cuvette, and having hitherto received no damage muſt be torn down by hand, before the troops could gain the foot of the breach; who during the deſcent into the ditch would be expoſed, without the cover of a ſingle gabion on the flank, to the fire of the north-eaſt baſtion and of muſketry from the blind before it; to ſix guns in the curving flank of the royal baſtion, and abundance of ſmall arms from the caponiere which led acroſs the ditch to the north ravelin; and the havock of theſe two fires would continue without the leaſt reſiſtance or interruption upon the troops whilſt aſſaulting the breach itſelf. From theſe circumſtances the officers declared the breach,,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

breach, although practicable, inacceſſible; but added, what they were not aſked, that from a compariſon of the forces, the proſecution of works to quell the fire of the place would only ſacrifice the lives of many men without the leaſt probability of ſucceſs.

The only variation in the attack during the 8th, was the addition of one gun on Lally's, which now fired with five. The force with which the enemy intended to oppoſe the army at the mount had collected in a ſeparate camp on the Choultry Plain, and in their rear at Egmore were ſix field-pieces with four tumbrils. In the afternoon the Briſtol anchored off St. Thomé returning with ſtores from Pondicherry; and, as it was apprehended that ſhe might have brought a ſupply of large ſhells, the governor propoſed that the Shaftſbury, reinforced with forty ſoldiers from the ſhore, ſhould attack her. Captain Ingliſs concurred in this intention with alacrity; but his maſts were ſo much damaged, that it required the repair of two days before he could ſet a ſail. No annoyance, excepting mortars, paſſed between the beſiegers and the fort during the night. Before the morning, the gallery in front of the blind before the north-eaſt baſtion had been carried far enough toward the ſea to ſecure this work from any mines of the enemy, and was continued in a direction forward towards the palmyra palliſado, of which the enemy were in poſſeſſion, in order to croſs any other they might be attempting againſt the eaſt face of the covered way. Two exploſions of powder had been occaſioned in the enemy's works by the fall of ſhells during the night. In theſe 24 hours were one European and one Sepoy killed, and two Europeans and one Sepoy wounded; but no gun was diſmounted.

In the three laſt days, information had been received from Captain Preſton, that Major Calliaud was approaching with a reinforcement from the ſouth; and theſe were the firſt advices concerning him, which had reached either Preſton or the garriſon ſince his departure to Tanjore; for every letter which he had written paſſing through the enemy's country, had been either intercepted by them, or carried far away by the meſſengers. A variety of untoward incidents had protracted the execution of his commiſſion. He embarked at nine in the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the morning on the 1st of December in a common maſſoolah, which had only ſix rowers and the ſteerſman; he was accompanied by Mr. Boſwell the ſurgeon, as his interpreter, and one ſervant. In a few hours after they were at ſea, a hard gale of wind aroſe, in which they could not ſhow the ſail, and ſcarcely uſe the oars; nevertheleſs the drift of the wind and current carried the boat by 9 o'clock the ſecond night as far as Devi Cotah, which is by the ſea one hundred and thirty miles from Madraſs, when the rowers were ſo much exhauſted, that no entreaties could prevent them from putting aſhore; and they grounded on the ſtrand within half a mile of the fort of Devi Cotah, in which was an officer and ſome French Sepoys, from whoſe notice they were preſerved by the continuance of the ſtorm, and before day-break put to ſea again; but the boatmen would not venture over the larger and outer ſurf, and continued driving in the hollow ſea between the two, until noon, when they landed at Tranquebar. The rains had overflowed the rivers, which remained impaſſable until the 12th. On the 14th Calliaud arrived at Achempettah 15 miles from Tanjore, where he was again detained three days by the bad weather. On the 17th he reached the city. 1759. February.

The king of Tanjore, when more cloſely preſſed by Captain Joſeph Smith to furniſh the 1000 horſe requeſted of him by the preſidency in December, pleaded the ravages which his country had lately ſuffered from the French army, and demanded 200,000 rupees before-hand; at length he more plainly ſaid, that he thought the Engliſh did not care what befell the territory of their allies, provided they could defend their own: but as he could not alledge this indifference to himſelf when attacked by the French; he cited the unconcern with which they had ſuffered the French to take every fort belonging to the Nabob, and even his capital of Arcot, without making any efforts to protect them; although he knew that the preſidency had not the means, and with the Nabob's were loſing their own revenues.

Major Calliaud found the king in the ſame temper, ſo pre-poſſeſſed of the decline of the Engliſh fortune, that he neglected the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

usual attentions to himself, as their representative, and instead of a house, allotted his habitation in a choultry. In their conference, the king said he had sufficiently exposed himself to the resentment of the French, if Madrass should fall, by the assistance he had already sent with Mahomed Issoof, which were 300 horse; but not paid by himself: nevertheless he was willing to lend 400 more, provided Calliaud would discharge their arrears: Calliaud demanded Colonel Kennedy and the Jesuit Estevan, the French hostages whom the king had detained; but the king refused, and let them depart on the 19th, as it were, in his sight. Nevertheless, the horse were so necessary that Caillaud determined not to take offence whilst there remained any probability of getting them, and applied for money to the house of Buccangee, which was by far the most considerable bank in the Carnatic, and had hitherto transacted the greatest part of the Company's exchange throughout the province: but their agents in Tanjore refused to supply any money for bills on Madrass. The king knowing this promised the horse should be ready in four days, if the money were paid. Calliaud then applied to the Dutch government of Negapatam, who profered a loan, but proposed to furnish it in coins, and at rates, which would have produced a loss of 25 per cent. These disappointments obliged him to seek the money at Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 24th, and obtained the promise of a supply from another shop of Buccangee's house established there: he returned on the 27th to Tanjore, where intelligence had been received the day before, that the Nabob with his family, who had left Madrass on the 20th, were arrived at Negapatam, and that his wife, in this short but tempestuous passage, had been brought to bed at sea. At the same time Seid Muctoon the Nabob's agent at Tanjore informed the king, that the Nabob intended to come into the city in his way to Trichinopoly, and expected to be met, as usual, upon the road; but the embarkation, the season, and above all, the travail of the lady, had convinced the king, contrary to the real motives, that nothing but the despair of Madrass could have induced the English government to expose the prince of their alliance to such risques and distresses; and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and either from the malignant pleaſure of inſulting his ſuperior in diſtreſs, or from his dread of the French, if they ſhould prove ſucceſsful, or both, he refuſed either to admit the Nabob into the city, or to pay him a viſit without the walls: nor heeded the repreſentations of Calliaud endeavouring to correct his contumacy. The news likewiſe frightened the ſhroff at Tritchinopoly ſo much, that he retracted his promiſe, and refuſed to ſupply money upon any terms. However, 50 of the horſe were aſſembled at Condore on the bank of the Coleroon, 10 miles north of the city, and Calliaud, in order to encourage the reſt to follow, went thither likewiſe. The next day, which was the 28th, a detachment of 500 Sepoys, which he had ordered from Tritchinopoly to eſcort the Nabob, paſſed by in their way to Negapatam; and on the 1ſt of January he received from Mr. Norris, the member of the council who had accompanied the Nabob from Madraſs, 10 of 20,000 pagodas which had been ſent by the preſidency to defray the expences of the garriſon of Tritchinopoly: but although this ſupply obviated the pretexts of delay, the king ſent out no more horſe. On the 5th, major Calliaud viſited the Nabob at *Aimapettah*, and accompanied him to *Pondi*, a village 7 miles from Tanjore, where the illneſs of the Nabob's wife detained them the two ſucceeding days, during which major Calliaud went again to the city, when his exhortations, ſeconded by the appearance of the eſcort, prevailed; and the king viſited the Nabob on the 8th with the uſual ceremonies in a choultry on the road. Major Calliaud, to dignify the Nabob's appearance in his own territory, and at his earneſt requeſt, judiciouſly put himſelf at the head of the eſcort, and marched with him to Tritchinopoly: they arrived there on the 10th, but Caillaud returned the next day to Condore; where no more horſe had hitherto joined the firſt party; his letters and meſſages, for he reſolved not to viſit the king again, availing as little as before, he returned to Tritchinopoly on the 17th, in hopes of levying a body of horſe in the adjacent country; and on his departure expreſſed, intending it ſhould be conveyed, the utmoſt indignation at the king's evaſions. He however left agents at Condore to

1759. February.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February. improve any advantageous change which might happen in his diſpoſition, and the king, alarmed by the reſentment of his departure, ſent out the remainder of the horſe with ſcribes to clear their accounts; on which Calliaud returned on the 21ſt to Condore, and advancing them fifteen days pay, they croſſed the Coleroon the next day, and on the 23d moved to Trimalvedy, a fort belonging to the Arielore polygar, on the bank of the river, about 5 miles above Condore. Here he propoſed that they ſhould proceed 10 miles farther that day; but they halted parlying for more pay until the 25th, when they marched 20 miles to Mongalpaddy, a village ſtill in the diſtricts of Arielore; where they were joined by three companies of Sepoys from Tritchinopoly. The whole arrived and halted the next day at Volcondah, and on the 25th reached Thiagar: here the horſe refuſed again to proceed until they received their arrears, which the king had promiſed, and failed to ſend. They were however ſatisfied with another advance of 15 days, but requeſted another day's halt in expectation of ſome of their neceſſaries which were not yet come up from Tanjore. On the 31ſt they marched from Thiagar to Tricolore, which is 15 miles onwards. The killidar Kiſtnarow, who had before taken the field with Mahomed Iſſoof, promiſed to follow with all his force from Thiagar: but none appeared. On the 1ſt of February, Calliaud with his own troops reached Trivanalore, and the next day Villaporam. The partizan Lambert, with 500 Sepoys, had advanced to this place to oppoſe their progreſs; but, receiving certain intelligence of their force, went off the ſame day to Gingee. The want of proviſions detained Calliaud's party at Villaporum until the 4th; and on the 7th at noon they arrived at Chinglapet, both foot and horſe ſo much fatigued, for the march was ſeventy-five miles in three days, that they could proceed no farther; on which Calliaud left them there to refreſh, and went away with his own attendants to the mount, where he arrived at ſeven that night; and as the elder officer took the command of all the forces there, Preſton's, Mahomed Iſſoof's, and Abdulwahab's.

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

The mount is a craggy rock, of which the baſe is oblong from eaſt to weſt, and a mile round. It has two eminences, of which that to the eaſtward is much the higheſt, being 150 feet, and has at the top a ſmall level plot, in which ſtands a church, the ſubſtitute of a much more antient ſtructure, dedicated by the ancient chriſtians of Coromandel and Malabar to a Saint Thomas, whom the preſent erroneouſly ſuppoſe to be the apoſtle. A flight of broad ſteps leading to the church winds on the eaſtern ſide, juſt where the hill itſelf begins to round to the north. A village of country-houſes, built by the Engliſh, extends from the foot of the mount about 600 yards to the eaſt, and conſiſts of two rows of houſes ſituated in gardens ſeparated by a lane. The row which faces the ſouth fronts a pleaſant plain, and the walls of its encloſures as well on this ſide as on the other, where they ſkirt the lane, are on a ſtrait line. The encloſure which terminated the front row, to the eaſt, was the garden-houſe of Colonel Lawrence; it occupied 100 yards to the plain, and, as all the others of this row, the ſame extent backward to the lane; the gardens on the other ſide of the lane were not all incloſed with walls, but ſome with banks and hedges; all however capable of ſome defence. The laſt incloſure in this row, which from its owner was called Carvalho's garden, projected 50 yards farther out to the eaſt than Lawrence's, the laſt in the front row, of which in conſequence it flanked the eaſtern ſide: and about 200 yards out on the plain to the ſouth, directly oppoſite to Carvalho's, ſtood the ruins of five or ſix mud houſes, with ſeveral trees ſurrounding a ſmall brick building, which had once contained a ſwamy, or idol. This ſtation flanked the ground before the front row of incloſures. The lane that ſeparated the two rows continued nearly in a ſtreight line from the eaſt, and terminated at the bottom of the ſteps leading to the ſummit of the mount. On the right hand of the ſteps was a craggy path from the plain on the ſouth, and on the left hand an outlet leading round the north ſide of the mount: contiguous to the path on the right, and within piſtol-ſhot of the ſteps, was a houſe which looked upon the outlet to the north; and the laſt houſe on the other ſide at this end of the lane com-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

manded obliquely the opening of the path from the ſouth: a ſpacious gateway at the bottom of the ſteps fronted the lane between.

The black troops, excluſive of thoſe which major Calliaud had left at Chinglapett, were 2200 horſe, and 2500 Sepoys; but the Europeans were only 103, 12 of whom were artillery-men, and 10 with Vaſſerot, troopers; the other 80 were muſketry, including officers; the artillery were ſix three-pounders. Of the Sepoys, thoſe from the garriſon of Chinglapett, and 700 of Mahomed Iſſoof's, might be relied on; but little dependance could be placed on the reſt, and leſs on the cavalry. In this conviction, Calliaud determined to riſque little in the plain, but to defend the whole village of the mount, which afforded excellent ſtations. The plain to the north, behind the ſecond row of incloſures, required few precautions, becauſe the ground, being laid out in rice-fields, precluded the approach of cannon, and the uſe of cavalry. But, if the enemy ſhould get poſſeſſion of Carvalho's garden, they might ſoon penetrate into all the other incloſures of the ſecond row along the lane when the firſt row, attacked from this in the rear, and in front by another diviſion of the enemy from the plain on the ſouth, could not be long maintained. Calliaud therefore conſidered Caravalho's garden as the deciſive poſt, and ſtationed in it 60 of the European muſketry with four of the field-pieces. The two other field-pieces, with the 20 other European firelocks, and 300 Sepoys, were poſted at the ſwamy-houſe; the inlets of this poſt were barricaded, and the walls of the mud-houſes were lowered to parapets for the muſketry, and where neceſſary ſtill lower for the field-pieces, but time and means were wanting to incloſe them either with a ditch or palliſades. Seventeen hundred Sepoys were diſtributed in the gardens of the front row facing the ſouth, but the greateſt part in Lawrence's to the eaſt, and a communication was prepared between all theſe encloſures by openings in the walls of ſeparation. The remaining 500 Sepoys were ſtationed to defend the inlets to the upper end of the lane, at the foot of the mount; ſome in the two houſes there, others on the ſteps, others at the gate, and others in different parts of the rock itſelf. The black cavalry had encamped along the north

ſide

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

side of the mount, and were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to act as occasion should require. 1759. February.

With the dawn of the next day, which was the 9th, the enemy were discerned approaching in two large bodies. The one consisting of 1200 Sepoys, and 500 black horse, advanced from the Marmelong, or San Thomé river, towards the east end of the village, but having no field-pieces, regulated their approach by that of the other body, which, having taken a circuit to the left, were perceived at two miles distance on the plain to the south. This body consisted of 300, being the whole of the French European cavalry, and 600 European infantry: the cavalry was in the center in two ranks, the troopers on the right, the dragoons next, the hussars on the left. The infantry were equally divided on each side of the cavalry, and both divisions had two field-pieces on each of their flanks, eight in all, of which two were twelve, two nine, and the other four, six-pounders. The whole was commanded by a relation of Mr. Lally's, of the same name, and with the rank of Colonel. The black horse with Calliaud formed on his summons in front of the garden walls; they were crowded, according to their custom, ten or twelve ranks in depth. Abdulwahab presented himself with seeming resolution at their head, and Calliaud, with the 10 troopers and Vasserot, rode on their left. The French cavalry were advancing before their infantry; and it was the intention of Calliaud, that his own should wait until they came in a line with the flank fire of the field-pieces at the swamy house: but when they were within 1000 yards, where the ground began to take an ascent towards the garden walls, although scarcely perceptible in a less space, the whole body of the black cavalry with Calliaud set off scampering, shouting, and flourishing their sabres. The French cavalry came on to meet them at a round trot; but halting suddenly, the first rank discharged their carbines, by which four or five horses, and as many men, were brought to the ground, on which the whole, excepting Calliaud and the 10 troopers, went off at once, some escaping along the side of the mount to their right, but others turning, pressed into the path in their rear, which led into the head of the lane at the foot of the steps, and pushed across it by

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

by the other outlet, to the plain on the north of the mount. The French cavalry followed them until they themſelves came within reach of the flank fire of the field-pieces at the ſwamy houſe, which falling amongſt the troopers and dragoons on the right, obliged them to check and turn back; but the huſſars on the left, not feeling ſo much of this annoyance, puſhed on, and purſued the fugitives through the opening into the upper end of the lane, where they immediately fell under the fire of the 500 ſepoys poſted in the different ſtations in that part of the mount and in the two houſes, which drove them with as much precipitation as thoſe they were purſuing, through the outlet to the north, from whence they galloped round the mount, and rejoined the cavalry from which they had ſeparated, in the plain to the ſouth. Calliaud, with the troopers, retreated to the incloſure next Lawrence's garden, and his horſe, which had received a ball in the breaſt, fell under him at the gate. As ſoon as the Huſſars returned, the whole of the French line advanced again in the ſame order as before, and halted at the diſtance of 600 yards; the diviſion of infantry on the right, oppoſite to the ſwamy houſe; the other on the left, over againſt the laſt incloſures at the foot of the mount. From theſe ſituations the infantry of both diviſions ſent forward their field-pieces 200 yards nearer, which began a briſk and indiſcriminate cannonade againſt the garden walls, and the poſt at the ſwamy houſe, which was anſwered with effect only by the two field-pieces at this poſt; for the fire of the ſepoys, even here as well as in the gardens, was thrown away, and nevertheleſs could not be reſtrained. Mean while the body of enemy's troops to the eaſt halted behind a ridge, which extended at the diſtance of 400 yards, oppoſite to Carvalho's garden, againſt which their ſepoys kept up a conſtant and uſeleſs fire of muſketry, which nevertheleſs was often anſwered from the four field-pieces in the garden.

Colonel Lally ſeeing no effect from his field-pieces againſt the garden-walls to the ſouth, and the danger of ſtorming them, before the advanced poſt at the ſwamy houſe was carried, detached at nine o'clock 100 Europeans from the diviſion of infantry on the right, to attack it at the puſh of bayonet; but the fire

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

of the two field-pieces, and the muſketry there, met them ſo hotly, that they broke within 30 yards of the poſt, and retreated with precipitation to their diviſion, which on this repulſe recurred again to their field-pieces. Calliaud, nevertheleſs, was convinced that the poſt would be ſoon attacked again, and could not be maintained throughout the day, and therefore drew off one of the field-pieces. At ten the enemy ſent a ſtronger detachment to make another attack, who were beat off as the firſt; and half an hour after, another attack was made by 200 of the diviſion, who were likewiſe repulſed; but theſe ſucceſſes had ſo much elated the defenders, that all the ſepoys, with moſt of the Europeans, accompanied by enſign Airey himſelf, ruſhed out to purſue the detachment; who, as if by deſign, retreated faſt, and led them 300 yards into the plain: two troops of horſe, who had been patrolling in the rear of the infantry, chanced at this moment to be juſt behind the remaining Europeans of the diviſion to the right; and ſeeing the advantage, ſet off at full gallop and fell ſword in hand upon the purſuers, before they had time to form in proper order to reſiſt the ſhock. All were in an inſtant ſcattered, and many were cut down before they reached the ſwamy houſe; when, although ſafe, they did not think themſelves ſo, but leaving the field-piece, ran out on the other ſide to gain the gate of Lawrence's garden, which ſtood open before them; but before they got there, the troopers galloping round the eaſt ſide of the poſt, fell upon them again, up to the very gate, where their career was checked by a ſtrong fire of the Sepoys, whom Mahomed Iſſoof ſeeing the diſaſter had ranged along the walls. The ſurprize, for ſeveral fell, deprived the cavalry likewiſe of the recollection to return, and take ſhelter behind the cover at the ſwamy houſe; but they galloped acroſs the angle of Lawrence's towards the angle of Carvalho's garden, where Caillaud ſeeing them coming, met them with the fire of the 4 field-pieces in this poſt: but the gunners having hitherto only uſed ball, forgot to change their charge for grape ſhot, which greatly diminiſhed the execution; for the cavalry paſſed within 30 yards of the angle, and continued galloping onward to the north eaſt, until out of reach, when they turned in the rear of their Sepoys behind

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

hind the ridge. However ſome of them fell; but all the loſs they had ſuffered was much leſs than the havock they had made; for they had killed or cut down more than a hundred, but moſtly Sepoys.

The right diviſion of the enemy's infantry with their field-pieces immediately took poſſeſſion of the deſerted poſt; their left likewiſe advanced ſomething nearer the incloſures on their ſide, and both began a hot cannonade againſt the garden walls, which being ſlight, but of brick, were eaſily perforated. The Sepoys within took ſhelter behind the houſes, ready to man the walls on a cloſer attack; but ever and anon, one or other of thoſe, obliged to move to and fro, was killed; and theſe caſualties, although few, diſpirited many, who took every opportunity to quit their ſtations, and ſteal into the back encloſures, from whence they eſcaped round the mount, and haſtened far from the field. Of the black cavalry not more than a hundred had returned ſince the rout in the morning, and kept both the rows of encloſures between themſelves and the enemy's ſhot. At noon a party was diſcerned advancing from the San Thomé river, with a piece of cannon drawn by many oxen. It was a heavy iron eighteen-pounder. The field-pieces at Carvalho's fired upon them at random ſhot, which frightened the cattle, and obliged the drivers ſeveral times to unyoke the reſtive, and at laſt to throw them all off, when the Laſcars alone dragged the gun: but when arrived at the ridge, where the Sepoys had taken poſt, it could not be made uſe of behind it; and whilſt they were drawing it farther forward into the plain, ſeveral ſhot which took place amongſt them interrupted their attempt. At length it was brought to a proper ſtation, and at 2 o'clock began to fire at point blank; it was oppoſed as before by the 4 three-pounders, which could not with the ſame certainty reach ſo far, and ſeveral of the men ſerving them were killed by the ſhot, and wounded by fragments of the houſe. Mean while the enemy to the ſouth, beſides their cannonade, which continued hotter than in the forenoon, advanced at different intervals ſeveral parties, as well from the diviſion on the left, as the ſwamy houſe, with the appearance of aſſault, but only to draw the unneceſſary fire of the Sepoys, which always

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

always ſucceeded; and it became fortunate that ſo many had quitted, for even the beſt who remained could not be reſtrained from firing on every motion, although in vain. But by 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the perſeverance of the enemy's cannonade obliged them likewiſe to diminiſh it, for fear of ruining their own guns, and at ſunſet it ceaſed totally, and they were ſeen yoking, and ſoon after drew off all their artillery, moving to the eaſtward: the eighteen-pounder ceaſed and drew off at the ſame time. The ſight was more joyful than they ſuſpected to the troops in the village, for Calliaud had juſt before received information, that the muſket ammunition was expended to ſix cartridges a man, and only three balls, beſides the grape-ſhot, left for each of the field-pieces; ſo that no retreat could have been made, if preſſed by the enemy in the open plain. Spies followed them until they had croſſed the river of San Thomé, and began to take up their quarters in the village of Marmelong; and immediately on the return of the ſpies at eight at night, Calliaud marched away with all that remained of his force, in ſilence, for fear of the enemy's cavalry, and left fires to deceive them. Before the morning, they arrived at Vendaloor. The fugitive cavalry of the morning had run away with ſo much hurry, that they reached Chinglapett before noon. To rejoin them, as well as to get a ſupply of ammunition, Calliaud continued his march the next day, and arrived there in the evening, where all the Sepoys, who had not intirely deſerted, were likewiſe aſſembled. Of the Europeans, ſeven were killed dead, and 13 wounded. It was not ſo eaſy to aſcertain the loſs ſuſtained by the Sepoys; but by the reports of thoſe who held out through the action, it was computed that fifty were killed on the ſpot, and about 150 were brought away wounded. The loſs of the enemy was not known, but ſuppoſed to be 50 Europeans, and moſt in proportion of the cavalry. The firing of the action was heard in the fort, and ſeveral parties at different times of the day were ſeen going towards the mount, and not a few palankins and doolies returning from it with the wounded. 1759. February.

Notwithſtanding the draughts which had been made for this attack, the enemy's fire on the fort continued with more vivacity than might have been expected, although not ſo frequent as the day be-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

fore, but both their ſhot and ſhells were directed againſt the buildings. The Shafteſbury was not ready to weigh and bear down upon the Briſtol, at anchor in the road of St. Thomé, before the night cloſed, and in this interval the Briſtol employed all the boats which could be aſſembled in unloading her ſtores, and for more diſpatch put a part of them on board of the ſloop which was in the road when ſhe arrived, and into the other from the black town, which had paſſed and anchored near her; nevertheleſs ſhe had not diſcharged half her cargo before night, and for fear of the Shafteſbury ſet ſail, and was out of reach before morning. It being ſuppoſed that the ſervice at the mount had drained the enemy's poſts to the ſouthward of the fort, two companies of Sepoys were detached in the afternoon, who proceeded as far as the governor's garden, from whence they brought off ſome ammunition, and in their return ſet fire to the gabions of the battery near the bar, meeting no oppoſition. The enemy's mortars continued ſparingly through the night, but as in the day againſt the houſes. Not a man or a gun was hurt in the fort during theſe 24 hours; but the numbers of the garriſon were by this time ſo much impaired by caſualties and ſickneſs, that the grenadier company, which had hitherto been kept in reſerve, were obliged to furniſh a proportion to the guards of the different poſts.

The next day, which was the 10th, the enemy fired with four guns and one mortar from Lally's, three guns from the burying-ground, two from the Lorrain battery, and with two mortars at the ſecond crochet: the guns at Lally's fired ſmartly, but moſt of the ſhot from hence, as well as the ſhells from all the three mortars, were, as the day before, directed againſt the buildings, which were much rent and ſhattered. The mortars continued through the night, during which the garriſon began another embraſure in the faſcine battery on the beach, within the flow of the ſurf; it was intended to ſweep the ſtrand, along which the enemy might approach under cover of the bank of ſand which forms the beach and ſtops the ſea that has thrown it up. The gallery or mine at the ſalient angle was this day compleated: it had been puſhed 90 feet from the counter-ſcarp of the ditch, which brought it under the enemy's breaching

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ing battery, when a ſhort return was made on each hand from the end, and in a chamber at the end of each return was laid a box, containing 200 pounds of powder, to which the ſauciſſons were fixed. The gallery before the blind was ſufficiently advanced towards the ſea-ſide to croſs any approach under ground to the blind, and another branch was opened from this gallery ten feet on the outſide of the eaſt face of the covered way, parallel to which it was intended to prolong the branch to the north, in order to diſcover and meet the enemy if working under ground in this part. In the morning the Cuddalore ſloop belonging to the Company returned into the road, which ſhe had left ten days before, having employed this time in regaining the diſtance ſhe had ſailed in one: orders were immediately ſent off to her by a catamaran; in conſequence of which ſhe bore down into the road of St. Thomé, and attacked the two ſmall veſſels lying there, which had not yet landed all the ſtores they had received from the Briſtol. The veſſels, after receiving a few ſhot, weighed and ran cloſe to the ſurf, within 100 yards of the ſhore; the Cuddalore followed them as near as ſhe could, when a party of muſketry, with two field-pieces, came to the ſtrand, and began to fire on her; by which the crew, who were all Laſcars, were ſo much frightened, that they could hardly be prevailed on to ſtand the deck: the maſter, therefore, bore away, and in the evening anchored again before the fort. The fire of the day and night wounded two Europeans and one Sepoy, and diſabled a 24 pounder on the demi baſtion.

1759. February.

On the 11th the enemy's fire continued from the ſame cannon and mortars as the day before, but more briſkly. The Cuddalore ſloop bore down again in the morning upon the two veſſels in the road of St. Thomé, and was again beat off by the ſame fire from the ſhore. The outward embraſure of the faſcine battery in the ſurf was compleated, and palliſadoes ſtaked in front of it: a range of trees were laid before the palliſadoes, and others along the ſhoulder of the battery in the ſurf itſelf. The caſualties in the day and night were two Europeans and one Sepoy killed, and four Europeans and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

one Sepoy wounded; a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the royal bastion.

The same fire continued on the 12th, but with more effect, disabling six guns. Before this time all the original parapet of the N. E. bastion had been battered away; and so much of the body of the bastion itself crumbled, that the outside of the gabions and sand-bags, which had been substituted on the rampart, did not extend beyond the ground which had been the line of the inside of the original parapet; and in the afternoon of this day a shot from a twenty-four pounder on Lally's battery came quite through the gabions, and wounded a centinel in the bastion; four other Europeans and one Sepoy were wounded, and two Europeans were killed, during these 24 hours.

At three in the morning of the 13th, a party from the enemy's trenches, consisting of 50 coffrees, advanced along the sea-side from the stockade, of which they were in possession, intending to storm and nail up the guns in the fascine battery. They were led by a serjeant chosen for his bravery, with the promise of a commission if the attempt succeeded. The party was discovered when within 30 yards of the work, on which they halted, probably to form for the push, and in this short interval received two rounds of grape-shot from the embrasure next the breach, the execution of which threw them into such confusion, that they all ran back to the trenches, leaving seven dead, and the serjeant desperately wounded. Upon this alarm, the drums beat to arms, and all the garrison and inhabitants repaired to their several posts: and a smart fire was kept up from the defences, and returned by the enemy from the trenches, for some time after the party was repulsed. The serjeant crawled into the covered way, where he was taken up, told what he knew of the enemy's intentions, and died before day-break. This day the enemy ceased firing from the three guns in the Lorrain battery, by which the number of their cannon was reduced to seven pieces; but the five in Lally's fired very briskly: their three mortars continued as before through the day, but very sparingly during the night, which gave suspicion that they were busy at work in their trenches, and before day-light at

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

at three o'clock in the morning, it was discovered that they had advanced some gabions on the edge of the surf beyond the Palmyra stockade, which indicated that they either intended to bring cannon against the fascine battery, or to advance by traverses under cover of the beach which was steep, and then attack the covered way and the fascine battery together: a strong fire was kept up from the fascine battery upon the stockade, and the gabions they had advanced until the morning. In these 24 hours no guns were dismounted in the fort, but three Europeans were killed, and four, with one Sepoy, wounded. The mine under the enemy's battery at the salient angle of the covered way was compleatly stopt up before noon; and three pioneers, covered at night by ten grenadiers, were continued at the counterscarp in readiness to make the explosion.

It being discovered at day-break of the 14th, that the enemy had renewed their gabions beyond the stockade, a sally was made upon them at sun-rise. A subaltern and 15 men went along the covered way till they came upon the flank of the stockade, 40 men with two captains advanced directly in front of it along the glacis, followed by 20 pioneers and an engineer without arms. The two parties attacked at the same instant, and their first fire drove the enemy from the stockade, and continued firing forwards from it on all that appeared; at the same time the north ravelin, the royal, the demi, and N. E. bastion, plyed the trenches with grape shot, and all together deterred the enemy from venturing out of them, which gave the pioneers leisure to overturn the gabions into the sea, and to spread and level the earth they contained. After which, the whole detachment returned unmolested into the covered way, having only two men slightly wounded. The enemy's fire continued as the day before, but they threw very few shells in the night, during which they worked hard in replacing the gabions which had been overset in the morning, and endeavoured to compleat the traverse from them towards the surf; but the fire of a twelve-pounder from the fascine battery, and the shells from the demi bastion, continually interrupted their work. In the evening the Diligent and a sloop with stores from Pondicherry anchored in the road of St.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

Thomé; and on their appearance 15 ſailors which had been taken out of the Shaftſbury to ſerve in the garriſon, with 30 more Europeans, were ſent on board with orders to Captain Ingliſs to bear down, and attack theſe veſſels. The decks of the Shaftſbury being lumbered with goods, ſhe did not get under ſail until 11 o'clock at night, and was too ſoon diſcovered by the two veſſels, which immediately got under way, and before day-break were too far to the ſouthward to be purſued. In theſe 24 hours two Europeans were killed, and 5 wounded, but none of the Sepoys were hurt. A twenty-four pounder on the demi baſtion was ſplit in the muzzle by one of the enemy's ſhot. For ſeveral days a number of labourers, guarded by a party of ſoldiers, with an officer, had been diſcerned from the ſteeple demoliſhing the governor's garden-houſe, and in the afternoon of this day they ſet fire to the village of Chipauk which ſtood at the back of the garden, between the bar of the river and the village of Triplicane.

The next day, which was the 15th, the enemy's fire was very briſk in the morning, from ſix guns in Lally's, four at the burying-ground, and two in the Lorrain battery; but it decreaſed in the afternoon, and at 5 o'clock they only fired from three in Lally's, and two at the burying-ground, and from neither of the two in the Lorrain battery: the fire of their mortars likewiſe ſlackened. Several camels and many coolies were ſeen paſſing from St. Thomé acroſs Egmore plain to the Black town, loaded, it was ſuppoſed, with ammuntion; but a much greater number of coolies with all kinds of burthens paſſed from thence to the ſouthward, which confirmed the intelligence of a ſpy, that the enemy were ſending away their ſuperfluous ſtores and the remains of their booty to Pondicherry, and gave credit to the information of the deceaſed ſerjeant, that they had determined to raiſe the ſiege. They fired very few ſhells, and continued very quiet in their trenches during the night; but the garriſon ſuſpecting that they might be carrying on their gabions by the ſea-ſide, kept up a ſmart fire from the faſcine battery upon the head of their ſap until 2 o'clock in the morning, when the moon gave ſufficient light to diſcover that they were doing nothing there; on which

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

which the firing ceaſed. At the ſame time, the enemy's guard in their battery on the creſt of the glacis, which for ſome days had only been uſed as a lodgement for muſketry, perceived and fired upon a party of Sepoys who were leveling the rubbiſh at the foot of the demi baſtion, which had been beat down by the cannonade of the day. One of the Sepoys was killed, on which the reſt ran away, and no other of theſe troops could be prevailed upon to continue the work, which was however compleated by a party of Europeans. A ſix-pounder in the faſcine battery was diſabled by one of the enemy's ſhot. The caſualties in the 24 hours, were one Coffree and one Sepoy killed, and one of each, with two Europeans, wounded, and lieutenant Hopkins loſt his right arm by a cannon ſhot. Two letters were received this day from Major Calliaud, dated the 11th and 13th, adviſing his intention to make a forced march from Chinglapett, with the troops under his command, in hopes of ſurprizing the fort of Sadraſs, of which the French continued in poſſeſſion; and requeſting that money and ammunition might be ſent to him there, in conſequence of which the Cuddalore ſloop was immediately diſpatched with 300 three-pound ſhot, and 20,000 pagodas in money. This ſum compleated 70,000, which had been ſent out of the fort, ſince inveſted, for the ſupply of the army abroad. Much more remained in the company's treaſury, which was indebted for this affluence to the remittances from their acquiſitions in Bengal; but, had this ſource failed, the wealth of individuals collected within the fort would have been much more than ſufficient to have anſwered all the expences incurred for its defence. Very different were the faculties and finances of the enemy. The treaſury of the government at Pondicherry was exhauſted, and individuals from their diſtruſt and deteſtation of Mr. Lally would lend none to forward the public cauſe, although their own; and from violence and miſmanagement, the countries which had been reduced, and were the whole extent between Devi Cotah, Arcot, and Madraſs, had furniſhed neither revenues or other means adequate to the wants and conſumption of the enemy's army employed in the ſiege, where the pay of the common ſoldiers was at this time ſix weeks in arrear, and their

1759. February.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

their other neceſſities equally ill ſupplied; who nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding the diſcontented diſcourſes of their officers, ſtill more diſhonourable becauſe they had all got plunder, perſevered in their duty with unremitting ſpirit and alacrity, and Mr. Lally ſeems to have reſpected their merit. But the Sepoys had neither the ſame principles, nor received the ſame encouragement, for he had always treated them, as all the natives in general, with the utmoſt contempt and ſeverity, which they now revenged, juſt as their ſlender ſervices became moſt important, by threatening to leave the army, if they were not immediately paid; and ſpreading their example by their correſpondence, 500, who had been poſted with a few Europeans in the fort of Tripaſſore, forced the gates, and marching out with their arms plundered the country, in order, as they ſaid, to collect their arrears. The news was brought to the black town a few hours after the event, on the 15th, and created much anxiety, becauſe all the proviſions which the army received, came by Tripaſſore, and might be eaſily diverted by theſe malecontents. Few refrained from declaring that the ſiege ought to be immediately raiſed; but Mr. Lally, to maintain the lead of his own opinion, gave out that he would never quit the enterprize, until he had tried the ſucceſs of a general aſſault, and talked as if the hour was not far diſtant.

The next morning, which was the 16th, the enemy's cannon, although not increaſed in number, fired with more vivacity than for many days before. At 3 in the afternoon intelligence was brought by a catamaran from Paliacat, that a ſloop, which had juſt anchored there, had ſpoke on the 9th of the month in the lat. of 14°, with the ſhips from Bombay, from which the Shaftſbury had ſeparated; and that they had been ſeen on the 12th off Duraſapatam, 100 miles to the north of Madraſs. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the ſix ſhips were deſcryed in the N. E. ſtanding towards the road; nevertheleſs the enemy's fire continued with uncommon vivacity until ſunſet; and it being concluded, that, if they had ever intended to make a general aſſault, it would be attempted this night, before the reinforcements could be landed, every ſoldier and inhabitant in the garriſon capable of ſtanding to his arms repaired to their reſpective poſts,

and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and as ſoon as it was dark a hot fire of muſketry from the north face of the defences was kept up on the enemy's works, which they returned with equal alacrity. At ten at night the ſhips, directed by lights held out in the fort, anchored in the road. The firing on ſhore ſtill continued, and at 2 in the morning that from the enemy, in their lodgement, on the creſt of the glacis, and in their poſts and ſap oppoſite to the N. E. baſtion and faſcine battery, although very ſtrong before, grew ſtronger than ever, but their ſhot flew too high: it began to ſlacken ſoon after, when the blaze of fires were perceived in their trenches: at 3 all their annoyances ceaſed intirely, after which no motions of men were any longer diſtinguiſhed; but ſeveral large piles of wood in the rear of Lally's battery were ſeen in flames. The caſualties ſince the preceding morning to this time, were three Europeans and one Sepoy wounded, and one Sepoy killed. 1759. February.

At day-break the whole army were diſcovered in full march from the weſt ſide of the black town towards the Choultry Plain, and the greateſt part had already croſſed the northern river. They had previouſly undermined the redoubt and powder-mill at Egmore; and at 9 o'clock a party left for the purpoſe made the exploſion, which intirely ruined both; theſe works had coſt the Company 30,000 pounds, and could not be reſtored in a twelvemonth. The enemy were then perceived marching on to the mount. The hurry of their retreat ſaved the black town from the reſolution which Mr. Lally had taken of reducing it to aſhes, if compelled to raiſe the ſiege. By noon the troops in the ſhips were all landed: they were, including officers, 600 men.

Joy and curioſity carried out every one to view and contemplate the works from which they had received ſo much moleſtation, for the enemy's fire had continued 42 days. Thirty-three pieces of cannon, 18 or 24 pounders, were found in their poſts and works, of which 26 were diſabled; but ſeven were in their carriages, and both in good condition. Some ſpare carriages were likewiſe left, and many cannot ſhot, but no mortars, although ſeveral beds; and many military ſtores, with quantities of powder in caſks and flannel bags,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

759. were found careleſsly ſcattered in the trenches. They evacuated
ruary. San Thomé, and whatever guards between this place and the fort were withdrawn at the ſame time that the army left the black town. The garriſon, as ſoon as certified of their departure, ſent out parties to the ſouthward and to Egmore, who collected 19 guns more, moſtly iron three pounders: ſo that the whole number which the enemy loſt and left behind were 52 pieces of cannon. One hundred and fifty barrels of good powder, and as many caſks of damaged ammunition, were found in San Thomé. But the ſtrongeſt proof of the hurry and confuſion with which they raiſed the ſiege, was the neglect of their ſick and wounded, leaving 44 Europeans, (all who had not been ſent away before) in their hoſpital in the black town, with a letter from Mr. Lally, recommending them to the care of the Engliſh governor: they were received and treated with the ſame attentions, as if they had belonged to the garriſon, and moſt of them afterwards recovered.

The fort fired during the ſiege 26,554 rounds from their cannon, 7,502 ſhells from their mortars, and threw 1990 hand-grenades: the muſketry expended 200,000 cartridges. In theſe ſervices were uſed 1768 barrels of gun-powder. Thirty pieces of cannon and 5 mortars had been diſmounted on the works. There remained in the fort, artillery ſufficient for another ſiege, with 30,767 cannon-balls, but only 481 ſhells, and 668 barrels of gun-powder. As many of the enemy's cannon-balls were gathered in their works, or about the defences of the fort, or found in wells and tanks in the black town, as the garriſon had expended. The enemy conſumed all the ſhells of the two firſt rates in the ſtores of Pondicherry, and threw of all ſorts 8000, of which by far the greateſt number were directed againſt the buildings, all of which lay together in half the area within the walls, in the old town to the eaſtward: and ſcarce a houſe remained that was not opened to the heavens.

Of the European officers, one major, Polier, two captains, ſix lieutenants, and four enſigns, were killed: one captain and one lieutenant died of ſickneſs: 14 other officers were wounded, of whom

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſome dangerouſly; and four were taken priſoners: in all 33. Of rank and file in the battalions of Europeans, and of the men belonging to the artillery, 198 were killed, 52 died in the hoſpital, 20 deſerted, 122 were taken priſoners, and 167 were wounded; in all 579; but many of the wounded recovered. Of the laſcars, who were natives aſſiſting in the artillery, nine were killed, and 15 wounded. Of the Sepoys, including officers, 105 were killed, 217 wounded, and 440 deſerted. The loſs in Europeans was more than reinſtated by the troops brought in the ſhips. 1759. February.

The governor Mr. Pigot, as ſoon as the enemy diſappeared, relinquiſhed the ſpecial authority which had been veſted in himſelf, to the uſual adminiſtration of the council, of which he was preſident; and received their thanks for the good effects of his reſolution and activity during the ſiege: he had viſited the works every day, encouraging the garriſon by his preſence, and rewarding thoſe expoſed to ſeverer ſervices, with money. Proviſions of all kinds in abundance, and of the beſt condition, had been laid up; and as well as all the military ſtores, were diſtributed from the different magazines, under the direction of the members of the council, aſſiſted by the inferior ſervants of the company, whoſe habits of buſineſs eſtabliſhed and continually preſerved theſe details free of all let and confuſion.

The Preſidency, as ſoon as re-eſtabliſhed in its uſual forms, acknowledged their ſenſe of the zeal and conſtancy with which the garriſon had ſuſtained every danger and fatigue; and no men ever better deſerved this teſtimony, for ſcarce a murmur had been uttered: all was emulation: All however acknowledged that the enemy, in proportion to their numbers compared with the ſtrength of the garriſon and works, had puſhed the attack with unremitting perſeverance and endeavour, and the enemy equally reſpected the ſcience and ſteadineſs of the defence. Indeed moſt of the principal officers of the Company's troops had been inured to ſervice under their general Colonel Lawrence, whom they ſtill regarded as their preceptor in the ſiege: they were, Major Polier; the Captains Paſcall,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

Charles Campbell, Beaver, Richard Smith, Gurtler, de Beck, Freiſhman, Vaſſerot, Black, Hume, Donald Campbell, Greig. Every repair and additional work was executed with regularity and diſpatch under the direction of Mr. Call the chief engineer, although this was the firſt ſiege, whether offenſive or defenſive, in which he had ſerved. Captain Hiſlop, who arrived with a company of the King's artillery-men, at the ſame time as Adlercron's regiment, was the ſenior officer in this branch; he had ſerved in Bergen-op-zoom. The Company's artillery, which furniſhed all the cannon and ammunition, was commanded by Captain Robert Barker: even the enemy acknowledged that the promptitude and execution of the fire from the fort was ſuperior to their own: whatſoever guns or mortars were diſabled on the defences, were immediately replaced by others prepared in ſtore: Colonel Draper and Major Brereton were of the King's troops: ſo that no town was ever attacked, which had in proportion to the garriſon ſuch a number of excellent and experienced officers. The exertions of Major Calliaud and Captain Preſton were equal in the field. Thus every officer of diſtinction on the eſtabliſhment of Coromandel was employed in the defence of Madraſs, excepting Captain Joſeph Smith, to whom was committed the preſervation of the next important object, Tritchinopoly, in which the French priſoners out-numbered five to one the invalid Europeans of his garriſon.

In the evening, after the enemy retreated, came in Vaſſerot and the ten troopers with intelligence from Calliaud. This officer marched from Chinglapett on the 13th, but miſled by the guides did not arrive at Sadraſs, as he intended the next night, but the morning after; when the Dutch reſidents, although remaining in the town only on ſufferance from the French, who were in poſſeſſion of their fort, proteſted againſt his entrance with hoſtile appearance on the territory belonging to the Dutch company. At the ſame time a party of French troops, which were halting there in their way from Pondicherry to join Mr. Lally, went into the fort, and this reinforcement rendered the attempt impracticable excepting by a regular attack, to which the artillery with Calliaud was not

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

adequate. He nevertheleſs remained to inveſt the fort, and ſoon after intercepted a letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. Deleyrit, dated the 14th, written in the bittereſt terms of reproach and reſentment, imputing the failure of his attempt againſt Madraſs, which he then ſaw inevitable, to the iniquities and treachery of the government of Pondicherry, denouncing, that if this place ſhould eſcape the vengeance it merited of fire from heaven, nothing could preſerve it long from deſtruction by the fire of the Engliſh. 1759. February.

The loſs of men ſuſtained by the French army is no where acquired; they were 2700 firelocks when they advanced from Conjeveram; and Mr. Lally, in the intercepted letter, ſays, that he had ſtill 2000 Europeans; the Sepoys with him were not more than 1000, for ſeveral detachments were abroad. The loſs of the cannon and ammunition which had been left or thrown away, he imputed to the want of ſerviceable bullocks, and this deficiency to the rapacity of the contractors leagued with the council of Pondicherry. His army marched away in rags, and without proviſions, but, having gun-powder and horſe, exacted them, and continued their rout to Arcot. Advices of their retreat had been ſent off to Calliaud as ſoon as they diſappeared, who immediately on the information detached Mahomed Iſſoof with 1200 Sepoys from Sadraſs, to reinforce Chinglapett, leſt the French army ſhould inveſt this place; the Sepoys by a forced march arrived before the enemy could have intercepted them, if ſuch had been their intention: the next day Major Calliaud, with the remaining ſix companies of Sepoys, and all the cavalry, Abdulwahab at the head of his own, came into Madraſs. Thus ended this ſiege, without doubt the moſt ſtrenuous and regular that had ever been carried on in India; and we have detailed it, in hopes that it may remain an example and incitement.

END *of the* TENTH BOOK.

BOOK

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

BOOK XI.

NOT only the Carnatic and its dependencies, but all the adjacent powers, had fixed their attention, with various hope and anxiety, on the ſiege of Madraſs, as an event, which ſooner or later muſt greatly affect their reſpective views and intereſts. It was believed, and juſtly, that much and extenſive reputation would be acquired by the defence; but as this advantage would ſoon be loſt if the adjacent territory were not recovered and protected, it was reſolved to take the field without delay. With the reinforcement brought in the ſhips, there were in the town when the ſiege was raiſed, of all ranks, 1900 eſtimated Europeans, including 90 Topaſſes and 60 Coffrees, inſerted in the different companies: of this number 1500 rank and file were fit for immediate duty; and this force was ſufficient to face the French army. Nevertheleſs, the vigour of the determination exceeded the means: many carriages for the artillery and ſtores were to be prepared, and the artificers being moſtly natives were few, and had much other work to do: draught and carriage bullocks were to be provided, and the ravages of the enemy had left none in the country; proviſions were equally ſcarce: perſeverance, however, continued. Chinglapett being ſecured, the reſt of the troops with Mahomed Iſſoof, the horſe with Abdulwahab, and thoſe ſent with Major Calliaud by Tondiman and Tanjore, encamped on the choultry plain, where they were joined day by day by the Europeans of the garriſon; but the whole were not ready to move before the 6th of March, and in this interval arrived two more companies

1759. February.

March.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. March. panies of Draper's regiment, which the ships they came in from England had carried to Bengal in the latter season of the last year, and they were now returned to the coast. The whole force which now took the field were 1156 Europeans, rank and file, including the artillery men, with 10 field-pieces, of which two were 12 pounders, 1570 Sepoys, 1120 Colleries, and 1956 horse. On news of their approach, Mr. Lally moved back from Arcot with the main body of his troops, and took post at Conjeveram, where the advantages of the situation left them nothing to fear from an inferior force; and, his health being much impaired, he went away to Pondicherry on the 6th, leaving the command to Mr. Soupire, with orders not to risque a general battle; but to wait the attack. The defects of equipments still retarded the progress of the English army, and it was the 18th before they arrived at Paupa Braminy's Choultry, within seven miles of Conjeveram. On the last march, Mahomed Issoof, with some horse, advancing before the line, met some of the enemy's European cavalry, who, though much inferior in number, stood a skirmish with the foremost of his; and were driven back, with the loss of an officer and two horses killed. On the 3d, Captain Preston at Chinglapett, hearing there was but a slight force in the fort of Carangoly, had detached Lieutenant Airy, with seven companies of Sepoys, to surprize it; but they took a panic under the walls, not to be recovered by the bravery of their officer, which encouraged the garrison to sally, who killed 25 of them in their flight.

Whilst the army was before Conjeveram, letters were received from Colonel Forde, who was set down before Masulipatam, despairing of success, unless he were reinforced with men and supplied with money. By this time, it was found that all the resources of the presidency were inadequate to the expence of keeping the army in the field, and no probability appeared of gaining a decisive advantage over the enemy. The Presidency therefore inclined to bring the troops into cantonments, and to send 200 men to Colonel Forde. Colonel Lawrence, although convinced of the imprudence of attacking the enemy in the posts they occupied at Conjeveram, was equally persuaded of the evil consequences

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. February.

ſequences of retreating before them, and came to Madraſs on the 26th, to diſſuade the Council, either from diminiſhing their force, or from withdrawing it into garriſon; and his arguments prevailed. He then declared the inability, to which the impaired ſtate of his health had reduced him, of continuing in the command of the army; and received the higheſt regrets and encomiums of his eminent ſervices, crowned by exertions much beyond his age, in the defence of Madraſs. The command then devolved to Lieutenant-Colonel Draper, who was likewiſe too ill to accept it, and ſoon after embarked for England; on which it fell to Major Brereton, the next officer in the king's regiment, and Major Calliaud ſucceeded Colonel Lawrence in the diſtinct command of the Company's troops.

Nazeabullah, the Nabob's brother, had accompanied the French army to Madraſs, and remained ſome days with them in the black town; when his own affairs, his doubts of the ſucceſs of the ſiege, and the repreſentations and example of his brother, Abdulwahab, who was joining the Engliſh troops in the field, induced him to return to Nelore, which Mr. Lally having derived no advantage from his preſence or endeavours permitted without reluctance. Still, however, holding fair to the French, he retained a few of their Europeans, and 200 of their Sepoys; but as ſoon as he heard that the ſiege was raiſed, he reſolved to declare intirely for the Engliſh, and blackened his zeal, by putting to death all the French Europeans, excepting their officer, Saint-Denys. It is not known whether they attempted reſiſtance; but the Sepoys laid down their arms, and were quietly turned out of the fort. With the advices of this deed, he profered to pay 30,000 pagodas a year, if the Preſidency would confirm him in the government of Nelore, and its diſtricts; and, as no revenue, excepting from his good-will, was to be expected from that part of the country, until the Engliſh army had gained the ſuperiority, his terms were accepted, and he ſent the French officer to Madraſs. Abdulwahab continued with the army, and his ſervices were rewarded by a confirmation of the diſtricts of Chandergherry and Chitore. The three greater Polygars to the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. March. northward, Bangar-yatchum, Bomrauze, and Damerlah Venkytappah, wrote letters of congratulation, although they had given no assistance during the siege: they were ordered to guard their own hills, and assist Chandergherry and Chittore, if attacked. The minor Polygars nearer Madrass were frightened, in expectation of punishment for the robberies they had committed in the English districts during the distresses of the siege; but their delinquency was overlooked, and they were told to assist the forts of Pondamelée and Tripassore, into which garrisons of Sepoys had been sent, as soon as they were abandoned by the enemy in their retreat to Arcot.

Even the cautious Mortizally of Velore congratulated the Presidency on the repulse of the siege. The body of Morattoes, with Gopaul Row, who had in the preceding year warred and gained the half of Cudapah, and to whom proffers had been made for their assistance, remained at the passes of Damalcherry, waiting the event: and as soon as the French retreated, Gopaul Row claimed 12 lacks of rupees, alledging that he had neglected other concerns of greater consequence, in expectation of the ultimate summons of the presidency, and that the dread of his troops had obliged the French to raise the siege. It was known that he had equally been offering his assistance to the French, and the presidency recommended to him, to cut their army to pieces before they reached Pondicherry, and then he should have the money. He replied, in several letters, fraught with insinuations of the mischief he intended to bring on the English, as well at Bombay, as in the Carnatic; and sent 500 of his Morattoes to join the French army; but Mr. Deleyrit, the governor of Pondicherry, advised Mr. Lally not to entertain them, because they would not fail to plunder with greater detriment in the French districts, as more extensive, than in those which the English had recovered. They were dismissed with compliments and a small present, on which Gopaul Row to compensate and revenge the disappointment, sent a detachment round the hills, which took possession of the town and pagoda of Tripetty, intending to collect the revenues of the approaching feast in April, which the French government

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

expected to receive. This detachment in their way ſummoned the three northern Polygars as friends to the Engliſh, to pay their ſhares of the chout, or tribute, which Gopaul Row had demanded, and had not time to exact in the preceding year. 1759. March.

The king of Tanjore fired guns, and congratulated on the fortune and proweſs of Madraſs; and, the Preſidency encouraged by his profeſſions, propoſed to him to aſſiſt them in a plan to ſurpriſe the fort of Karical, when the ſquadron ſhould arrive on the coaſt: to which he anſwered, that the laſt hoſtilities of the French had ruined his country, and that the crop at preſent on the ground would likewiſe be deſtroyed, if diſturbances were renewed: but that, as the Engliſh had beat off the French army from Madraſs, they ſhould immediately drive them out of Pondicherry, when Karical would fall of courſe. He was then requeſted to let beeves be purchaſed in his country as proviſions for the ſquadron; which the ſtrictneſs of his religion regarded as an abomination, nor would he ſuffer the interpreter to go on in reading the letter, written to him on this ſubject.

The Nabob, ever ſince his arrival at Tritchinopoly, had continued ſick. His diſorder was a jaundice, produced by exceſs of vexation at the late humiliations of his fortune: the repulſe of the French attack on Madraſs conduced not a little to the recovery of his health; but his mind retained much ſollicitude for every future contingency. However, the vigilance of Captain Joſeph Smith had preſerved the diſtricts dependant on the city in peace and cultivation, and their revenues were more than ſufficient to defray the neceſſary expences of the garriſon, as well as of the Nabob's family. The great number of French priſoners in the city, who were 500, whilſt the European force in the garriſon did not exceed 70 men, had been an object of conſtant anxiety, and plots were continually diſcovered of their intentions to break out of their dungeons; which obliged Captain Smith to confine them with the utmoſt ſeverity. The Rheddi of Terriore, whom he had driven out of that town and diſtrict in the month of July of the preceding year, went away with thoſe who eſcaped with him, to the borders of the Myſore country, where he was, at different times, joined by ſuch as

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. March. were diſaffected to the other Rheddi, who had been reſtored in his ſtead. They ſometimes made plundering excurſions into the country between Terriore and Utatore; but attempted nothing of conſequence. However, their numbers encreaſed; and they kept up a correſpondence with ſeveral of the principal men who continued to reſide with the Rheddi in Terriore. When Mahomed Iſſoof marched away in November to the relief of Madraſs, the garriſon of Tritchinopoly could not ſpare the number of Sepoys neceſſary to compleat his command, and three of the five companies which had been left in Terriore, were recalled to make up the deficiency. As ſoon as they were gone, the expelled Rheddi, with his troops, who were waiting to retake the place, arrived before they were diſcovered at the barrier of the wood, where ſome of the remaining Sepoys were ſtationed; but the reſt of the guard had been ſeduced, and inſtead of aſſiſting the Sepoys, turned their arms upon them, and delivered up the barrier to the enemy, who marched on, and advanced to the town without interruption, ſending ſo much terror before them, that the Rheddi within, with his troops, and the inhabitants, that adhered to him, ran away into the wood and hills, leaving the Engliſh ſerjeant with the Sepoys, to defend themſelves as they could. The ſerjeant took poſſeſſion of the palace, which was an extenſive building; but the enemy ſurrounded it in the houſes on all ſides, that not a man could apppear who was not expoſed to their fire, which obliged the ſerjeant to capitulate, and he eaſily obtained permiſſion to march away to Tritchinopoly, with their arms, and whatever elſe they choſe to carry. Captain Joſeph Smith had received ſome intelligence of the intention to attack the place, and had detached ſome troops to reinforce it, but it was loſt before they arrived at the wood. This event happened in the end of November. In the next month, Huſſein Cawn, who had been driven in the month of July from Seringham by a detatchment from Tritchinopoly, returned from Pondicherry with ſome Sepoys and two field-pieces, and took poſt at Utatore, intending again to advance to the iſland, and retake the pagoda; but Captain Smith ſent a party from the garriſon, under the command of Captain Blake, who did not

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

not ſuffer them to reſt until they took refuge in the Myſore country, where they remained, propoſing ſchemes, and ſoliciting aſſiſtance; but meeting little encouragement from this government, Huſſein Cawn offered to join the Rheddi, who had retaken Terriore, in making incurſions into the Nabob's country: but the Rheddi, making a merit of refraining from the miſchief in his power, proffered money and regular terms of ſubmiſſion to the Nabob, who, for the ſake of the money, and to ſave the expence of defending the diſtant villages, accepted his obedience, and confirmed him in the government; in which this was his fourth inſtallation, and the other Rheddi had loſt and reſumed it as often. 1759. March.

The countries of Madura and Tinivelly had relapſed into their former ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, after Mahomed Iſſoof, with ſo large a part of his force, was recalled out of them in the month of July. All that the ſeven companies of Sepoys left in the city of Madura could do, was to collect from the country proviſions ſufficient for their ſubſiſtance. The incurſions of the Nattam colleries from the north, and of thoſe under the Polygars along the hills to the weſt, ruined or appropriated whatſoever cultivation or revenue aroſe in the diſtricts at a diſtance from the city. To the ſouthward, in the Tinivelly country matters were much worſe. Maphuze Cawn forgot all his former profeſſions of reconciliation, united more firmly than ever, and took up his reſidence with the Pulitaver, who led the weſtern Polygars; and Catabominaig, with Etiaporum, who were the heads of the weſtern, concluding from the ſuperiority of the French in the Carnatic, that the affairs of the Nabob and the Engliſh would never recover, ſeized whatſoever country lay convenient for them: nor did the five companies of Sepoys left in the fort of Palamcotah, and bereft of all alliance, venture any oppoſition to their encroachments, or even to maintain the town of Tinivelly; of which Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver once again took poſſeſſion. The Sepoys contented themſelves with preſerving Palamcotah, where they were often obliged to defend the walls againſt the ſkirmiſhes of the Pulitaver's colleries, which conſumed their ammunition; and, as none of their letters reached the Carnatic, or even Tritchinopoly,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. March. they wrote by the hand of a Topaſs, a letter to Anjengo, which is the ſouthern of the Engliſh factories on the coaſt of Malabar, requeſting ſupplies; but the Topaſs writing what he thought Engliſh, the letter was ſo unintelligible, that the factory neither underſtood from whence or whom it came, nor what they wanted. At length, letters from Mahomed Iſſoof procured them credit, which enabled them to purchaſe proviſion, and even to get lead and gunpowder from the ſea-coaſt in the bay of Tutacorin. It was very fortunate, that the fidelity of the Sepoys in Madura and Palamcotah continued unſhaken; for had either of theſe fortreſſes been betrayed, no means remained of retaking them; and the ceſſion of Madura might have purchaſed Hyderally, the Myſore general, to join the French, who at this very time had an officer of diſtinction treating with him at Seringapatam.

The repulſe of the French from Madraſs had increaſed the danger of loſing theſe countries, ſince the French, being no longer under the neceſſity of keeping their whole force collected in one point, might, ſtill leaving ſufficient to oppoſe the Engliſh army in the field, detach the reſt to other objects. The partizan Lambert was moving with his flying troops from Pondicherry to the weſtward; and danger to the city of Madura might accrue even from Huſſein Cawn, if he ſhould get a body of Myſoreans to accompany him from Dindigul. On theſe conſiderations, the Preſidency reſolved to ſend Mahomed Iſſoof back into theſe countries, and to accept his offer of renting Madura and Tinivelly, together, at the rate of five lacks of rupees for the enſuing year, clear of all charges, excepting what might ariſe from the neceſſity of defending them either againſt the French, the Myſoreans, or Morattoes. The Nabob had, ever ſince the firſt appointment of Mahomed Iſſoof to conduct the war in theſe countries, regarded him with ſuſpicion and averſion, and inſiſted that they ſhould be left to his own diſpoſal and controul; although he had not in his whole dependence, a relation or officer of military reſolution and experience ſufficient to maintain them in this time of difficulty.

The French and Engliſh armies continued almoſt in ſight of each other for two and twenty days; the one wiſhing to be attacked, in their

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April.

their posts at Conjeveram, the other, a general action in the open plain; and neither was seduced to give the advantage which the other desired. Most of the districts to the south of the Paliar were under either the protection or jurisdiction of the French government; and as other defiances had failed, Major Brereton resolved to march into them, as the likeliest means of bringing the enemy to a battle, or at least of obliging them to quit Conjeveram, when some opportunity might arise of retaking this place, without which, even the districts already recovered as far as the English army had advanced could not be protected, unless by their continuance in the field, and in this part of the country. Accordingly, the army moved on the 1st of April from their encampment at Papa Braminy's Choultry; on the 6th, they arrived, and took possession of the pettah of Vandivash, in which they began to open ground against the fort, and sent to Madrass for two pieces of battering cannon; and a detachment sent by captain Preston from Chinglapett beat away the guard at Outramalore, of which place he took possession, to secure the line of communication with Vandiwash.

Mr. Soupires neither gave any interruption to the English army, as they were marching away, nor followed them. Mr. Lally had ordered him to risque nothing, and the French army had for some days been reduced to great distress for want both of money and provisions. The siege of Madrass had exhausted the treasury of Pondicherry, and its revenues were anticipated by mortgages for loans, and what monies could be collected from the country between Conjeveram and Arcot, or borrowed in the camp, scarcely furnished the expences of the day, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages finding that the English paid punctually, and at better prices, evaded as much as possible to carry any provisions to the French camp. The renters of the neighbouring districts, magnified the detriment which their lands had suffered from the Morattoes of Gopaul Row, in order to protract their payments, by the plea of discussing their accounts. In this situation, Mr. Soupires considered the removal of the English army as an advantage; since it permitted him to retreat to Arcot, with the appearance of parting on equal terms. He left in Conjeveram

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. veram 300 Sepoys and 100 horſe, under the command of Murzafabeg, who had deſerted from the Engliſh a little before the ſiege of Madraſs. The renters at Arcot furniſhed Mr. Soupires money and proviſions for eight days, and he extended his troops in different parties between Arcot and Trivatore, which is ſituated 20 miles s.w. in the high road from thence to Vandiwaſh.

Mr. Lally, as ſoon as he heard that the Engliſh army was before Vandiwaſh, immediately came out of Pondicherry with 300 Europeans, ordering Mr. Soupires to meet him with the main body at Chittapet; where they arrived on the 14th. Trivatore is farther from Chittapet, than it is from Vandiwaſh. The nearer road from Vandiwaſh to Conjeveram is not good; but from Vandiwaſh to Trivatore, and hence to Conjeveram excellent, and of quicker diſpatch, although by the large angle it makes ſeveral miles more. Major Brereton was informed in the evening of the 13th of the march of the French army with Soupires, and that the whole had paſſed Trivatore; on which he decamped in the night from Vandiwaſh, and, by a forced march, arrived the next day at Trivatore, which he found abandoned, and blew up one of the baſtions; and continuing the ſame ſtreſs of march, they arrived, on the evening of the 15th, near Conjeveram. Several letters had paſſed with Murzafabeg, who pretended to be willing to betray his truſt, but aſked ſuch terms as proved, that he only wanted to gain time until the French army could come to his relief; on which Colonel Monſon, with the advanced diviſion, inveſted the pagoda in the evening, which it was determined to ſtorm the next morning. Murzafabeg no longer diſſembled, but kept up a briſk fire of muſketry through the night; by which ſeveral, and Colonel Monſon himſelf, was wounded.

The gateway of the pagoda at Conjeveram is ſpacious and lofty, and the tower over it one of the largeſt and higheſt in the Carnatic. It ſtands in the middle of the weſtern wall, and fronts the principal ſtreet of the town, which is very broad; but there is an area between, of the ſame breadth as the wall of the pagoda, and 300 yards acroſs. There were no gates fixed in the gateway; and to cover the entrance, the French had thrown up a ravelin before it in barbette, on which,

as

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

as well as on the ſmall towers at each angle of the pagoda, were mounted guns, but old, and of little ſervice; and ſcaffoldings of bamboos for ſmall parties of muſketry were raiſed along different parts of the wall within. There was, in the area without, a large choultry, with the back to the pagoda, about 200 yards from the gateway, but a little to the right. Near this choultry, as good cover, the troops threw up a ramp in the night, and early in the morning began to fire over it againſt the ravelin from their two twelve-pounders, which the enemy returned with all their means, but with little execution; only wounding Major Brereton ſlightly, and two or three of the gunners. By eight o'clock the earth of the ravelin appeared ſufficiently beaten down, and the troops marched to the attack, led by Major Calliaud at the head of the grenadiers. Few of the defenders waited the aſſault hand to hand, but, after giving their fire, ran into the pagoda. The officers, ſtimulated by an intemperate rivality of danger, got firſt over the ravelin, and began, as the men came, to form them for the attack of the gateway, in the middle of which the enemy had laid a large old iron gun on logs of wood; and within were two lines of Sepoys diſpoſed in an angle for the advantage of a croſs-fire on the entrance. In a minute, 40 or 50 men, of whom much too many were officers, were crowded together within the ravelin, when the enemy fired their gun, which they had treble loaded with powder, and to the muzzle with muſket-balls and bits of ragged iron. The exceſs of the exploſion, and the thick black ſmoke which aroſe from it, gave the idea of a mine, nor was the effect much leſs. It killed eight men on the ſpot, and wounded ten. Of the killed were Captains Stewart and Bannatyne, Lieutenant Elliot and Enſign Hunter; of the wounded, Major Calliaud, Captain Vaughan dangerouſly, a Lieutenant and two Enſigns. Even moſt of thoſe who were ſafe were ſo ſurprized by this havock, that they ſtood awhile before they formed again to the attack; during which, they luckily ſuffered very little from the muſketry within. By this time, a party of Sepoys, led by Mahomed Iſſoof and Lieutenant Airy, had clambered over the oppoſite wall of the pagoda, and appeared in the rear of

1759. April.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. thoſe who were defending the gateway; and, on their ſhout, the troops at the gate ruſhed in, and in a minute the whole garriſon was between two fires, at mercy, every man for himſelf begging quarter; which was given with more humanity than uſual on ſuch exaſperation. After all was quiet, Murzafabeg ſurrendered himſelf, out of one of the chapels into which he had retired, to ſome of the Sepoys; but, as they were conducting him to Major Brereton, Mahomed Iſſoof met them, knew the priſoner, and ſaying, "Theſe are "the terms to be kept with a traitor," with one ſtroke of his ſcymetar, almoſt ſevered his head from his body. The news of this ſucceſs was received at Madraſs the next day, on which likewiſe arrived advices of no little importance from Colonel Forde.

1758. *December.* The Rajah Anunderawze had ſo little ſenſe of the advantages which might have enſued by preſſing on the French immediately after their defeat at Peddipore, that he did not come up with his troops to Rajahmundrum, where Colonel Forde with the Engliſh forces were waiting for him, until the 16th of December, which was ten days after the battle, although the diſtance is only 40 miles. Anunderawze had promiſed to make the firſt payment of his treaty, as ſoon as he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the fort of Rajahmundrum; and, in confidence of his word, Colonel Forde had lent him 20,000 rupees, before he marched with the Engliſh from Caſſimcotah. This ſum, with a ſupply to the factory at Vizagapatam, and the expences of the field, had abſorbed all the money which came from Bengal; and Colonel Forde had nothing but the Rajah's promiſes to anſwer the pay of the troops for the month of December. However, ſtill relying on them, he croſſed the Godaveri on the 23d, ſtill hoping to appear before Maſulipatam before the French had recovered the ſtun of their late defeat: but the Rajah neither followed with his army, nor ſent any money; and, as it would have been vain to have attempted even the march without both, Colonel Forde, with much vexation and reſentment, recroſſed the river with all the troops on the 26th. The Rajah imagined they were returning to puniſh him, and, in this fright, fled immediately to the hills which ſkirt the province

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

province about twenty miles to the North of the city; and Colonel Forde, for the convenience of a nearer communication with Vizagapatam, marched two days back, and encamped at Peddapore, which, with a name very nearly the ſame, is a fort ten miles to the weſt of that which has deſignated his victory. Mr. Andrews immediately ſent him 20,000 rupees from Vizagapatam, and on the 13th of January came himſelf to the camp; from whence he went into the hills, and reached the Rajah on the 15th, whoſe fears of the Colonel, and averſion to furniſh any money, continued as ſtrong as ever, inſomuch that he ſeemed no longer ſolicitous about the ſucceſs of the expedition. His conduct was the more perplexing, becauſe the news that the French were beſieging Madraſs had ſtopped the Engliſh credit in theſe provinces, which the Rajah's name alone could immediately reſtore; and if his troops did not march, others muſt be hired, for which no money could be found. The dilemma induced Mr. Andrews to alter the treaty he had made ſome time before, and to agree, "that whatſoever ſums the Rajah might furniſh ſhould be conſidered as a loan; and that the revenues of all the countries which might be reduced on the other ſide of the Godavery, excepting ſuch as belonged to the French either by eſtabliſhment, or grant in propriety, ſhould be equally divided between him and the Engliſh." With theſe conditions Mr. Andrews brought him back to the camp on the 18th: and it was agreed to march on to Maſulipatam; but it took ſeven days more in bargains for exchange with the ſhroffs before he furniſhed only 6000 rupees in ready money, and bills at ten days for 60,000 more. At length the armies moved from Peddapore on the 28th, after fifty days had been loſt, of which the firſt twenty diligently employed would probably have accompliſhed all the purpoſes of the expedition, which now appeared of much more difficult execution, as the enemy had gained full time to recollect themſelves: nor had the delay the ſmalleſt plea of neceſſity; for the Rajah might with as little inconvenience have done at firſt what he unwillingly complied with at laſt; although the expedition had been undertaken from a reliance on his promiſes, warranted by the earneſtneſs of his ſollicitations.

1759. April. January.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. January. The Hardwicke and the two ſloops, which had been diſpatched from Vizagapatam on the 12th of December, anchored the next day in the road of Yanam, which lies on the eaſtern mouth of the Godaveri, where the agents of the French factory, on news of the defeat at Peddipore, had embarked their effects and themſelves in a ſnow, which had not got out of the river when the Hardwicke arrived; and they ſurrendered to her longboat without reſiſtance. Some days after, the veſſels ſailed down to Maſulipatam, and cruized between this place and Narſipore on the weſtern arm of the Godaveri, February. until the 9th of February, when they fixed their ſtation in Maſulipatam road, waiting for the arrival of the army; but weighing occaſionally to bring veſſels to, that were paſſing in the offing, of which they intercepted ſeveral laden with rice for Pondicherry, and the French army before Madraſs.

The Engliſh army arrived on the 6th of February at Elore; but, to prevent another quarrel, Colonel Forde had been obliged to let the Rajah march as he liſted, employing his troops to the right and left, in levying contributions, on promiſe, however, of rejoining him ſoon at Elore. This place, otherwiſe called Yalore, is ſituated 50 miles S. W. of Rajahmundrum, and nearly 40 N. of Maſulipatam. It is the capital of a province, or phouſdarry, of no great extent, and one of the four obtained from Salabadjing by Mr. Buſſy. It has been very little known to the Engliſh, and never frequented by them ſince they withdrew their factory from Maſulipatam in the laſt century. The town is extenſive, and in the middle of it is a very large fort, in which the French uſed to keep a garriſon moſtly of black troops; but the Marquis de Conflans had taken them away with him, as he was paſſing on to Maſulipatam, where he had determined to make his ſtand. The long delay of the Engliſh troops in following him ſeemed to have inſpired him with a little reſolution: for with ſome of the troops which had joined him after the defeat of Peddipore, and the garriſons of Elore and Rajahmundrum, he formed a body of 200 Europeans, with four field-pieces, and 2000 Sepoys, which he called his army of obſervation; but they did not venture within leſs than thirty miles of Elore, and kept moving

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

moving to the Weſt of Maſulipatam, collecting or extorting tributes. 1759.
Colonel Forde, whilſt waiting for the Rajah and his troops, detached April.
Captain Knox, with the firſt battalion of Sepoys, to reduce the *February.*
French factory at Narſipore, where by this time the garriſon, by the arrival of ſtragglers from the late defeat, was augmented to 100 Europeans, and 3 or 400 Sepoys. Narſipore ſtands 20 miles to the S. E. of Elore. Letters were previouſly ſent to the Indian Zemindar of the diſtrict, threatening the deſtruction of his country, if he gave the French any aſſiſtance, but offering him alliance if he would join the Engliſh army with his troops. The Zemindar met Captain Knox on the road, and accepted the terms with cheerfulneſs; and the French troops at Narſipore having relied on his aſſiſtance, marched away as ſoon as they ſaw his defection, leaving in the factory, beſides common effects, ſome cannon and marine ſtores, and in the river ſeveral boats and veſſels; but they ſunk what ammunition they could not carry off. The Engliſh detachment leaving a few men with the Zemindar's officers to take care of what was worth preſerving, returned to Elore, where on the 18th came in the Rajah with all his troops collected; and the next day the Zemindar of Narſipore with 1500 foot, armed in the faſhion of the country. But, although ſo much time had already been loſt, the Rajah was not yet ready to proceed, and detained the army at Elore until the 1ſt of March.

Mr. Conflans, on his defeat at Peddipore, had written letters to *March.*
Salabadjing, earneſtly requeſting he would march with his army from Hyderabad to Maſulipatam, when both their forces united could not fail of deſtroying the Engliſh troops, and puniſhing the powers of the country which had revolted to their common enemy. The diſtance of Salabadjing with Mr. Buſſy from the purſuit of Nizamally towards Bampore had encouraged this prince to reſume his former ambitions; in which he was, at leaſt ſecretly, abetted by the adherents of Shanavaze Khan and Mahomed Huſſein, whoſe deaths, as well as his own flight to Brampore, had been the immediate conſequences of the aſſaſſination of Hyderjung, the duan of Mr. Buſſy: but this confederacy refrained from any conſpicuous

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. March. ſpicuous exertion, until they ſaw Mr. Buſſy and the whole of the French force quitting Hyderabad, and the ſervice of Salabadjing, in obedience to the orders of Mr. Lally; when judging little likelihood of their return, they acted with more open declaration; and ſoon after, Nizamally was enabled, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, to increaſe his force from 1500 to 15000 horſe, with which he marched from Brampore in November, and was received with homage into the city of Aurengabad; but the fortreſs of Dollabad ſtill held out for Salabadjing. The indolence of Salabadjing, wedded to habits, ſaw no means of coercing his brother, but by the accuſtomed aſſiſtance of a body of French troops, which his own aid to Conflans in this time of neceſſity was certainly the likelieſt means of procuring: but few of his officers were deſirous of ſeeing the re-eſtabliſhment of a power, which had interfered ſo much with their own authority and advantages in the government: nevertheleſs, they imagined, that the preſent conteſt for the ceded provinces between the French and Engliſh might give a chance of recovering theſe countries to their former dependence on the ſoubahſhip; and in this view moſt of them adviſed him to march towards Maſulipatam. His brother, Baſſaulet Jung, concurred in the ſame opinion, and marched with his forces from Adoni at the ſame time that Salabadjing was advancing from Hyderabad. Both joined near the Kriſtna, and amounted to 15000 horſe and 20000 foot. Neither their approach, nor the probability of their aſſiſting the French, deterred Colonel Forde from his purpoſe of proceeding againſt Maſulipatam. It was obvious, that the junction of Salabadjing's army with the French would bring heavy vengeance upon the Rajah, if the Engliſh troops ſhould be obliged to retire before them: but even this conſideration, becauſe the danger was diſtant, could not induce him to relinquiſh the immediate advantages of his delay, although nothing more than the collections of the day levied by his troops ſpread abroad in all parts of the country.

Five miles to the South of Elore you arrive at the bed of a vaſt lake, which extends 47 miles in length, from weſt to eaſt acroſs

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the ſituation of the city, and 14 in breadth from north to ſouth. From the beginning of the rains in July, until the end of September, the whole is ſpread over with water, excepting 60 or 70 ſmall iſlots, on which the inhabitants remain; but during the reſt of the year the whole is dry and paſſable, and in many places highly cultivated. The army, and for the firſt time any of the Engliſh troops marched acroſs the lake, and on the 3d of March encamped near a ſmall fort, called Concale, in which the French had left a ſerjeant with 13 Europeans, and two companies of Sepoys. Captain Maclean, with ſix companies of Sepoys, were ſent to attack and even eſcalade the fort: the garriſon had the day before received aſſurances from Du Rocher, the Commander of the army of obſervation, that he would arrive to their aſſiſtance on the 28th; relying on which, they manned the walls, and ſeemed reſolute to defend themſelves. Much firing of muſketry paſſed with much loſs to the aſſailants, who nevertheleſs twice attempted to break through the wicket of the gate, for want of better implements, with iron crows; but were each time beaten off; on which Captain Macleane ſent to the army for a reinforcement of men and two guns; they arrived in the evening, and the guns were immediately applied, and beat open the gates. The detachment ruſhed in without mercy, and in the firſt onſet killed all they met, who were only Sepoys; for the Europeans hid themſelves until the firing and ſlaughter ceaſed. A few hours after, a native brought intelligence, that a party of forty Europeans, with ſome Sepoys, from the army of obſervation, were arrived within a few miles; on which Captain Macleane marched out to attack them. But they, hearing the fort was taken, had retreated. A ſmall garriſon of Sepoys, with a few Europeans, was left to ſecure the fort from ſurprize, and the army marched on towards Maſulipatam, in ſight of which they arrived on the 6th of March; and the ſame day received advices, that the French army under the command of Mr. Lally had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Madraſs.

1759. April. *March.*

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. *March.*

The fort and town of Maſulipatam are ſituated beyond the reach of cannon-ſhot aſunder. The fort ſtands a mile and a half from the ſea-ſhore, on the edge of a ſound formed partly by an inlet of the ſea, partly by drains from the circumjacent ground, and ſtill more by a continued ſtream which the river Kriſtna ſends off about 15 miles to the s. w. and which falls into the upper part of the ſound, very near the fort. The ſound has ſometimes three fathom, and at others only three feet water; and oppoſite to the fort, is 500 yards in breadth. The ſouth ſide of the fort extends about 600 along the ſound, and 800 from thence to the north; and its area, as well as form, would differ very little from a parallelogram of theſe dimenſions, if the eaſtern ſide did not lie in a re-entering angle, which, however, is a very obtuſe one. The ground along the ſea ſhore for two miles to the north and ſouth of the inlet of the ſound, is a collection of ſand-hills, which extend about half a mile inland, when they ceaſe on the border of a moraſs, which ſurrounds the fort on every ſide, and continues to the weſt and ſouth for ſeveral miles; and to the N. W. and north, there is no hard ground at leſs than a mile of the fort, excepting a few ſmall ſpots of ſand in the moraſs, which are near it to the N. E.: but to the eaſt, the ſand-hills along the ſea are within 800 yards of the walls. The moraſs in all directions is interſected with creeks and gullies, which fall into the ſound.

The Pettah, or town of Maſulipatam, is ſituated a mile and a half to the N. W. of the fort, on a plot of ground riſing above the moraſs; acroſs which, the communication between this ground and the fort is by a ſtraight cauſeway 2000 yards in length. The town is very extenſive, and its ground on the farther ſide ſtill to the N. W. is bounded by another moraſs, which ſtretches along it from the S. W. to the N. E. but is ſtopped by the ſand-hills of the ſea ſhore, along which is the only acceſs to the town on firm ground; for both moraſſes are miry even in the drieſt ſeaſon, and were ſo now, although no rain had fallen for 40 days.

Mr. Conflans, with all his troops, excepting the few guards in the fort, were encamped in the Pettah for the convenience of water,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of which there is none in the fort but what is preſerved in ciſterns. His ideas of remaining here extended no farther than this advantage; although, by flinging up an entrenchment acroſs the dry ground from one moraſs to the other, he might have ſtopped the Engliſh army, to which the force with him was equal, being 500 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys, without the army of obſervation, which he had not recalled; and, as ſoon as the Engliſh army appeared, he retreated by the cauſeway, into the fort. The troops of Anunderauze and of the Zemindar of Narſipore encamped in the pettah; the Engliſh on the ſand to the North Eaſt. 1759. April. *March.*

The French, ſince they took poſſeſſion of the fort in 1751, had modernized the defences: the walls were mud faced with bricks as high as the parapet; and the three ſides to the weſt, north, and eaſt, contained 11 angular baſtions of various ſhapes and ſizes; before which were a palliſaded berm, and a wet ditch; but no glacis. The front to the ſouth along the ſound, from reliance on that defence, was left open. The baſtion next the N. W. fronted the cauſeway leading to the pettah: in this baſtion was the gateway, and 120 yards of the cauſeway was converted into a caponiere, which terminated in a ſtrong ravelin that ſcoured along the length of the cauſeway.

No regular approaches could be made to the fort, but by an army ten times ſtronger than Colonel Forde's; for hitherto black troops, howſoever numerous, were counted for nothing in the ſervice of carrying on trenches. Colonel Forde therefore reſolved to attack the fort from the ſand-hills to the eaſt, as the neareſt ſhot; and by batteries detached from each other, without the communication of trenches, as little was to be feared from the ſallies of the beſieged. The ground had the advantage, although this circumſtance would not have determined the choice, of being neareſt to the diſembarkation of the ſtores and heavy artillery from the Hardwicke, which, with the two ſloops, were in the road.

Three batteries were erected; one in a fiſhing village near the inward point of the ſand to the S. W. where it is bordered by the inlet of the ſea to the South, and to the Weſt by a large creek in the moraſs coming from the north. Four hundred yards to the north of this bat-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. *March.*

tery, and nearer to the edge of the ſame creek, was another: the third battery was at an equal diſtance 100 yards in the rear of both. The battery to the north, and that to the ſouth, had each two eighteen and two twenty-four pounders; but in the ſouth were likewiſe the bombarding artillery, which were three mortars, of 13, nine, and eight inches. The battery in the center had only two twelve-pounders.

In the S. E. angle of the fort, cloſe on the ſound, was a baſtion called the François, of 10 guns. For ſome diſtance from hence to the north, the want of hard ground had obliged the rampart to recede in a re-entering angle, in the bottom of which was a work in the form of a demi-lune, having only two faces, without flanks, which would have been needleſs, ſince the line of the faces ſufficiently flanked the baſtion François on the right, and that called the Saint John on the left. This work was called the Dutch baſtion. The Saint John had eight guns, and beyond it in the N. E. angle of the fort was the baſtion called the Camelion, mounting 10 guns. The ſouthern of the Engliſh batteries fired on the François and Dutch baſtions; the center on Saint John's; and the northern on the Cameleon. As ſoon as their poſition was decided, the garriſon raiſed a battery on the left ſhore of the inlet as you enter from the ſea; which took them all in flank; but as this battery was ſeparated from the fort by the whole breadth of the ſound, and might be attacked in the night by the boats of the ſhips, the garriſon kept a conſtant guard in it of Europeans, beſides Sepoys. They likewiſe ſtationed a ſtronger guard in the ravelin at the end of the caponiere on the other ſide of the fort. Beſides the immediate ſuperiority of artillery ſtanding on their works, the garriſon had others in ſtore, mounted ready to replace what might be rendered uſeleſs in the courſe of ſervice; whereas the Engliſh army could only reſtore the loſs of theirs by borrowing the common guns of the Hardwicke, which were nine-pounders, or the Rajah's, which were good for nothing.

The French army of obſervation, as ſoon the Engliſh paſſed onwards from Concale, croſſed the country to Elore, where there was no garriſon to oppoſe them; and from hence went on to Rajahmundrum, where the ſick of the army, in all 25 Europeans, and 40 Sepoys,

2. had

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

had been left under the command of Mr. Briſtol, who a few days before had received a large ſum in gold and ſilver, ſent from Bengal to Vizigapatam, and from hence to him, for the ſervice of the army with Colonel Forde. On the approach of the enemy, Briſtol ſent away the treaſure to Cockanarah, a Dutch ſettlement on the coaſt; and as ſoon as they appeared on the river, ordered all ſuch of his men as were capable of the fatigue to go away, and endeavour to gain Vizagapatam. The enemy marched two days onwards from Rajamundrum, giving out that they intended to take Vizianagarum, the capital of Anunderauze, as well as the Engliſh fort at Vizagapatam; but their views were only to extort money from the chiefs and renters, by the ſeverities they exerciſed in the country. However, finding they could not collect as much as they ſpent, they returned, and directed their march to meet the army of Salabadjing. The daily news of their motions terrified the Rajah with apprehenſions for his countries, and no perſuaſions could induce him to advance either his credit or money: none remained in the military cheſt: Colonel Forde had borrowed all that the officers under his command had realized from the ſpoils of the campaign, and had even uſed the prize-money of the troops, and the interpoſition of the French army of obſervation precluded the hopes of receiving what had been ſent to Mr. Briſtol; and by this time, every ſoldier in the army had perceived the obſtacles which muſt be ſurmounted, to reduce the fort; which exaſperated the ſenſe of their diſtreſſes. In theſe agitations, the whole line of Europeans turned out on the 19th, with their arms, and threatened to march away. Colonel Forde, with much difficulty, prevailed on them to return to their tents, and to depute one or two to explain their complaints. The deputies declared, that all were reſolved not to ſerve the ſiege, unleſs they were immediately paid the amount of the prize-money already due to them, and were aſſured of the whole booty, in caſe Maſulipatam ſhould be taken. According to the Company's regulations, authorized by the Crown, the troops in India are only intitled to one half of what is taken in the forts they reduce; the other half is reſerved to the Company. Colonel Forde promiſed to pay them their prize-money,

1759. April. *March.*

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. out of the very firſt he ſhould receive; and, as he could not break through the regulation, aſſured them he would ſolicit the Company, by a repreſentation of their hardſhips and ſervices, to give up their ſhare of what might be taken in Maſulipatam; of which, he ſhould retain the amount, until their determination was known. Theſe promiſes appeaſed them; and they returned to their duty with their uſual ardour. Nevertheleſs the batteries were not compleated till the 25th, 18 days after the arrival of the army, during which the fort had kept a conſtant fire, which had only killed five men.

Salabadjing, as he approached, ſent forward letters and meſſengers, commanding Anunderauze and the Zemindars who had joined the Engliſh, to quit them, and repair immediately, as vaſſals to his ſtandard. On the 27th, advices were received in the camp, that his army was arrived at Bezoara on the Kriſtna, 40 miles from Maſulipatam; and the ſame day came reports, that the French army of obſervation had retaken Rajahmundrum.

The Rajah, who had for ſome days been faultering, was now ſo terrified, that he marched away with all his forces the ſame night, without giving any warning, intending to regain his own country on the other ſide of the Godaveri; and, notwithſtanding the dilatorineſs of his former motions, he on this occaſion advanced 16 miles before day-break. Colonel Forde ſent meſſengers after him, repreſenting the abſurdity of his conduct, in thinking to eſcape the numerous cavalry of Salabadjing on the one hand, and the French army of obſervation, who were towards Rajahmundrum, on the other; whereas, by remaining with the Engliſh troops, his retreat would be aſſured, and the reduction of Maſulipatam, even now not impracticable. The plain good ſenſe of this advice brought him back with his army to the Pettah. Colonel Forde, although with little hopes, would not neglect the only means in his power of amuſing Salabadjing from advancing to the relief of Maſulipatam, and requeſted his permiſſion to ſend a deputy to treat, profeſſing no other intention than to take poſſeſſion of the French garriſons and factories on the coaſt, without aſſuming the authority they had held in the inland

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

inland countries. Salabadjing consented to receive the deputy, and Mr. Johnstone was sent to his camp on the 1st of April. 1759. April.

The three batteries continued a hot fire from the 25th of March to the 4th of April. On the 5th, the weather, which had hitherto been gentle, changed to a hard gale of wind, with thunder, lightning, and immense rain, which brought in the southern monsoon, with the return of fair weather on the 6th. In the evening the artillery officers reported, that there was no more than two day's ammunition left for the service of the batteries. Intelligence was likewise received, that Salabadjing was advancing from Bezoara, and that the French army of observation, which he had invited, were very near his. It was now no longer possible for the English army to retreat the long way they had come, as the whole garrison of Masulipatam and the army of observation would join the Subah's in the pursuit. However, the camp might embark; for the shore at Masulipatam is still, and the only part on the coast of Coromandel, on which the sea does not beat with a strong surf. But Colonel Forde regarded this mode of retreat as intolerable disgrace, and resolved to storm the fort; judging, moreover, that the garrison would not suspect the attempt at the very time when the excess of the rain had rendered the approach over the moras much less practicable than before. He accordingly ordered the fire of the batteries to be kept up with double vivacity through the next day, and all the troops to be under arms at ten at night.

The ditch of the fort, at the ebb of the tide, which would happen at midnight, has only three feet water, and having no glacis, nothing prevented the immediate access. Notwithstanding the garrison had constantly repaired in the night the damages of the day, the hot and continued firing of this day had ruined the bastions sufficiently to mount; and each of the three had been equally fired upon, to confound the enemy's guess of the assault. As no outworks obstructed a full view of the body of the place, it was seen from the batteries, that the two bastions upon the sound on the extremities of the fort to the S. W. and the S. E. were in barbette, that is, without embrasures and merlons, but with a parapet low enough for cannon

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April.

to fire over, which is rarely four feet high. From the s. w. baſtion, which was named St. Michael's, to the next on the w. called the Saline, the exterior ground was a miry ſwamp of mud, in which the ditch that ſurrounded the reſt of the fort, could not have been continued, but at great expence and labour, and was left in this ſtate, becauſe ſuppoſed of more difficult paſſage than the ditch itſelf. Some days before a black ſervant of Captain Yorke's, who had lately lived in Maſulipatam, told him that he had ſometimes ſeen the natives employed in the fort wade over the quagmire between the two baſtions: and on this intelligence, Colonel Forde had permitted Captain Yorke and Knox to examine this paſſage; they took 100 Sepoys, and placing them in different parties behind one another to ſupport their retreat, went on at midnight, properly clad to the ſkin, in order to reſemble black men naked, and entered the quagmire, which they paſſed half over, and found it not above knee deep, but the mud very tenacious; they returned undiſcovered, and their report determined Colonel Forde to try an attack on this quarter at the ſame time as the main aſſault; which at leaſt would diſtract the enemy's attention. In the ſame intention the country troops belonging to the Rajah were to march along the cauſeway over the moraſs, and on each ſide of it, and to ſkirmiſh againſt the ravelin in front of the gateway.

The battalion of Europeans, reinforced with 30 ſailors from the Hardwicke, all the artillery-men, and half the Sepoys, were allotted for the real attack, which was to be made on the baſtion called the Camelion in the N. E. angle of the fort. Their whole number was 346 Europeans, rank and file; the Sepoys amounted to 1400; of which the other half were allotted to the falſe attack under the command of Captain Knox. Each of the three attacks was to be ready on their reſpective ground before midnight; when, as ſoon as the falſe attack commenced on the weſt ſide, the real, and the Rajah's were likewiſe to begin. As no counter-attempt was apprehended, the guard of the camp was left to ſome of the Rajah's troops. The attack with Captain Knox having farther to go, marched off firſt; the main attack was in three diviſions, of which the Europeans formed two, and the Sepoys the laſt; but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

but when they were to move, Captain Callender, who by his rank was to lead the firſt diviſion of Europeans, was not to be found; and after much ſearch and enquiry, the troops proceeded without him, croſſing the moraſs from the dry ground of ſand directly oppoſite to the Cameleon, the baſtion they were to ſtorm. In the way they were joined by the gunners croſſing the moraſs likewiſe from the batteries, which for fear of ſurprize they did not quit until the laſt moment. But before the troops arrived at the ditch, they heard the firing of Knox's attack, which nevertheleſs had only begun at the appointed time; on which all marched as faſt as they could, as before up to the knees in mire, and in croſſing the ditch, up to the middle in water and mud. Here they were diſcovered juſt before they got to the palliſade on the berm; and whilſt the firſt diviſion, commanded by Captain Fiſcher, were tearing it up, which took ſeveral minutes, the enemy gathered on the breach, and began likewiſe to fire cannon and muſketry from the next baſtions, the Saint John's on the right, and that called the ſmall-gate on the left. The oppoſition only encreaſed the ardour of the aſſailants, and whilſt the firſt diviſion of Europeans with Fiſcher were gaining the breach, the ſecond, commanded by Captain Yorke, fired up againſt St. John's, and the diviſion of Sepoys led by Captain Macleane againſt the ſmall gate. Several were killed before Fiſcher's diviſion had mounted, and got poſſeſſion of the Cameleon; when, having waited until Yorke's came up, they turned and advanced along the rampart to the left, to get poſſeſſion of the ſmall gate. There was a handy gun, with its ammunition, on the Cameleon, which Captain Yorke, on the ſuggeſtion of Captain Moran, who diſcovered it, ordered the gunners to turn and fire along the rampart towards the ſound, and in the mean time prepared his diviſion to follow the ſame direction, as ſoon as a number of Sepoys ſufficient to maintain the baſtion were come up the breach; but, juſt as he was ſetting off, he perceived a line of Sepoys coming along in the way below, between the foot of the rampart and the buildings of the town: they were ſent to reinforce the Cameleon from the arſenal near the ſound, where Mr. Conflans continued waiting the event with the grenadier company and other troops. Yorke immediately ran down, and ſeizing

1759. April.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April.

ing the French officer at the head of the Sepoys, bid him order them to lay down their arms and ſurrender, which they obeyed with little reluctance, and were ſent up to the baſtion. Yorke, having obſerved that the way below was free from interruption, and much broader than the rampart above, reſolved to march along it, to get poſſeſſion of the reſt of the defences allotted to his attack; his diviſion accordingly came down, excepting a few left with the priſoners, and the artillery-men with the gun. The guard of the next baſtion, St. John's, had ſheltered themſelves within the angles, from the infilade of the gun; they were 20 Europeans, and more Sepoys, who, as ſoon as Yorke's diviſion came under the baſtion, advanced to the edge of the rampart, fired down upon them, which killed ſeveral and wounded more, and then cried out, that they would ſurrender. Captain Yorke generouſly ſpared the return of their fire: their arms were gathered, and they were conducted by a party to the Cameleon, where the Sepoys were in reſerve, who reinforced the party, which was poſted to ſecure the St. John's. The diviſion then marched on, and when under the Dutch baſtion, received the fire of the guard, ſcattered indeed, but with equal iniquity followed by the immediate offer of ſurrender, which was accepted with the ſame humanity as before, and the baſtion and men ſecured by parties from the diviſion, and the reſerve. Theſe interruptions had allowed the diviſion time to think and expect more, and many ſhewed much unwillingneſs to go on; for darkneſs covers ſhame; however, they yielded to the threats and exhortations of Captain Yorke; but had not advanced many paces beyond the Dutch baſtion, before they paſſed a ſmall brick building cloſe to the rampart, which curioſity led ſome to examine. It was an expenſe magazine of ammunition, and one unluckily cried out, a mine: this word ſtruck the whole diviſion with terror, and all inſtantly ran back to the Cameleon (the officers accompanying to reclaim them), and Captain Yorke, who marched at the head, was left alone, with only two drummers, who were black boys, beating the grenadiers march, which they continued, but in vain, for none rejoined; on which Captain Yorke went back, and found all his men in much confuſion

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

at the baſtion, ſome even propoſing to go out of the breach and quit the fort. Severity was inſtantly neceſſary, and Captain Yorke, as ſoon as on the baſtion, threatened to put the firſt man to death who offered to come near the breach; on which ſome of the ſoldiers who had ſerved with him in Adlercron's regiment, and enliſted in the Company's ſervice, cried out that their commander was ill uſed, and offered to follow him whereſoever he pleaſed: their number immediately encreaſed to 36, with whom he marched off, leaving the reſt to follow, as the officers could bring them on. The length of this interruption, joined to the preceding, had given the French officer at the next baſtion, the François, which ſtands on the edge of the ſound, time to get down a gun loaded with grape-ſhot and to point it up the way the party was coming; it fired when they were within a few yards, and with great execution, killing ſeveral and wounding ſixteen. Captain Yorke fell, with a ball through each of his thighs, and each of the black drummers was killed dead at his ſide. This havock, however, did not diſcourage the reſt from bringing off their Captain, whom they carried to the Cameleon; and the guards, poſted in the St. Jean and Dutch baſtions, not diſmayed, kept their ground, waiting the event. 1759. April.

During theſe efforts of the left diviſion, the right, commanded by Captain Fiſcher, was advancing from the Cameleon to the right, but along the rampart. The next, which is the ſmall gate, was not in complete repair; and the Sepoys with Macleane were attempting to ſcramble up it, which, with the approach of Fiſcher's diviſion, drove the guard away to the next baſtion, called the Church-yard, from which they fired continually, but without order, as the diviſion approached; and when near, aſked quarter, which was granted.

Colonel Forde continued with the reſerve on the baſtion of St. Jean, iſſuing the neceſſary orders, according to the reports from both diviſions. The priſoners as faſt as taken were brought to him there, and he ſent them, as they came, down the breach, into the ditch, where they were guarded as well as the night permitted by a proper

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April.

number of Sepoys, threatening at the point of bayonet to kill the firſt that moved; but very few of them ventured any diſturbance. The Rajah's troops had for ſome time begun their attack on the ravelin on the cauſeway, and, if nothing more, with all the din and clamour they could make; but the fire of the falſe attack with Captain Knox continually diminiſhed; as having begun earlier, they had expended moſt of their ammunition, although, finding the enemy prepared in this quarter, they only fired acroſs without venturing to paſs the quagmire. However, this attack kept ſome of the garriſon from the more material ſervice againſt the real, and the Rajah's prevented the guard at the ravelin from returning into the fort, which they ought to have done, as being of little uſe without the walls, whilſt the body of the place was in inſtant danger. But the ſeparation of the main attack into two diviſions, confounded the defence much more than the attacks without. Mr. Conflans, not knowing what to do, kept at his houſe near the Sound, continually receiving meſſages magnifying the danger, and ſending orders which new reports continually induced him to contradict.

The parade of the fort was under the baſtion of the great gate, and as this is the uſual place of rendezvous on alarm, moſt of the troops and officers who remained willing to continue the defence, whether driven from their poſts, or wanting immediate orders, repaired hither, and had joined the guard of the baſtion above, before Fiſcher's diviſion was ready to advance from that of the church-yard. Near 100 were aſſembled, but their fire was ill directed, beginning too early, before the diviſion was ſufficiently near, which preſerved theirs, and only giving that of the firſt platoon, ruſhed on, and ſoon cleared the baſtion. Fiſcher immediately ſent down to ſecure the gate below, which ſhut out the troops on the ravelin, and prevented the eſcape of any from within. Whilſt the diviſion was getting into order to proceed again, appeared Captain Callender, no one knew from whence, and taking the command, marched at their head towards the next baſtion, called the Pettah, from which came ſcattering ſhot, ſcarcely more than one at a time, and the laſt that dropped, ſhot Callender dead; immediately after which the fire of the garriſon

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

garriſon in all other parts of the fort ceaſed, and ſoon after came a meſſage from Colonel Forde, ordering Fiſcher's diviſion to ceaſe likewiſe, as Mr. Conflans had ſurrendered. He had ſent a meſſage to Colonel Forde, offering to capitulate on honourable terms; to which Forde anſwered, that he would give none, but at diſcretion, nor even this, but would put every man to the ſword, if the leaſt reſiſtance continued from any part of the garriſon, and all did not immediately ſurrender themſelves priſoners. 1759. April.

On the return of the officer, Mr. Conflans ſent orders round for the troops to quit their arms, and repair to his quarters at the arſenal, which is a ſpacious encloſure. As ſoon as all was quiet, the Engliſh troops aſſembled on the parade, under the baſtion of the gateway; and 100 Europeans, with two guns, and two companies of Sepoys, were detached to remain on guard over the priſoners until the morning; when, whatſoever troops were at the ravelin, and the battery at the inlet, and had not eſcaped, came into the fort, to become priſoners with the reſt of the garriſon. The whole number exceeded thoſe to whom they had ſurrendered, being 500 Europeans, of whom 100 were either officers or inhabitants of better condition, and 2537 either Coffrees, Topaſſes, or Sepoys. Of the aſſailants, 22 Europeans were killed, amongſt them the Captains Callender and Mollitore, and 62 wounded. The Sepoys, who behaved with equal gallantry as the Europeans, as well in the real, as at the falſe attacks, had about 50 killed, and 150 wounded. The Rajah's people likewiſe ſuffered more than was expected from them; but nothing in proportion to the Engliſh troops. The fort was furniſhed with 120 pieces of cannon, and abundance of military ſtores. The plunder of other effects was likewiſe valuable; and all that was not merchandize was given back to the priſoners; half the reſt was divided amongſt the Engliſh army, and the other half reſerved for them according to the promiſe they had received.

The improbability of the attempt was the principal cauſe of its ſucceſs, for the garriſon from the beginning had regarded the ſiege with mockery, and, being in daily expection of the arrival of a body of troops which were coming by ſea from Pondicherry, had con-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April.

certed, that the army of obſervation, joined by this reinforcement, and a great detachment, if not the whole of Salabadjing's army, ſhould then ſurround and attack the Engliſh army, which they repreſented to themſelves as involved in impending and inevitable deſtruction; and indeed, if theſe efforts had been made by Salabadjing's army, and the French troops abroad, without waiting for the reinforcement, the Engliſh army could not have kept their ground, ſince the Rajah, with all his troops, would certainly have run away, and the enemy's horſe, amongſt whom were many Morattoes, would have cut off all proviſions, and harraſſed every motion: nor could they have made the embarkation, to eſcape by ſea, without abandoning all the ſtores and artillery.

The miniſtry of Salabadjing were therefore not more ſurprized, than vexed, at the loſs of the place, becauſe, conſcious that it might have been prevented by the activity they had neglected to exert. They held councils with the French commander of the army of obſervation, and determined ſtill to wait for the reinforcement; when they expected at leaſt to reduce the Engliſh to compound for their retreat by the ſurrender of Maſulipatam. The Rajah Anunderauze, divining what might happen, propoſed to return to his own country, as ſoon as the place was taken; and Colonel Forde, from utter contempt of his character, made no objections to his departure; he marched away with all the Indian forces on the 12th, to regain the Godaveri; and, by haſty marches, was, in two days, out of the reach of purſuit.

Early in the morning of the 15th appeared two ſhips, ſtanding into the road, under French colours. The commander of the Hardwicke, Samſon, was aſhore embarking priſoners, of whom he had already received 40 on board: but his brother, who was the chief mate, immediately weighed, and got to windward of the ſtrange ſhips; on which, the largeſt anchored in the road, as did the Hardwicke at a diſtance; but the other ſtill plying up, the Hardwicke weighed again, as did the largeſt ſhip, and the wind having changed, both of the enemy's bore down, with a fair ſail: in the mean time, Captain Samſon, with eight gunners lent from the army, got

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

got on board, and determining not to run, before he had tried the ſtrength of the ſhips, waited to exchange a broadſide, which diſcovering them to be ſtouter than his own, he again hauled the wind, and working more dexterouſly got again out of their reach, but continued in the offing. The two French ſhips anchored again in the road, and in the night ſent a catamaran, which they had brought with them, on ſhore, with letters to Mr. Conflans, ſignifying, that they were the Harlem and Briſtol from Pondicherry, with 300 troops Europeans and Topaſſes, beſides the crews: they were the aid of which advices had been received before. No anſwer being returned, they ſuſpected the loſs of the place, and early the next morning ſtood out again after the Hardwicke, which bore away for Bengal, and before noon all three were out of ſight. 1759. April.

The army of Salabadjing was at this time within 15 miles of Maſulipatam; and imagining, that the French ſhips would return to land the troops, ſent forward all the Morattoes towards the ſhore. Colonel Forde, notwithſtanding the great number of priſoners which were to be guarded, divided his force, and, leaving half in the fort to take care of them, encamped with the other on the ground he had occupied before. This countenance kept the Morattoes out of cannon-ſhot, but they burnt and ſlew all around for ſeveral days; when Salabadjing, ſeeing no probability of retaking Maſulipatam, began to treat in earneſt; and Colonel Forde went to his camp, and was received with much attention.

But another motive of equal weight concurred to induce this change in Salabadjing's diſpoſition towards the Engliſh. Some account of the aſſaſſination of Mr. Buſſy's Duan, and of Nizamally's flight to Brampour, had reached Bengal before the departure of the preſent expedition; and Clive, judging that the atrocity of the injury which Nizamally had committed would carry his deteſtation of the French nation beyond the reach or wiſh of reconciliation, wrote letters to him, requeſting his aſſiſtance to the army with Colonel Forde in exterminating the French out of the provinces they had diſmembered from the ſovereignty of the Decan. Colonel Forde diſpatched theſe letters, with his own to the ſame purport, and Ni-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. zamally had received them: whether they contributed to influence his immediate operations we are uncertain; but as ſoon as he was certified that Salabadjing was marching againſt the Engliſh army to Maſulipatam, he took the field with his own from Aurengabad, advancing towards Hyderabad, and giving out, that he intended to reform the adminiſtration. The news of his intentions, which preceded the advices of his march, alarmed Salabadjing for the preſervation of Hyderabad itſelf, and made him not only anxious to return thither as ſoon as poſſible, but deſirous of being accompanied by a body of Engliſh troops; fearing, that if he entertained the French army of obſervation, all reconciliation with his brother Nizamally would be precluded. Nevertheleſs the influence which the commander of theſe troops had gained over his brother Baſſalutjung, who managed the moſt important affairs of the government, delayed the execution of his treaty with Colonel Forde until the 12th *May.* of May, on which day it was ſigned, and delivered.

The treaty conſiſted of four articles. By the firſt; The whole territory dependant on Maſulipatam, with eight diſtricts, as well as the juriſdiction over the territory of Nizamapatam, with the diſtricts of Codaver and Wacalmannar, were granted to the Engliſh without the reſerve of fine or military ſervice. By the ſecond article, Salabadjing promiſed to oblige the French troops, meaning the army of obſervation, to paſs the Kriſtna in 15 days; nor, in future, to permit the nation to have any ſettlement in the country of the Decan, which this treaty defines to be bounded on the ſouth, by the Kriſtna; nor to entertain any French troops in his ſervice, nor to give them aſſiſtance, or ever call them again to his own. By the third, he promiſed not to call Anunderauze to account for whatſoever he had collected out of the governments belonging to the French, nor for the tributes of his own countries for the preſent year; but he was hereafter to pay the ſame for them as had been paid by Vizeramrauze, and the father of Vizeramrauze. If Anunderauze failed in this ſtipulation, Salabadjing was left free to treat him as he pleaſed: but in all caſes was neither to aſſiſt, or give protection to the enemies of the Engliſh; and by the 4th article, the Engliſh engage neither to aſſiſt, or give protection to his. The territory ceded to the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the company extended 80 miles along the ſea, and 20 inland, and the revenues amounted to 400,000 rupees a year, 1759. April.

As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, Salabadjing offered Colonel Forde a diſtrict near Maſulipatam, as a jaghire or penſion for himſelf, if he would accompany him with part of the Engliſh troops againſt his brother Nizamally. Colonel Forde, with as much earneſtneſs, requeſted his aſſiſtance to take or deſtroy the French army of obſervation, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, avowedly under the protection of Baſſaulet Jung. Neither ſide had the leaſt inclination to gratify the other, and Salabadjing on the 18th marched away in much diſguſt with the Engliſh, to whom he had confirmed, without any reciprocal benefit, the moſt advantageous acquiſition of its extent, they could wiſh to gain, with the view of maintaining, on the whole coaſt of Coromandel from Ganjam to Cape Comorin. The body of French troops croſſed the Kriſtna, but marched to the weſtward, in conſequence of aſſurances from Baſſaulet Jung to take them into his ſervice, when he ſhould return from Hyderabad to his own government of Adoni. The Preſidency of Madraſs conſidered Maſulipatam as dependant on their authority, and appointed Mr. Andrews, with a council, to manage the revenue and trade: and Colonel Forde remained there with the troops, in expectation of orders for his future proceedings from the Preſidency of Bengal. *May.*

Mr. Lally, with the French army, was in full march after the Engliſh, when he received the news at Trivatore that they had taken Conjeveram, on which he halted; but ſent forward the partizan Lambert, with the body of troops he commanded apart from the army, who poſted themſelves ſeven miles from the Engliſh, in the road to Arcot, in order to prevent the incurſions of their cavalry into thoſe diſtricts; but the Engliſh army had no intention to ravage a country they intended to recover. Lambert's party conſiſted of 300 either Topaſſes or Europeans, unfit for the regular battalions, about 700 Sepoys, and 200 horſe. They had been detached whilſt the two armies ſome time before were facing one another at Conjeveram, to retaliate on Kiſtnarow, the Killidar of Thiagar, the ravages he had

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. April. had committed in the adjacencies of Pondicherry, and to retake the forts which he and Mahomed Iſſoof had reduced whilſt the French army were preparing on the other ſide of the Paliar, to attack Madraſs. In the middle of March, he ſet down before Elavanaſore, which Kiſtnarow, leaving his rock of Thiagar, reſolved to defend in perſon; continual ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them for ten days, when Lambert, ſeeing no probability of taking the place with battering cannon, of which he had nine, marched away, and ſet down before Trivatore; where likewiſe were ſome Sepoys left by Mahomed Iſſoof, and ſome of Kiſtnarow's, who were very near ſurrendering, when Lambert, with his whole detachment, was recalled to the main army; which on the 19th advanced to Covrepauk, where they took up their quarters, ſtill keeping Lambert's party between them and the Engliſh, which continued at Conjeveram, and threw up redoubts in their front, and on their flanks.

Soon after the detachment of Gopaulrow's Morattoes had taken poſſeſſion of Tripetti, he received orders from Balagerow at Poni, to return and join him there without delay; leſt he ſhould be ſtopped by the floods of the Kriſtna, which ſwells in May. He accordingly recalled all his parties, excepting a ſmall detachment left to guard Tripetti, under the command of an officer named Narrain Sauſtry, and the main body marched away from the paſſes of Damalcherri, in the beginning of April. At the ſame time, Abdulwahab, the Nabob's brother, was permitted to return, with his troops, to Chandergerry; from whence he ſent them againſt Tripetty, of which they got poſſeſſion after a ſlight reſiſtance: he then requeſted the Preſidency to grant him the farm of the pagoda; but as his rank exempted him from controul, the Preſidency let it to the ſame renters as were holding it when taken by the French, by whom they had likewiſe been continued in the management.

Three companies of Sepoys ſent from Tritchinopoly joined Kiſtnarow ſoon after Lambert's party was recalled from the ſouth, with whom and his own troops Kiſtnarow immediately took the field again, and ravaged

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ravaged as far as Trivadi, within 14 miles of Pondicherry, and from thence to Cuddalore, where, ſince the reduction of Fort St. David, the French kept a garriſon. Some bad troops were ſent from both, and the adjacent diſtricts, to oppoſe him, and having amongſt them 30 Europeans, and he none, excepting the ſerjeants of the Sepoys, the enemy attacked him with confidence, and were deciſively beaten. Ten of their Europeans, and a great number of their country troops, were killed. Of the Engliſh Sepoys 30, and nine of Kiſtnarow's people; but the enemy left behind them three pieces of cannon, a tumbril, and 30 barrels of ammunition, which he carried away in triumph to Thiagar; and from thence ſent back the Engliſh Sepoys to Tritchinopoly. This ſucceſs was gained in the beginning of May. 1759. May.

A few days after the reduction of Conjeveram, intelligence was received, that the garriſon of Sepoys at Palamcotah, in the country of Tinivelly, had ventured to ſtand an engagement in the field againſt Maphuze Khan and the Pulitaver, joined by moſt of the other Polygars, and, although the enemy quitted the field, ſo many of the Sepoys were killed and wounded, that the garriſon could no longer appear out of the fort. It had before been reſolved to ſend Mahomed Iſſoof into the ſouthern countries, as ſoon as the army in the field could be diminiſhed without riſque; of which, the caution of the French army at Covrepauk to avoid even the chance of ſkirmiſhes, and the departure of the Morattoes with Gopaulrow, who might have joined them, no longer left any apprehenſions. The troops of Tanjore and Tondiman were therefore ordered to return, with Mahomed Iſſoof's detachment, and the whole body were to paſs by Vicravandi and Trivadi, in order to aſſiſt Kiſtnarow in ravaging the French diſtricts in the way. They ſet out together on the 26th of April: the detachment with Mahomed Iſſoof was ſix companies of Sepoys, 60 of the horſe, and ſix of the European gunners he brought with him, and two field-pieces: the Tanjorines were 300 horſe, and Tondiman's troops 250, with 1100 colleries. After the firſt day's march, the troops of Tanjore and Tondiman declared they would not expoſe themſelves to the riſque of paſſing through

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. May. the enemy's diſtricts, nor of croſſing the Coleroon near them. Mahomed Iſſoof, impatient to arrive at his deſtination, yielded to, if he did not ſuggeſt, their repugnance, and conſented to go the way they choſe. Accordingly, they all quitted the ſtreight road to the ſouth, and ſtriking to the weſt, paſſed by Arnee, and entered the mountains about nine miles ſouth of Velore: then continuing along the Valley of Vaniambady, they came out at another paſs near Tricalore, and burning ſeven or eight villages under that fort which were held by the French renters, they arrived at Thiagar on the 8th of May, where Kiſtnarow was returned from his excurſion to Trivadi. The Tanjorines and Tondimans, thinking the reſt of the country from Thiagar ſafe, proceeded home more like travellers than troops: but Mahomed Iſſoof's detachment marched on in regular order to Tritchinopoly, where they arrived on the 14th; and, on the 16th, having taken leave of the Nabob, he continued his march to Madura.

Nothing could teſtify more confidence than the diſmiſſion of ſuch a number of troops in the face of the enemy. Their diſtreſſes for every kind of ſupply, and for want even of their pay, after they arrived at Covrepauk, deterred Mr. Lally from truſting their good-will in action, until he could ſatisfy their complaints. For this purpoſe, he went to Arcot, and, having detected various frauds in the management of the Amuldar or renter, who farmed the diſtricts, fined him 40,000 rupees; and he received 10,000 from Mortizally of Velore, with the promiſe of ſome proviſions, to refrain from moleſting his domain. But before he had procured theſe aids, he received news, that the Engliſh ſquadron, conſiſting of nine ſail of the line, and three frigates, had arrived on the 28th of April at Negapatam, from Bombay. Their appearance, whilſt the French army was at ſuch a diſtance, alarmed the garriſon at Karical, and even Pondicherry itſelf; but not Mr. Lally, who, on the contrary, thought it requiſite to ſhew better countenance, and, having ſatisfied immediate wants with the money he had obtained, marched on the 6th of May with the whole army from Covrepauk, and encamped

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

camped the next day at Balchitty's Choultry, ſeven miles to the weſt of Conjeveram. The ſituation they choſe was ſtrong, and the country being quite level, the advanced guards of the two armies were in ſight of each other. 1759. May.

An exchange of priſoners had been ſome time before agreed on, and 100 of thoſe taken at Fort. St. David arrived at Chinglapett from Pondicherry on the 6th, which enabled the preſidency of Madraſs to reinforce their army with that number, although of other Europeans; but the French could not immediately receive an equal advantage, becauſe their priſoners were releaſed from Tritchinopoly, and had to march from thence to Pondicherry. Colonel Brereton fell at this time dangerouſly ill, and with much regret was obliged to be carried into Madraſs, when the command devolved to Colonel Monſon, the next officer in the king's regiment, who immediately made preparations, and on three ſucceſſive days, from the 12th to the 15th, drew the army out of the lines, offering the enemy battle in the plain; but the ground of their encampment was too ſtrong to be attacked by an equal force. By this time, the reſources of money and proviſions which Mr. Lally had lately procured were nearly exhauſted, and the ſoldiery renewed their complaints, which moſt of the officers, from perſonal hatred to himſelf, were little ſolicitous to repreſs. Knowing their diſcontent, he would not venture the battle he otherwiſe wiſhed, (for he was always brave and impetuous, and had 2000 Europeans in the field,) before he had tried how far their prejudices might influence their duty: and made ſeveral motions, tending to no great conſequence, which convinced him, that, in their preſent mood, they would not fight with ardour under his command. The Engliſh army, ignorant of the motives, were much ſurprized to ſee the whole of the French quitting their encampment on the 15th, and in March towards Trivatore. From hence they were diſpoſed into different cantonments. Parties were ſent to Arcot, Covrepauk, and Carangoly, 200 Europeans to Chittapet, 400 with the field artillery to Vandiwaſh; 1200, with 100 European horſe, marched to Pondicherry, whither Mr. Lally likewiſe went,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. May. reſoved not to meet the Engliſh again in force, until the arrival of the French ſquadron, which was daily expected with reinforcements. On the 28th, the Engliſh army was diſtributed into cantonments at Chinglapett, Conjeveram, Tri-Permadore, and Muſlewack, which, with the forts of Pondamalée and Tripaſſore, formed a barrier from the river Paliar to Pulicate. The French had ſome time before withdrawn their troops from Sadraſs, and reſtored the fort and town to the Dutch.

Thus ended this campaign, after it had laſted 100 days, during which of 8 or 10,000 men in arms, not five were killed. But the principal object of both ſides was to protect their reſpective territory, and not to riſque an engagement without poſitive advantage, which neither gave.

Mr. Lally carried with him to Pondichery more reſentment than ever againſt the governor, the council, and all who were employed in the civil adminiſtration of the company's affairs; imputing to their malverſations all the obſtacles and impediments which obſtructed the ſucceſs of his arms. The council, he alledged, received preſents from the renters of all the diſtricts, who, emboldened by the knowledge of their peculations, continually evaded the regular payments, or inſiſted on remiſſions in the terms of their leaſes: and whilſt the public treaſury was thus diſappointed or defrauded of its incomes, its iſſues he inſiſted were ſquandered with equal prodigality, becauſe the council and their dependants held ſhares in all the ſupplies for the public ſervice, whether in the camp or city. Something of theſe accuſations might be true; but Mr. De Leyrit, the governor, was a man of diſtinguiſhed moderation and equity; and other members of the council were likewiſe men of worth, ſuperior to ſuch practices; but all who were not, ſheltered their own characters under the public diſbelief of the calumnies againſt thoſe who were guiltleſs of the delinquencies imputed to them: and all knowing Mr. Lally's averſion to Mr. Buſſy, who had remained ill at Pondicherry ſince the ſiege of Madraſs, paid particular court to his perſon and character, and continually expreſſed their regrets at the indiſcretion of the miniſtry in France appointing Mr. Lally to the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſupreme command in India, when they had it in their power to have employed an officer of ſuch approved and ſucceſsful ſervices as Mr. Buſſy. 1759. July.

As ſoon as the main body of the French army arrived at Pondicherry, 60 Europeans were ſent to Karical; againſt which place, from its diſtance and ſituation on the ſea-ſhore, although a regular fortification, Mr. Lally always apprehended a deſcent from the Engliſh ſquadron. Another party was prepared to attack Kiſtnarow, whoſe ravages had greatly impaired the revenues expected from the adjacent diſtricts; but did not take the field until the 24th, which gave time to Captain Joſeph Smith, at Tritchinopoly, to ſend three companies of Sepoys, under the command of Hunterman, the ſerjeant-major of the garriſon, who arrived at Thiagar before the French party; which thereupon returned to Trivadi: where they remained waiting for detachments until they were ſtrengthened to 200 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, 40 huſſars, 500 black horſe, and eight guns, and were likewiſe joined by the matchlocks and peons of the French diſtricts: when, by forced marches they ſuddenly inveſted Elavanaſore on the 5th of July; and took it by aſſault on the 11th. Kiſtnarow himſelf was in Thiagar; his gallantry, and the importance of the place, which protected all the diſtricts ſouthward towards Tritchinopoly, determined Captain Smith to make an effort for their preſervation, which the ſtrength of his garriſon could ill afford. Forty Europeans, with three guns, and ſix companies of Sepoys, marched under the command of Lieutenant Raillard, a Swiſs, and before they reached Volcondah were joined by 1000 horſe, which the Nabob had levied ſince his arrival at Tritchinopoly, intending to employ them in the Madura and Tinivelly countries, which he expected would have been left to his management. Kiſtnarow, on hearing of the march of Raillard's detachment, came out of Thiagar with all his horſe, and ſome Sepoys, in the night of the 12th, and the next day joined him at Volcondah. Serjeant Hunterman, with the reſt of the three companies of Sepoys he had brought, and what foot Kiſtnarow uſually kept in Thiagar, remained to defend it, until his return with the reinforcement. At break

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. July.

break of day on the 14th, the whole body of the French troops, now commanded by the Viſcount Fumel, who had made a forced march in the night from Elavanaſore, appeared before the pettah at the bottom of the rock, and inveſting it on every ſide on the plain, brought two guns againſt the two oppoſite gates on the north and ſouth, and diſpoſed two parties to eſcalade in other places. The fight was every where ſharp; both the eſcalades and the attack on the north gate were repulſed; but after two hours, the enemy forced the other, and brought their guns into the town, and Hunterman, ſtill unwilling to give up, had nearly been cut off in his retreat to the gateway of the paſſage leading up to the fort above, which he however gained, having loſt one third of his Sepoys; but the enemy more, having 200 of theirs, and thirty Europeans, killed and wounded. They had ſcarcely diſpoſed their guards, when their ſcouts brought word, that the troops with Ralliard and Kiſtnarow were approaching, and were within a few miles; on which, Fumel, with the impetuoſity of his nation on ſucceſs, marched out with moſt of the troops, but without the field-pieces; and met the Engliſh, who were advancing faſt on the plain within two miles from the fort. Ralliard, thinking the advantage of his two field-pieces greater than it really was, halted his line to cannonade, which the enemy ſtood; and, inſtead of coming on as Ralliard expected, waited till their own, which were five, came up, when they fired amongſt the Nabob's cavalry, and knocked down ſeveral; on which the whole of this daſtardly body went off, and left the infantry unflanked. Ralliard and Kiſtnarow were in this inſtant riding towards the cavalry, to lead them up to the enemy's; and, hurried by vexation, followed in hopes of rallying them, and left the infantry without command; againſt whom the enemy, ſeeing the horſe going off, advanced to the puſh of bayonet. There was, not far in the rear of the Engliſh line, a village, in which the oxen with the ammunition and the ſtores were waiting; and the gunners, thinking it a ſafe ſtation to ſecure the field-pieces, turned, and began to draw them off as faſt as they could, thinking they ſhould be covered by the reſt of the infantry; who, confuſed by theſe various appearances of terror in others, took

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

panic themſelves, and broke, before the enemy's Europeans were at their breaſts; and all inſtantly fell under the ſabres of their black cavalry: meanwhile the exhortations of Ralliard and Kiſtnarow were vain to retain the Nabob's, who went off on the full gallop in the road to Tritchinopoly. All the Europeans were killed, or made priſoners: all the Sepoys threw down their arms, and ſuffered more, as the enemy did not think them worth taking, and only 200 of them got back to Tritchinopoly. Kiſtnarow, ſeeing all loſt, followed the Nabob's cavalry; Ralliard rode back to the enemy, diſcharged his piſtols at the firſt he met, and then galloped out of their reach. He was afterwards found dead five miles from the field of action; his head and breaſt bruiſed with violent ſtrokes of his piſtol, under which he is ſuppoſed, as he had neither cartridges nor ſword, to have expired, and to have inflicted this ſevere, but needleſs execution on himſelf, to avoid the diſgrace of his defeat. The enemy returned to Thiagar, and ſummoned Kiſtnarow's officer in the upper fort to ſurrender, who, encouraged by Serjeant Hunterman, refuſed; which obliged them to ſend to Chittapet and Vandiwaſh, for three mortars, and more Europeans. They fired and bombarded the rock until the 25th; when Hunterman, having nearly expended all the ammunition, capitulated to 600 Europeans, and obtained honourable terms for the whole garriſon, Kiſtnarow's people as well as the Engliſh Sepoys; all being permitted to march away with their arms, their perſons without ſearch, their baggage on oxen, and under an eſcort of French troops to the diſtance they choſe: the artillery only excepted. The gallantry of Hunterman was rewarded with an enſign's commiſſion. 1759. July.

Nothing of conſequence had paſſed between the two armies ſince they went into cantonments, except reciprocal excurſions of ſmall parties to drive off cattle, of which the Engliſh collected 5 or 6000. The French garriſon in the fort of Arcot conſiſted of 60 Europeans and ſix companies of Sepoys; and being as ill paid as the reſt of the troops, the Sepoys made overtures to Colonel Monſon, profering to deliver up the fort for a reward in money. At the ſame time, the Kellidar of Covrepauk, in which were only ten Europeans, and he of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. July. of Timery, who had none, offered likewiſe to ſell their forts. Timery, from its diſtance, was not deemed worth the purchaſe; but the reputation of Arcot, and the communication with it by Covrepauk, induced the preſidency to accept the terms of theſe forts, although coſtly. But the Sepoys at Arcot, when the day of execution approached, confeſſed that they could not ſucceed; and a few days after 200 Europeans were ſent into the fort from Vandiwaſh, but not, as it ſeemed, from any ſuſpicion of the plot. However, their march ſtopped the bargain with Covrepauk.

Narrain Sauſtry, the Morattoe officer, whom Abdulwahad had driven from Tripetty, took up his reſidence in Carcambaddy, a town in the hills, 15 miles diſtant, belonging to a petty Polygar, ſubject to a greater called the Matlaver, with whoſe aſſiſtance he raiſed forces, moſtly ſuch as were to be found in thoſe wilds; and in the night of the 30th of June, by a bye-path in the mountain of Tripetty, got poſſeſſion of the temple on the ſummit. The troops maintained by the renter, and two companies of Sepoys with Enſign Wilcox, were in the town below, which commands the uſual path of the pilgrims to the pagoda. Narrain Sauſtry therefore waited for another force, which the Matlaver was to ſend; when one from the rock, and the other from the plain, were to ſurprize the town. They accordingly made the attack on the 9th of July at four in the morning; and, after ſkirmiſhing an hour, were beaten off, with the loſs of 20 men killed and wounded; but the Morattoes ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the pagoda. A few days after, the town was reinforced by the preſidency of Madraſs, with three companies of Sepoys, 15 Europeans, and a ſmall gun. None but Indians, and they of the better caſts, are permitted to aſcend the hill on which the pagoda ſtands; for the Bramins pretend, that if the ſummit ſhould be trodden by forbidden feet, all the virtue of the pagoda in the remiſſion of ſins would be loſt, until reſtored by an immenſe purification. Not apprized of this creed, the Sepoys ſent by the preſidency were as uſual a mixture of Mahomedans and various caſts of Indians, ſo that out of the ſix hundred, only 80 were worthy to mount to the aſſault: and the Europeans were utterly excluded. The renter nevertheleſs

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

nevertheleſs, with the 80 Sepoys, and his peons and matchlocks, in all not exceeding 500 men, ventured to attack the enemy in poſſeſſion of the pagoda, and was repulſed with loſs; but the blood ſhed in the attack did not unſanctify the pagoda. 1759. July.

In the latter part of June, three of the uſual ſhips arrived from England, with 200 recruits, ſent by the Company; and brought intelligence, that the 84th regiment of 1000 men, in the king's ſervice, were coming in other ſhips, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coote, the ſame officer whom we have ſeen ſerving in Bengal with the rank of major; he was appointed to the command of the Company's troops in Bengal; but with permiſſion to ſtop and ſerve with his regiment, if more neceſſary, on the coaſt of Coromandel. The ſatisfaction ariſing from this intelligence was in ſome meaſure impaired by a reſolution of the Court of Directors; who, dazzled by the wealth acquired in Bengal from the revolution of Plaſſy, and by repreſentations of its ſufficiency to ſupply their other preſidencies, had determined to ſend no more treaſure to any of them until the year 1760; but for every reaſon this intelligence was kept within the council.

At this time likewiſe, 200 Engliſh priſoners were received from Pondicherry, in exchange for the ſame number of French releaſed at Tritchinopoly; but more than one half of the Engliſh were ſeamen, taken in the frigates ſtranded at St. David's, and other veſſels; who were immediately ſent away to the ſquadron, which was cruizing to the ſouthward. However, theſe additions to the army enabled the Preſidency to extend their attention to objects they had been obliged to neglect, in order to make head in the adjacencies of Madraſs: and 90 Europeans, of whom 20 were invalids, and the others not the beſt men, were ſent to Tritchinopoly, proceeding by ſea to Negapatam, and from thence through the country of Tanjore.

Three companies of Sepoys had been ſent to bring away as many of the French priſoners as they could guard from Maſulipatam. As the ſea was adverſe, they marched by land, and were joined on the road by 100 horſe of Nazeabulla's, from Nelore. They arrived at

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. July. Maſulipatam on the 1ſt of June, and on the 15th began their march back with 200 of the priſoners; but on the 3d day were recalled by Colonel Forde, in conſequence of intelligence which threatened their farther progreſs with danger.

The Subah Salabadjing, on his return from Maſulipatam, halted within four days of Hyderabad, and commenced a negotiation with his brother Nizamally. An interview enſued, which was followed by a reconciliation, and concluded by the reſtoration of Nizamally to the ſame extenſive powers in the government of the Decan, which had excited the apprehenſions of Mr. Buſſy, and the mortal hatred of both to each other, in the beginning of the preceding year. This revolution in the adminiſtration deprived Baſſaulet Jung, the other brother, of all his power; which had been conſiderable as Duan, and little controled by the indolence of Salabadjing. He therefore marched away in ſeeming diſguſt with his brothers; but with moſt againſt the ableſt; and took with him the troops which had formed Conflans' army of obſervation. They were 200 Europeans, and the 2000 Sepoys under the command of Zulfacar Jung: his own were 1500 good horſe, and 5000 foot of various ſorts, with a train of heavy artillery. They recroſſed the Kriſtna, ſummoning acknowledgements, and plundering the country; and when Bonjour's detachment, ſet out from Maſulipatam, were arrived at Condavire, within 50 miles of the road of his march. From hence, Baſſaulut Jung, and his principal officers, ſent forward threatening letters to Nazeabulla at Nelore, and the three greater Polygars, as well as all the leſſer ones along the Pennar, ordering them to account for their ſhares of the tribute with the arrears, due to the throne through the officiality of the Subah of the Decan, by whom Baſſaulet Jung pretended he was commiſſioned to call them to account; and, as a more effectual terror, gave out, that he ſhould paſs through their countries, in order to join the French at Arcot. The ſtile of his letters, and ſtill more his approach, had deterred Nazeabulla, as well as the northern Polygars, from giving any aſſiſtance to the Engliſh in recovering the mountain of Tripetti; although all applied to Madraſs for aſſiſtance to defend themſelves. This conſternation was ſtrong, when the renter was repulſed in the attack

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

attack of the mountain; and, on the news of his ill ſucceſs, 200 of the black horſe, with three companies of Sepoys, were ſent from the army at Conjeveram to Tripaſſore, where they would be in readineſs either to ſuccour the renter, Nazeabullah, the Polygars, or to march on to join Bonjour's detachment, if returning. But this party was ſcarcely arrived at Tripaſſore, when the preſidency received intelligence from Enſign Wilcox, that a detachment of Europeans, Sepoys, and horſe, ſent from Arcot to Narrain Sauſtry, were marching round the hills, in order to attack the troops in the town of Tripetti; which if they ſhould take, the revenues of the approaching feaſt in September would be loſt, and the recovery of the pagoda, reſiſted by French troops, rendered hereafter much more difficult; whereas, in the preſent ſtate, Narrain Sauſtry in poſſeſſion of the mountain, and the Engliſh of the town, neither at leaſt could get any thing, excepting by a compromiſe. The importance of this object, and of the other concerns in this quarter, determined the preſidency to ſend Major Calliaud, with 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. They arrived at Tripetti on the 8th of July; but, as before, the reinforcement of Sepoys furniſhed few of the right ſort to attack the mountain. Calliaud therefore marched with the Europeans, four companies of Sepoys, and two guns, againſt Carcambaddy, the way over hills and vallies, covered with wood, but inhabited by a people fit only for ſkulking attacks, although of no contemptible caſt, being entitled to the pagoda of Tripetti. They fired continually from the thickets and covers, and killed and wounded ſeveral of the line before they forced the firſt barrier. At the ſecond, Major Calliaud with much difficulty got one of the guns upon a rock, which flanked the barrier, and the firſt diſcharge, loaded with grape, killed the Polygar and ſeveral of his men, after which the detachment met no farther reſiſtance. They were ſeven hours gaining their way, and arrived at three in the afternoon at the Polygar's town; which they found abandoned, burnt it down, and deſtroyed the adjoining plantations. The next day they returned to Tripetti, and Calliaud thinking the enemy in the mountain would be as much diſcouraged, as the renter's people were elated by this ſucceſs, ſent all the fit men of his Sepoys, who,

1759. July.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. July. with the renter's, did not exceed ſix hundred, although Narrain Sauſtry had twice as many, to attack the pagoda again; which the enemy, after ſkirmiſhing three hours, abandoned, and all ran away to take ſhelter in the hills of Matlaver. Four of the renter's men were killed, and 20 wounded. Every thing being thus quieted in the neighbourhood, and no farther tidings of the French party from Arcot, Calliaud ſet out on his return on the 18th with all the troops he had brought, excepting ten Europeans, whom he left with Wilcox.

No party of Europeans had marched from Arcot againſt Tripetti, and the report aroſe from the plundering excurſion of ſome Sepoys and horſe in the ſkirts of Bomerauze's country, to ſecond a demand they were making on him of 60,000 rupees. Nevertheleſs the advices were ſo intirely credited at Madraſs, that Colonel Brereton, without waiting to adviſe with the council, ordered Major Monſon to move the army from Conjeveram towards Arcot, as nearer to ſuccour whatſoever the enemy might intend to diſtreſs. They marched on the 5th; and on the 7th in the morning appeared before Covrepauk, with two 18 and two 12 pounders. This fort is ſmall, but well-built of ſtone, and has a wet ditch, which was in good order. Colonel Monſon ſummoned the officer, more according to form, than his own expectation of the anſwer he received, which was, that, if the garriſon, whites and blacks, were permitted to retire to Arcot, the ſoldiers with their knapſacks, and the officers with their effects, the gate ſhould be immediately delivered: the capitulation was tranſacted and concluded in leſs than an hour. This eaſy ſucceſs, for the fort was worthy of breach, gave hopes that the French garriſon of Arcot would not make all the defence they might; and as the ſituation was equally near to Tripetti, the army advanced, and arrived in the city on the 9th. The garriſon ſhewed good countenance, and their artillery was ſo ſuperior, that nothing could be done, until the Engliſh army were ſupplied with a train from Madraſs, before which the greateſt part of the French army might arrive from their different cantonments to the relief of Arcot; and for this reaſon, Major Monſon, before he received the orders of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the presidency, marched back to Conjeveram; but left 400 Europeans of the Company's troops in Covrepauk, which secured the revenues of the country between these two stations. 1759. July.

Mr. Pococke, waiting for the arrival of the French squadron, had continued with his own to windward of Pondicherry, mostly at Negapatam, where they were plentifully supplied with cattle by Captain Joseph Smith at Tritchinopoly, who caused them to be driven to the sea-coast, out of the observation of the king of Tanjore. In the end of June, a Danish vessel arriving at Tranquebar, reported, that 12 sail of French ships were in the bay of Trincanomaly in Ceylon; on which, the whole squadron weighed on the 30th, and on the 3d of July came off the mouth of that harbour; where they neither saw, nor gained any tidings of, the French ships. Mr. Pococke then cruized off the Fryar's Hood, the N.E. headland of the island, which all vessels coming to the coast of Coromandel at this season endeavour to make, and, in this station, met five of the expected ships from England, with the first division of Coote's regiment, with which he returned, and anchored on the 30th at Negapatam; keeping them in company until the provisions and stores they had brought for the use of his squadron were taken out. The presidency received advices of their arrival on the 5th of August, and notwithstanding the various wants of men at this time for defence and attack on shore, requested Mr. Pococke to detain the troops, to serve with him in the expected engagement with the French squadron. Several advices had lately been received, that the Dutch government of Batavia, their capital in the East-Indies, were preparing an armament, which was to sail to the bay of Bengal; and on the 8th six ships arrived at Negapatam, having left another in the bay of Trincanomaly. They had on board 500 European soldiers, and 1500 disciplined Malays, with abundance of military stores. Various reports and conjectures were formed of the destination of this force. The Dutch themselves gave out, that it was chiefly intended to reinforce their garrisons on the coast; and their unavowed emissaries reported, that the whole were to act as auxiliaries to the English against the French on the Coast of Coromandel. Mr. Pococke knew how

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. July. how much the military force in Bengal had been diminiſhed by the expedition to Maſulipatam, and might ſuffer by the uſual mortality of the climate; and reaſoning from the antipathy of the Dutch government to the great ſucceſſes and power which the Engliſh had lately acquired in Bengal, ſuſpected that the armament he ſaw was principally intended to reduce their influence in that country; and, with the ſpirit of conſiderate gallantry, and zeal for the general ſucceſs of the public ſervice, which on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed his command, ſent all the troops to Madraſs, recommending, that a part of them might be immediately forwarded to Bengal. They were all landed by the 25th, and marched in different parties, as ſoon as refreſhed, to the main body at Conjeveram, where Colonel Brereton, having recovered from his illneſs, again took the command.

A few days after the return of Major Calliaud from Tripetti, the Polygar of Carcambaddy with his own, and a number of the Matlaver's people, began to repair the town; on which Enſign Wilcox marched with the 25 Europeans, 300 of the Sepoys, and an iron three-pounder. They were galled the whole way, and obliged to force the three barriers in the path; and when they came to the open ſpot of the town, where they expected no reſiſtance, met the moſt, by a continual fire from the thickets round. Wilcox nevertheleſs perſiſted, and, being aimed at, received at once three muſket-balls, and was mortally wounded. On which the troops put him into a dooley, and retreated, likewiſe bringing off the gun. The enemy did not follow them earneſtly; ſo that the loſs was only three Europeans killed, and 14 Sepoys wounded.

The French party of Sepoys and black horſe from Arcot, had been beaten back by Bomerauze's people, and lay at Lallapet, near the mountains, 10 miles N. W. of Arcot, waiting an opportunity of renewing their incurſion; but were beaten up there on the 26th, by three companies of Sepoys, and the troops of the renter of Covrepauk, ſent by Captain Wood, who commanded in the fort. The enemy fled at the firſt fire, leaving 70 muſkets, and 17 horſes, and the Sepoys remained to guard the neareſt paſs leading from Lallapet into Bomerauze's country.

Baſſaulet

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Baſſaulet Jung, with his army, had, in this while, continued his march from Condavir to the ſouth, and, having paſſed Ongole, attacked the fort of Pollore, about 30 miles to the north of Nelore and the river Pennar, which, although out of the country of Damerla-Venkytapah-naigue, was of his dependance. This ſucceſs encreaſed the fright of all the three polygars, and of Nazeabulla in Nelore; and all renewed their applications to Madraſs for immediate aſſiſtance, and the Tripetty renter was fully perſuaded, that Baſſaulet Jung intended to get poſſeſſion of the pagoda, before the great feaſt, which begins in the middle of September, and generally produces 20,000l.; and it was known, that Baſſaulet Jung was in ſtrict correſpondence with Pondicherry. 1759. July.

To theſe alarms on the north of the province, were added others in the ſouth. The detachment with Fumel which had taken Thiagar had advanced as far as Volcondah, where, after many threats and meſſages, they had frightened the Kellidar out of 60,000 rupees; and, during the negociation, their horſe plundered as far as the ſtreights of Utatoor. It was then reported, that Furnel intended to advance with the whole, and take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Seringham, which would give them all the country between Thiagar and Tritchinopoly. This detachment could not be oppoſed in time from Madraſs; becauſe the interjacent country was under the enemy's garriſons; and whatſoever troops might be ſent from hence, proceeding half way by ſea againſt the monſoon, and then through the country of Tanjore, would not enter into action in leſs than ſix weeks, and then, if ſucceſsful, would be out of the reach of recall. Tritchinopoly was the neareſt ſtation to make head againſt them; but the whole garriſon would not, in the field, have been equal to the force with Fumel.

Fortunately, in this concurrence of perplexities, the diſtreſſes and diſcontent of the French army had continued as urgent as ever, even after the expence of the campaign was diminiſhed by their retreat into quarters. In the beginning of Auguſt, the whole of Lally's regiment, excepting the ſerjeants and corporals, and 50 of the ſoldiers, mutinied, and marched out of the fort of Chittapet, declaring, that they would not return to their colours, until they had Auguſt.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. August. received their pay, of which many months was in arrears. Their officers, by furniſhing their own money, and engaging their honour for more, brought them back, excepting 30, who diſperſed about the country: but this defection, which the cauſe exempted from rigorous puniſhment, ſhook the diſcipline of the whole army.

From this view of circumſtances, the Preſidency of Madraſs reſolved to leave ſomething to chance in the extremities, rather than diminiſh the ſuperiority, which their force had lately acquired in the center of the province, by the reinforcements arrived from England, and the enemy's detachment to the ſouthward; and determined to employ this advantage immediately againſt Vandiwaſh, the moſt important of the enemy's ſtations between Madraſs and Pondicherry. Accordingly 300 Europeans, with two twelve-pounders, and all the ſtores neceſſary for the attack, were ſent to Chinglapett; but whilſt on the road, and before the main body had moved from Conjeveram, arrived the Revenge, on the night of the 10th of September, with important intelligence from the ſquadron.

The Dutch at Negapatam, pretending that their armament from Batavia required the ſervice of all their maſſoolah boats, would ſpare none to water the Engliſh ſhips; to procure which, Mr. Pococke ſailed on the 20th with the ſquadron for Trinconamalee, where common boats can ply to the ſhore. They anchored there on the 30th, but at the mouth of the harbour; and the Revenge was ſent forward to cruize off the Friar's Hood. On the 2d of September, at ten in the morning, ſome ſhips were diſcovered to the S. E. Soon after came down the Revenge, chaſed and fired upon by one of the ſtrangers, which denoted them to be the long-expected enemy. The Engliſh ſquadron weighed immediately, and could not get within cannon-ſhot of them by ſun-ſet; but perceived that the number and ſtrength of the ſhips greatly exceeded the force they had met the year before.

Mr. D'Aché having left the coaſt, as we have ſeen, on the 3d of September, arrived, after thirty days ſail, at the Iſle of France, and found in the port a reinforcement of three men of war, under the command of Mr. D'Eguille, an officer of experience and reputation,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

tion. Several of the Company's veſſels, but none of force, for enough had been ſent before, were likewiſe arrived from France. The crews of all theſe ſhips amounted to 5500 men, and all the proviſions which could be collected in the iſles, or even drawn from Madagaſcar, with the ſupplies ſent from Europe, were inſufficient to feed this multitude, added to the numbers already in the colony, which they nearly equalled. Several councils were held on this diſtreſs, and it was at length determined to ſend one of the men of war, with eight of the Company's ſhips, which would take off between 3 and 4000 men, to the Cape of Good Hope, where they were to purchaſe proviſions ſufficient for the ſquadron in the enſuing voyage, and, in the mean time, the crews would be ſupported without breaking in upon the general ſtock. Theſe ſhips arrived off the Cape in the beginning of January; and two of them had the luck to fall in with and take the Grantham, an Engliſh Eaſt-India ſhip, diſpatched from Madraſs in September. They purchaſed, but at a vaſt expence, a great quantity of grain, wine, and meat, and returned to the Iſle of France in April and May; after which, the ſtrength of four of the Company's fighting ſhips, which had not hitherto mounted the number of guns they were built for, were armed to the full ſcale of their conſtruction. Theſe alterations, and other equipments, retarded the departure of the ſquadron until the 17th of July. They went firſt to the iſle of Bourbon, and then to Foul-point, in the iſland of Madagaſcar, to take in ſome rice, and other proviſions, which had been procured there; and on the 30th of Auguſt arrived off Batacola, a port in Ceylon, 60 miles to the ſouth of Trinconomaly; where they received intelligence of the Engliſh ſquadron, and two days after came in ſight of them off Point Pedras. The land and ſea-winds differing in the ſame hours at different diſtances from the ſhore, the currents likewiſe various, ſquauls, a fog, and contrary courſes whilſt ſeeking each other when out of ſight, kept them aſunder, or out of immediate reach, until the 10th of September, when they again fell in with one another off Fort St. David. The French, being fartheſt out at ſea, lay-to in a line of battle a-head, their heads to the Eaſt. The Engliſh having the

1759. Auguſt.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September. wind came down a breaſt, and at two in the afternoon were within gun-ſhot, when each ſhip edged to get into their ſtations alongſide of their alloted antagoniſts.

The Engliſh ſquadron conſiſted of nine ſhips of the line, attended by a frigate, the Queenſborough, two of the Company's ſhips, and the Protector converted to a fire ſhip. The French were 11 ſail of the line, of which four were of the navy of France, and they had three frigates under their lee. Difference of ſailing, and diſappointment in working, prevented the Engliſh from forming their line with as much regularity as the enemy, who were waiting for them, drawn up in order of battle.

The French line was led by the Actif of 64, one of the King's ſhips. She was followed by the Minotaur, another of the King's, of 74, in which Mr. D'Aguille wore the flag of Rear-Admiral, and by much the ſtouteſt ſhip in the ſquadron, having in her lower tier thirty-two-pounders, which in the French weight is equal to 40 Engliſh; then ſtood three of the Company's ſhips, the Duc d'Orleans of 60, the Saint Louis of 56, and the Vengeur of 64. Theſe five formed the van. Mr. D'Aché, in the Zodiaque, hoiſted his flag in the center, ſupported by the Comte de Provence of 74: the four others of the rear-diviſion were the Duc de Bourgogne, of 56, the Illuſtre, of 64, the Fortunée of the ſame rate as the Illuſtre, and the Centaur of 68; of which only the Illuſtre was a King's ſhip. The Elizabeth of 70 led the Engliſh line, followed by the Newcaſtle of 70, the Tiger of 66, and the Grafton of 74, in which was Rear-Admiral Stevens: theſe four were the van. Mr. Pococke, in the Yarmouth of 74, was in the center, followed by the Cumberland of 66, the Saliſbury of 56, the Sunderland of 60, and the Weymouth of 60 cloſed the rear. The total battery of the French ſquadron exceeded the Engliſh by 126 guns, and conſequently by 63 in action.

The Grafton was the firſt ſhip up, and whilſt preſenting her broadſide fell a-breaſt of the Zodiaque, whom Mr. Pococke, as in the two engagements of the laſt year, intended to reſerve for himſelf. Mr. D'Aché immediately threw out the ſignal of battle, and began to fire on the Grafton, the firſt ſhot at 15 minutes after two; but Mr. Stevens waited for the ſignal of his admiral, which did not

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

appear until five minutes after, when the Yarmouth was very near and ranged againſt the Comte de Provence. The firing then became general through both lines; but the Sunderland, the laſt but one of the Engliſh line, ſailing very ill, kept back the Weymouth behind her. By this miſchance the Saliſbury, which was much the weakeſt ſhip, being only of 50 guns, and they only eighteen and nine-pounders, ranged, unſupported, againſt the Illuſtre, and ſuſtained likewiſe the fire of the Fortunée behind, which the Sunderland ſhould have taken up, at leaſt in this ſtate of the action: the conſequence was equal to the diſparity, and in 15 minutes the fall of the Saliſbury's maintopgallant, and then her foreſail, obliged her to quit the line: but by this time, the Sunderland ſhooting ahead, engaged the Illuſtre. The three ſhips of the Engliſh van, ahead of the Grafton, had luckily fallen ſoon, and in good order, into their ſtations, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour, the Actif, which was oppoſed to the Elizabeth, took fire, which brought the crew from the batteries, and the Elizabeth taking advantage of their confuſion plyed her exceſſively, and ſoon drove her out of the line to extinguiſh the fire: the Elizabeth ſtill edging down upon her, was ſtopped by the Minotaur ſtarting forward; which obliged her to haul her wind again, and this operation ſhot her beyond the line of action. The Newcaſtle then took up the Minotaur, although a 60 to a 74; and the Tiger, of which the Captain had been blamed in a former engagement, ſupported the Newcaſtle, by taking on herſelf the fire of the two next ſhips. The fight between theſe five continued with the utmoſt violence for 70 minutes; when neither the Newcaſtle nor Tiger had a ſail under command; on which Mr. Stevens, who had left the Zodiaque to Mr. Pococke, and had beaten the Vengeur out of the line, came between, and ſeeing the two ſhips of the French line next beyond the Vengeur much crippled, ſet forward to engage the Minotaur; and her broad-ſide, as ſhe was paſſing on, drove the St. Louis out of the line. In the rear, the Sunderland, which had taken up the Illuſtre, was likewiſe attacked by her follower, the Fortunée; and in ten minutes, before ſhe had fired three rounds, her maintop-ſail fell, and her

1759. September.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September. head-braces being likewiſe ſhot away, her foretop-ſail ſwung a-back, which made her fall a-ſtern of both her antagoniſts. At ten minutes paſt three the Count de Provence, which had ſtood the Yarmouth, and was afterwards taken up by the Cumberland, likewiſe left the line to refit her rigging, as did the Duke de Bourgogne, which had divided her fire between the Cumberland and the Saliſbury, and received theirs, divided likewiſe in return. The Weymouth, by what accident we don't find, was kept a-ſtern in the rear; but at three o'clock, the Saliſbury came again into the engagement; and, on the French ſide, the Illuſtre, ſeeing the two ſhips before her gone, cloſed up to the Zodiaque. At four, the only ſhips engaged were the Minotaur and Duc d'Orleans againſt the Grafton, the Zodiaque againſt the Yarmouth, the Illuſtre againſt the Cumberland, and the Fortunée and Centaur againſt the Saliſbury and Sunderland. The pilot of the Zodiaque ſeeing, as he thought, the Fortunée and Centaur going off likewiſe, put the helm a-lee without order, and, as Mr. D'Aché was running to correct him, a grape ſhot carried off the fleſh of his thigh, to the bone; he fell ſenſeleſs, amongſt four or five who were killed or ſtruck down with him. The captain of the Zodiaque had been killed an hour before; and the officer who took the command after Mr. D'Aché fell, wore the ſhip to rejoin the comrades which had already left the line. The Centaur, Illuſtre, and Minotaur, thinking ſuch was the will of their admiral, wore likewiſe, and ſet ſail to accompany him. The Engliſh ſhips ſtill in action endeavoured to follow them, but were ſoon left out of gun-ſhot, and all firing ceaſed at ten minutes after four.

In this engagement the rear diviſion ſuffered much leſs than the van. On board the Weymouth, which cloſed the rear, not a man was either killed or wounded, and in the Sunderland ahead of her, the whole loſs was only two men killed; nevertheleſs the Centaur, the laſt of the enemy's rear, ſuffered as much in her maſts and rigging from their fire, as any of the other ſhips of the French line, who were cloſer engaged, and her Captain, Surville the elder, was killed. The Saliſbury had 16 killed,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

killed, and 40 wounded; the Cumberland 8, and 30; the Yarmouth 10, and 27; the Grafton 13, and 37; the Tiger, which ſuffered the moſt of any, 37, and 140; the Newcaſtle 26, and 65. The Elizabeth four, and twenty. In all 114 killed, and 369 wounded. In the Newcaſtle, the captain, Michie, an officer of diſtinguiſhed gallantry, was killed; as were Mr. Jackſon, the firſt lieutenant of the Tiger, captain More, who commanded the marines in the Elizabeth, and the maſter of the Yarmouth. Brereton, captain of the Tiger, Somerſet of the Cumberland, the ſecond lieutenant of the Grafton, and the fourth of the Saliſbury, were wounded. None of the Engliſh ſhips, after the engagement, could ſet half their ſail; and the Newcaſtle and Tiger were taken into tow by the Elizabeth and Weymouth. The loſs of the French crews was ſuppoſed to be equal; but when they went away together at ſun-ſet, all, excepting the Centaur, carried their top-ſails. 1759. September.

The uncertainty of the number of troops which the French ſquadron might have brought for Pondicherry, determined the preſidency of Madraſs to ſuſpend for a while the attack they had reſolved to make on Vandiwaſh; but to ſend a part of their troops to Tripaſſore to ſupport that part of the country againſt Baſſaulut Jung But no arguments could prevail on Major Brereton to deſiſt from the enterprize, from which he expected to acquire diſtinguiſhed honour; and the preſidency, unwilling to check his ardour, refrained from giving him poſitive orders to deſiſt.

Heavy rains had rendered the roads and rivers impaſſable until the 26th, when the whole army marched from Conjeveram; it had been reinforced with 40 men from Chinglapett, under the command of Preſton, and with 100, of 158 releaſed priſoners, which had arrived at this garriſon on the 11th from Pondicherry. The whole force was 1500 Europeans, 80 Coffres, and 2500 Sepoys, infantry; 100 European, and 700 black cavalry; 10 field-pieces, and two eighteen-pounders: and two more eighteen pounders were to join from Chinglapett.

On the 27th in the morning, the horſe before the line, when within three miles of Trivatore, fell in with 50 of the French huſ-

ſars,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September.

sars, who stood them, but, overpowered by numbers, were routed, and eight, with an officer, taken prisoners: in the afternoon, the garrison of Trivatore, which consisted only of a captain and 22 men of the Lorrain regiment, surrendered on the first summons. The main body of the enemy had advanced from Vandiwash in the morning, and were halting at the village of Parsee, six miles on the road, of which Colonel Brereton receiving information, marched on without stopping at Trivatore, and encamped near them; and at midnight, the enemy moved off, and returned to Vandiwash; where, as before they took up their quarters in the pettahs, and under the walls of the fort, into which the governor Tuckeasaheb, notwithstanding the strictness of his alliance, was very averse to admit any of the French troops, excepting some of their gunners; and they to prevent worse consequences, would not compel him. The English army continuing their march the next day, encamped in the evening under the ledge of rocks, which extend about three miles to the N. W. of the fort. The day after, which was the 29th, parties were employed in reconnoitring; but neither their observations, nor the enquiries of spies, discovered the real state of the enemy's force.

On the march of Major Monson to Arcot in the beginning of August, the French drew the greatest part of their Europeans from the garrisons of Chittapet, Carangoly, and Outramalore, to their main body at Vandiwash, from whence the whole had advanced as far as Trivatore, when Monson, finding the attack of Arcot impracticable, returned to Conjeveram: on his retreat, they detached 100 Europeans to reinforce Arcot, and sent back the troops which they had drawn from the three other garrisons; which reduced the European infantry that returned to Vandiwash to 600; but the whole of the European cavalry, who were 300, went with them. The same alarm for Arcot had led Mr. Lally to recall the detachment to the southward with Viscount Fumel, who were then before Volcondah; but Fumel, not having levied the contribution he expected, delayed to obey the orders, and, on Monson's retreat, was permitted to persist, and had time to finish.

During

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September.

During the delay between the first resolution, and the present motion of the English army to attack Vandiwash, the government of Pondicherry obtained some uncertain intelligence of the intention, and again reinforced the main body there with 400 men from the adjacent garrisons. They likewise again recalled Fumel, and more than half his detachment were arrived at Pondicherry, from whence they were at this time advancing towards Vandiwash, and, as it was reported, under the command of Mr. Bussy. Major Brereton received intelligence of the approach of this party, but no information that the troops from the other garrisons were arrived at Vandiwash; and thus computing the whole number assembled there, including the cavalry, instead of 1300, to be only 900 Europeans, to which his own force was nearly double, thought no time should be lost before the arrival of the detachment they expected from Pondicherry, and determined to attack them in their quarters on the night of the 29th, which was the next after that of his arrival before Vandiwash.

There were three pettahs under the fort, lying to the w., the s., and the E.; the w. at 150, the s. at 220, and the E. at the distance of 170 yards. The south pettah contained the houses of the more opulent inhabitants, and was inclosed on the E. s. and w. by a mud rampart, which on the s. side had circular projections to serve as bastions; but the north side next the esplanade was left open, that the guns of the fort might preserve their command on the streets and houses. The pettah to the east commenced opposite to the N. E. angle, and extending 650 yards, covered the east side of the fort, of the esplanade, and of the pettah to the south. The western pettah extended only along the breadth of the esplanade to the south; it had for some time been abandoned, and was in ruins, and most of the natives, on the approach of the English army, had quitted their habitations in the other two. The French cavalry lay in the eastern pettah. Their infantry were under sheds and tents in the covered way and on the esplanade to the south, and they kept guards on the ramparts of the south pettah; but none as they ought, in the ruined pettah to the west.

A thousand

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September.

A thouſand Europeans, including a company of 80 Coffrees, and ſix hundred Sepoys, were allotted to ſerve in the attack: they were divided into three diviſions; the firſt led by Major Monſon, was to aſſault the ſouth face of the ſouth pettah, and having entered, were to advance through the ſtreets to the eſplanade, where the main body of the French troops were lying; who at the ſame time were to be attacked on the right by the ſecond diviſion, advancing out of the pettah to the weſt: this diviſion was commanded by Major Robert Gordon. The third Major Brereton commanded himſelf, as the reſerve for occaſions, and they took poſt under a ridge which runs parallel to the weſt face of the ſouth pettah, but farther back on the plain than the pettah allotted to Gordon's diviſion. The European and black horſe were to halt a mile in the rear of Brereton's. The reſt of the troops were left to guard the camp. Monſon's diviſion conſiſted of 360 Europeans, of whom 200 were grenadiers, all that were in the army, and they had one company of Sepoys as attendants: Gordon's were 200 Europeans, and 80 Coffrees: Brereton's 360 Europeans and 500 Sepoys. Each of the three diviſions had two excellent braſs ſix-pounders.

The pettah to the South has three principal ſtreets, which interſect it intirely from north to ſouth, and ſeveral others in the ſame direction, of ſhorter extent; nor are any of the croſs-ſtreets from eaſt to weſt regularly pervious from one wall to the other, and ſome of them are only ſhort communications between the ſtreets in the other direction: ſo that many dodging advantages might be taken by knowledge of their different bearings and interſections. At two in the morning, the head of Monſon's diviſion approached towards the gateway on the ſouth face of the pettah, and were challenged and declared by two or three Sepoys advanced on the plain to look out; on which the guards on the ramparts began to fire. The gateway was in a return of the rampart from the left, and the road to it lay under the reſt of the rampart to the right, ſo that the two field-pieces which were advancing at the head of the line could not batter the gate at leſs than 150 yards, without being immediately under the fire of this part of the rampart, which

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

with the uncertainty and delay of their effect in the dark, determined Colonel Monſon to try the wall at once. It had neither ditch nor palliſade before it, and the firſt grenadiers lighted upon a part, which, for want of repair, permitted them to ſcramble up, and being followed by more, they drove the enemy before them, opened the gate, and let in the main body of the diviſion. The gate entered upon the principal ſtreet of the three which leads through the pettah to the eſplanade; and the other two are about 50 yards on each hand. The troops, as they came in, firſt ranged along the ground between the wall and the habitations, which was broad; and then formed into three columns, one in each of the ſtreets; but the two field-pieces moved at the head of the center column. All the three advanced very deliberately, keeping as nearly as poſſible on the ſame parallel, the two outer columns ſending ſmall parties into the croſs ſtreets on their outward flanks to diſlodge the enemy from whatſoever poſts their fire came, which, although not ſtrong from any, was frequent and from ſeveral; but the greateſt annoyance was from two field-pieces at the edge of the eſplanade, firing down the center ſtreet. However, they were at length ſilenced by the two field-pieces, with the center column. Firing had been heard on the ground allotted to Gordon's diviſion, but ſoon ceaſed. In an hour and a half the three columns arrived at the openings on the eſplanade, where to their ſurprize they met no farther reſiſtance; and diſappointed of the aſſiſtance they expected from Gordon's diviſion, it was reſolved to wait for day-light, and in the mean time to throw up a barricade at the head of the center-ſtreet, which for want of proper tools was very inſufficiently performed. Their loſs hitherto was not ten killed and wounded. 1759. September.

A ſky rocket was the ſignal for Gordon's diviſion to advance from the weſtern pettah, and it was fired as ſoon as Monſon's had entered the ſouthern. The troops of Gordon's had, for fear of diſcovery, kept on the ſide of the pettah fartheſt from the eſplanade, but Preſton and two or three more officers had examined the ſtreets, which were very narrow, and beyond on the eſplanade, where they found

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September.

the ground rugged, and interrupted with ſloughs and ſtanding water. But Gordon not having acquired any diſtinct ideas from their report, boggled, and was confuſed in the orders he gave. At length it was underſtood, that the troops, as ſoon as they had paſſed through the pettah, were to form on the eſplanade in diviſions, which would be 15 in front. The ſelect picquet of 40 picked men, commanded by Lieutenant Dela Doueſpe, who were to lead the attack, were ſoon through, and formed, and advancing. Gordon himſelf was to march at the head of the main body, but he was not to be found when it was ranging on the eſplanade; and Preſton, his ſecond, not knowing the motives of his abſence, would not venture to take his poſt; and thus the whole were ſtopped, waiting his return. The picquet marched with recovered arms, and without dropping a ſhot, until they came to the angle of the ſouthern pettah, where the rampart had a ſhoulder, on which were mounted two pieces of cannon, which by the direction of the ſtreets could not be turned to any ſervice in the fight behind them; and it ſhould ſeem that the enemy had diſcovered the ſituation and intention of Gordon's attack, for a conſiderable body of infantry were waiting at the angle, ſome on the rampart, and others at the edge of the houſes below; who, as ſoon as the picquet were within a few yards, ſuddenly threw a number of blue lights, which diſcovered them intirely, and were inſtantly followed by a ſtrong running fire of muſketry, and the diſcharge of the two pieces of cannon; but the whole of the execution was from the muſketry, for as the picquet was almoſt under the rampart, the cannon could not point low enough, and fired over their heads. Doueſpe returned the fire with diſparity of ſituation, and greater of numbers, but would not retreat without orders, and was not without hopes of being immediately joined by the main body of the diviſion, eſpecially as the two pieces which accompanied it, began to anſwer the two guns on the rampart. But his expectations of farther ſupport were vain. The ſhot of the two guns from the rampart fell near the main body whilſt forming, and ſome muſketry fired upon them from the covered way of the fort, on which the 80 coffrees all ran

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

back into the pettah, and through it, quite away, and the Europeans not led on, and having nothing effectual to fire upon, ſoon broke and went off likewiſe, leaving the picquet, and the field-pieces ſtill engaged. But Preſton, for Gordon was not yet to be found, knowing the determination of the picquet to perſevere, ran ſingly to them, and brought them back to the pettah, where they joined the officers deſerted by all the reſt of the troops: but the artillery-men, animated by the well-known reſolution of their commandant Captain Robert Barker, ſtill ſtood by him and their guns. The fugitives not all equally frightened, made their way to the reſerved diviſion with Brereton, who on the firſt notice, ran unaccompanied to the pettah from whence they were coming, and in the ſtrong impulſe of indignation, ran the firſt man he met through the body: unfortunately he was one of the braveſt in the army; ſo that this example carried little influence, and left none to exhortation, and very few obeyed his call; with whom he went as far as the two guns, which Barker was ſtill firing, and by this countenance had deterred the enemy from making a puſh, which would eaſily have taken them; but Brereton, ſenſible of the riſk to which they were expoſed, ordered him to draw them off into the pettah, from whence they joined the reſerve at the ridge. Thus all were gone before the firing ceaſed in the ſouthern pettah, where Gordon with four or five of the fugitives ſoon after appeared, coming in at the gate to the ſouth, where Monſon's diviſion had entered. 1759. September.

The day broke, and the enemy's fire recommenced and encreaſed with the light. The gunners, whom the Kellidar had admitted into the fort, plied the cannon on the towers oppoſite to the three ſtreets, to the head of which Monſon's diviſion had advanced; and with the field-pieces on the eſplanade, their fire was from 14 guns all within point blank, from the fort at 300, from the field-pieces at 100 yards. The return was from the two field-pieces at the head of the center-ſtreet, and from platoons of muſketry in the other two. The diſparity was ſevere, and could not be long maintained. The officers ordered the men not employ-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September.

ed, to take ſhelter under the ſheds projecting before the walls of the houſes in the enfiladed ſtreets; the ſheds, as in the other towns of Coromandel, were ſeparated from each other by partitions of brick or mud: ſome withdrew into the croſs ſtreets immediately behind. Nevertheleſs, all who appeared were ſo exceſſively galled, that it was neceſſary to retreat; but from the continual hope of ſupport from the two diviſions without, Major Monſon wiſhed not to quit the conteſt until the laſt extremity. In the middle of the pettah is a continuation of ſtreets leading quite acroſs it, although not in a ſtreight line, from the eaſt to the weſt ſide, where the laſt ends upon the area of a pagoda, in which a party had been poſted, and the wounded were ſheltered and ſerved. The columns were ordered to retire into this line of the croſs-ſtreets, where all, according to the breadth of the main ſtreets, might fire down them, and immediately diſappear, until loaded and ready to fire again. This movement ſtaggered the enemy, for they could do no more, if they continued on the eſplanade at the other extremity of the ſtreets; and if they advanced along them, would be expoſed in deep columns. Nevertheleſs, confident in their numbers, and preſſing to decide before the Engliſh troops ſhould be reinforced from without, they began and maintained this fight with great ſpirit and activity, until they were convinced it could not ſucceed; on which they ſent off their rears, which brought two of their field-pieces from the eſplanade, and with them marched along a ſtreet adjoining to the weſtern wall of the pettah, which led them to the pagoda towards this end of the croſs-ſtreets: which the guard immediately abandoned, leaving ſome of the wounded in the pagoda; having ſecured this ſtation, the party advanced the field-pieces along the line of the croſs ſtreets, firing and taking in flank the whole of Monſon's diviſion, againſt which the attack in front likewiſe continued, and with encreaſing vivacity: and in a very little while the remaining field-piece of the diviſion was diſabled: on which the men began to loſe courage, and Monſon conſulting his ſecond, Major Calliaud, they reſolved to retreat and take poſt againſt the ſouthern wall of the pettah. The grenadiers of one of the Company's battalions were to halt near the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September.

gateway, but ſeeing it open, marched out into the plain, quickening their pace at every ſtep. Major Calliaud, who was near, inſtead of calling after them, followed, and running beyond, ſtopped ſuddenly before them, and cried, "Halt." The inſtinct of diſcipline prevailed. They obeyed, and forming as he ordered, faced, and, luckily for themſelves, followed him into the pettah. Major Monſon met him at the gate, and, in the midſt of much vexation, thanked him with much cordiality; but ſaid, that the whole body, ſtill cloſely preſſed by the enemy, were faultering too faſt to be truſted any longer; and that it was better to lead them off in order, than riſque their going off in confuſion of their own accord. The exhortations of their commanders encouraged them to keep their ranks; the Sepoys marched in front, helping to carry off the wounded, and fifteen priſoners. The enemy, by unaccountable overſight, did not follow them into the plain; but were contented with firing from the wall: about half a mile from which, the line halted in a grove, and in a little while perceived Major Brereton's and Gordon's diviſions, with the European and black horſe, the Sepoys, and two field-pieces, advancing round to join them; at the ſame time, they ſaw the whole body of the enemy's European cavalry, 300 riders, approaching from the eaſtern pettah, where they had remained in expectation of an opportunity of cutting off their retreat, which, from want of alertneſs, they loſt, and could not venture to attack after Brereton appeared. The whole returned to the bank, where Brereton's diviſion had taken poſt, and in the afternoon from thence to the camp, without moleſtation or alarm. The loſs, on the immediate review, appeared to be 12 officers, and 195 rank and file, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. The Lieutenants Minns and Latour were the only officers; but, it was ſuppoſed, that 70 rank and file were killed; and that of this number, 50 fell in the pettah. The eagerneſs of performing ſome diſtinguiſhed ſervice before Colonel Coote ſhould arrive, and ſuperſede him in the command of the army, urged Colonel Brereton to make this attack, which was much more hardy than judicious, even if the enemy had not been reinforced.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. September.

inforced. However, the great gallantry and the inferior numbers of the body which ſuſtained the greateſt part of the loſs, rather encreaſed than diminiſhed the confidence of the army. The enemy ſuffered as much, having 200 killed and wounded. Mainville, who commanded againſt Lawrence at Tritchinopoly, juſt before the truce in 1754, and two Captains, were killed.

The two ſquadrons anchored on the 11th, the day after they had engaged each other; the Engliſh in the road of Negapatam, the French 4 leagues farther to the ſouth, who being much leſs diſabled, were ready to ſail again on the 13th; and two days after, anchored in the road of Pondicherry. The ſhips immediately landed whatſoever ſupplies they had brought for the ſervice of the colony; the treaſure amounted only to 16000 pounds in dollars, and the diamonds taken in the Grantham, were worth 17000 pounds. The troops were only 180 men. Mr. D'Aché would not go aſhore, and ſignified his intention of ſailing immediately for the iſlands. The ſeaſon, although advanced, was not yet dangerous, nor were his ſhips more hurt than the Engliſh; but this reſolution roſe from intelligence of the four men of war, which were coming with Rear-Admiral Corniſh to join Mr. Pococke, and who might arrive every day. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 19th, Mr. D'Aché made the ſignal for weighing, and all the ſhips looſed their top-ſails,

The ſupplies they had brought were ſo much leſs than the wants and hopes of the colony, that diſappointment appeared in every face; but the ſight of the ſhips getting under ſail, in 24 hours after their arrival, ſpread univerſal conſternation, and excited the utmoſt indignation. All the military officers, the principal inhabitants, and even the clergy, aſſembled at the governor's, and immediately formed themſelves into a national council; which unanimouſly decreed, that the precipitate departure of the ſquadron muſt produce the moſt detrimental conſequences to the intereſts of the ſtate, as holding out to all the powers of the country an opprobrious acknowledgement that they had been entirely defeated in the laſt engagement, and could not ſtand another; and that they utterly deſpaired

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſpaired of every thing on ſhore. In conſequence of this deliberation, a proteſt was immediately drawn, declaring Mr. D'Aché reſponſible for the loſs of the colony, ſuch were the words, and reſolving to complain to the King and miniſtry, and demand public juſtice of his conduct. The ſhip Duc d'Orleans was by ſome accident detained in the road, after the others were under ſail, and the commander was charged to deliver the proteſt to Mr. D'Aché, and a copy to every commander in the ſquadron, which were twelve leagues out at ſea when the Duc d'Orleans joined them. Mr. D'Aché immediately held a general council of his captains, and on the 22d anchored again in the road of Pondicherry; and came aſhore to conſult with Mr. Lally and the government. On the 25th, in the morning, the Engliſh ſquadron, coming from Negapatam, appeared ſtanding in line of battle into the road, but driving by the current to the northward. All the French ſhips weighed, but hawled the wind cloſe, which being at w. s. w. kept them at their firſt diſtance from the Engliſh, which they had it in their power to bear down upon, and engage. Mr. Pococke, unable to get up to them, kept his line of battle until the evening, when he continued his courſe, and anchored on the 27th at Madraſs. Mr. D'Aché ſtill inſiſted on returning as ſoon as poſſible to the iſlands; and the government of Pondicherry unwillingly compromiſed for his departure, on condition that he ſhould leave all the Coffrees ſerving in the ſquadron, which were 400, and 500 Europeans, either ſailors or marines; who were accordingly landed, and he ſailed away on the 30th of September. Mr. Lally, with his uſual ſpleen, called the Europeans the ſcum of the ſea; and, indeed, moſt of them for a while could be fit for little more than to do duty in the town, whilſt the regular troops kept the field. 1759. October.

The animoſity of Mr. Lally to Mr. Buſſy had continued, without remiſſion: he even employed his emiſſaries to perſuade Mr. Buſſy to make him a preſent of money, as a certain means of reconciliation; intending to uſe the proffer as a confeſſion of Mr. Buſſy's delinquency, of which he was every where ſeeking proofs. Meanneſs and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. October.

and ambition were never more ſtrictly united than in this deſign. Mr. Buſſy, having remitted his fortune to Europe, offered his credit, if employed in community with the government of Pondicherry and Mr. Lally's, to raiſe money for the public ſervice; but treated the hints of the other propoſal, as the deſperate zeal of his adherents unwarranted by himſelf. They ſaw one another but ſeldom, but were obliged to correſpond on public affairs. The letters of Mr. Lally were replete with ſuſpicion, jealouſy, inſinuation, artifice, inſolence, ſarcaſm, and wit; Mr. Buſſy's, with ſagacity, caution, deference, argument, profound knowlege, the juſteſt views of affairs, and the wiſeſt means to promote their ſucceſs: and Mr. Lally himſelf, whilſt he pretended to ridicule, reſpected the extent of his talents. Their diſſention was in this ſtate, when the arrival of a frigate from France on the 20th of Auguſt brought orders from the king and miniſtry, recalling all the intermediate officers, who had been ſent with commiſſions ſuperior to Mr. Buſſy's, and appointing him ſecond in the command, and to ſucceed to it after Mr. Lally. This diſtinction produced a more civil intercourſe, and Mr. Lally, with ſeeming complacence, aſked the aſſiſtance of his counſels. The firſt he gave was the moſt obnoxious he could. Rajahſaheb, the unfortunate but inſignificant ſon of Chundahſaheb, had lately found means to perſuade Mr. Lally to appoint him Nabob of the Carnatic; and the ceremony had been performed with oſtentation, in the month of July, both at Arcot and Pondicherry. This promotion, without the participation of Salabadjing, the Subah of the Decan, was a public renunciation of his alliance, and might be improved by Nizamally to confirm him in the intereſts of the Engliſh. The approach of Baſſaulut Jung on the northern confines of the Carnatic appeared to Mr. Buſſy a reſource, not only to re-eſtabliſh the former union with Salabadjing, but likewiſe to ſtrengthen the immediate operations of the French army, by offering Baſſaulut Jung the government of the Carnatic and its dependencies under the ſanction of Salabadjing, on condition that he would join them with his troops. Mr. Lally at firſt revolted againſt the idea: and his averſion to it was imputed

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

imputed not more to his jealouſy of the importance which Mr. Buſſy would regain, by his influence with a prince long accuſtomed to reſpect his character, than to his own obligations to Rajahſaheb; who it was ſaid had purchaſed his appointment. However, Mr. Lally had conſented, that Mr. Buſſy ſhould march with a detachment to join Baſſaulut Jung, and conclude the negotiation, when the French ſquadron ſailed away from Pondicherry, where news arrived the ſame day of the action at Vandiwaſh, which Mr. Lally, as a complete victory, fired a hundred guns round the ramparts of Pondicherry, and wrote magnificent accounts of the ſucceſs to every man of conſequence within or near the province. 1759. October.

Mr. Buſſy arrived at Vandiwaſh on the 5th of October. The Engliſh army had left their encampment in ſight of this place the day before; they halted two days at Trivatore, during which heavy rains and the bad quality of the only water they had to drink brought ſickneſs upon the camp, which cauſed Major Brereton to quit this poſt, and repair to Conjeveram, where they arrived on the 7th. On the ſame day, Mr. Buſſy marched from Vandiwaſh with all the troops encamped there, reinforced from other parts to 1500 European foot and 300 horſe, beſides the black horſe: he expected the Engliſh might wait, and give battle, but they were gone; and the garriſon left in Trivatore, which was only ten Europeans, and a company of Sepoys, ſurrendered to him at diſcretion. Draughting 150 of the European horſe, and 400 foot, to accompany him to Baſſaulut Jung, he ſent back the reſt of the army to Vandiwaſh, and arrived at Arcot on the 10th; where he was detained ſeveral days, by the rains of the monſoon.

Baſſaulut Jung advancing from Polore gave out that he would attack Nelore; but when he came near the Pennar quitted the ſouthern road, and, turning to the weſt, encamped on the 10th of September on the plains of Sangam, a town with ſeveral pagodas on the bank of the river, 16 miles from Nelore. Here he ſummoned Nazeabulla and the three greater Polygars to come and pay their obeiſſance to him in perſon. Nazeabulla contrived to make him believe magnified

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. October. reports of the force of his garriſon, and of troops coming to reinforce it from Madraſs, which brought on a civil intercourſe of letters between them; but the Polygars he deſpiſed, and reſolved not to ſpare. They, however, fearing to offend the Engliſh government, endeavoured to evade the viſit by various excuſes, on which he ſent his horſe over the river to forage on the arable lands for themſelves, and to ſeize cattle and grain for the reſt of the army. This detriment not prevailing, he paſſed the river with his whole force, and on the 1ſt of October encamped at Sydaporam, a conſiderable town, where the hills of Bangar Yatcham begin on this ſide, and ſituated within ten miles of Venkitagherri, the place of his reſidence, and 20 from Kalaſtri, which is the principal town of Damerla Venkitappah. Here he waited, not a little diſtreſſed for money, and expecting the arrival of Mr. Buſſy, who, on the 18th, had made his firſt day's march from Arcot, when he was ſtopped ſhort by extraordinary intelligence from Vandiwaſh.

More than a year's pay was due to the whole army: what money had been ſupplied to them lately was in lieu of their proviſions, when not furniſhed regularly. The ſoldiers believed, that much more than came had been brought by the ſquadron, and, what was worſe, that their general had amaſſed and ſecreted great wealth. Their intrepidity at the action of Vandiwaſh had increaſed the indignation of their diſtreſſes. They complained continually and openly, nor did the officers chuſe to puniſh them on this ſcore; becauſe the plea of their diſcontent was true. On others they wiſhed to preſerve the uſual diſcipline. On the 16th ſome ſoldiers of Lorrain were puniſhed; ſome for neglect of duty, but others for ſlovenlineſs, which they could not avoid. In leſs than an hour after this chaſtiſement, the drums of Lorrain, compelled by 40 or 50 of the ſoldiers, who had concerted, beat the general; and in an inſtant every man of the regiment was under arms; and in a few minutes all concurred in the ſame reſolution: refuſing to admit the commiſſioned officers, and every ſerjeant, excepting two, they marched in order out of the camp, towards the mountain where the Engliſh army had lately

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

lately encamped. The officers of Lally's and the battalion of India, hearing the drums of Lorrain, beat the general likewiſe, and turned out the line, thinking the camp was going to be attacked by the Engliſh; and ſome of the officers who had perſiſted in accompanying the men of Lorrain, prevailed on them to ſtop; but could not, to return, before they knew the intentions of Lally's and India, of whom they had ſome doubt, whether not preparing to ſurround and attack them. For this purpoſe they detached a picket to confer with them, of whom the ſpokeſman was the boldeſt of the mutiny, and, inſtead of propoſing any conditions for Lorrain, exhorted all he harangued to follow their example, and redreſs their common wrongs, unleſs the whole army immediately received the full arrears of their pay. His words ran like fire: all, animated with the ſame ſpirit, cried out, march. The expoſtulations of their officers were vain, they were ordered to retire. Parties and detachments were commanded, which brought up the field-artillery, the tumbrils, oxen, tents, and baggage, and even obliged the buzar and market, which conſiſted of 2000 perſons, and a multitude of animals, to move with them, and to which they appointed the uſual guard. They ſent likewiſe to demand the colours; but, ſeeing the officers determined to die rather than deliver them, deſiſted. As ſoon as every thing was gathered, the whole line, with ſeventeen pieces of cannon, marched away. As ſoon as they arrived at the mountain, they with one voice elected La Joye, the ſerjeant-major of the grenadiers of Lorrain, their commander in chief; and he immediately nominated another ſerjeant, his major-general, and appointed the beſt of the rank and file to command the different companies, with the uſual titles of commiſſioned officers. Orders were then prepared, and read at the head of the men, exacting every article of the ſervice. The camp was pitched, centries, pickets, advanced guards, rounds, calls, with every detail of duty and diſcipline, ſtrictly obſerved. They did not like, but did not refuſe, the viſit of ſeveral of their officers; but forbade every interference that ſeemed authority. On hints whether they intended to go over to the Engliſh, they pointed to

1759. October.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. October. their cannon, which were ranged in front of the camp, facing the north, from whence alone the appearance of the Engliſh army could be expected. The night paſſed without riot or confuſion.

In the mean time, expreſſes were ſent to Pondicherry, where the whole council immediately aſſembled at Mr. Lally's, who accuſed them all, as the inſtigators of the revolt; but produced 10,000 pagodas out of his cheſt, and ſent them by the Viſcount Fumel, with the promiſe of a general pardon to the troops. The council likewiſe gave aſſurances, that the whole arrears ſhould be diſcharged in a month, and ſent their plate to the mint, as an earneſt, which example was followed by many of the inhabitants. Fumel arrived early in the morning of the 20th at the camp of the troops, who had moved ſix miles farther on to the weſtward, towards Arni: He was permitted to confer with their chiefs, whom he harangued on the obvious topics of deſertion, diſhonour, and the deſtruction of all the French intereſts in India, and thought them ſufficiently relented, to appeal to the whole; who, according to his requeſt, aſſembled round him on the plain, to the number of 2000 men. He gave hints of the money and pardon; and his repreſentations had well-nigh converted them, when 70 or 80, who were the deſperate mutineers, and had kept away from the aſſembly, ruſhed in with there bayonets fixed, and ſaid, that nothing could be determined without their conſent, which ſhould never be given to a reconciliation before they had received every farthing of their arrears. Fumel, thinking neither their number or violence ſufficient to revoke the impreſſion he had made, broke up the aſſembly, ſignifying, that he ſhould return to Vandiwaſh, and wait there three hours for their determination, before he returned to Pondicherry. Within the time the anſwer came; the ſerjeant La Joye was a ſenſible man, and diſapproving, although he commanded the revolt, prevailed on them to be content with receiving ſix months pay immediately, the reſt in a month, and a general amneſty, ſigned by Mr. Lally, and all the members of the council of Pondicherry. Accounts were immediately begun; and, whilſt waiting for them and the return of meſſengers

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſengers from Pondicherry, the troops continued abroad with the ſame regularity as before, under his command. The pardon arrived, and the money was paid on the 21ſt in the morning, and the whole body, excepting 30 who had deſerted, marched back under the command of their former officers to Vandiwaſh, where before evening the whole camp was enlivened with dances and jollity, as if after ſome ſignal ſucceſs. 1759. October,

Mr. Buſſy, on the firſt intelligence of the revolt, reſolved to proceed no farther, until he ſaw the event. The diſcontent caught the troops he had taken with him, and he was obliged to appeaſe them by a month's pay, and then to wait, until the money to make up the ſix months, as to the reſt of the army, was remitted from Vandiwaſh; and before he reſumed his march, ſeveral incidents had happened, which neceſſitated him to change the ſtate of his detachment, and the rout he intended to take.

As ſoon as the Engliſh army, returning from their unſucceſsful attempt at Vandiwaſh, arrived at Conjeveram, 200 Europeans, with two field-pieces, 200 black horſe, and 500 Sepoys, were detached under the command of Captain More, towards the encampment of Baſſaulut Jung at Sidaporum; they were to be joined in the way by the ſix companies of Sepoys at Tripetti, by 1000 belonging to Nazeabullah at Nelore, and by the Europeans in both theſe places, who were about 70. This force was intended to follow and harraſs Baſſaulut Jung's army, if they ſhould march round to meet and join Mr. Buſſy; but it was the 15th of October before they reached Kalaſtri, where the troops from Tripetti arrived the ſame day, but thoſe from Nelore had not yet advanced. The two Polygars, Bangar Yatcham and Damerla Venkatypettah, terrified by the cavalry of Baſſaulut Jung at their borders, and doubtful of the diſtant protection of the Engliſh troops, temporized, and according to his ſummons went to his camp, accompanied by Sampetrow. This man, who has been formerly mentioned, came into the province with the Nabob Anwarodean Khan, and had ſerved as his Duan, or prime-miniſter, until his death; after which, he was ſometimes conſulted and employed, but never truſted, by Mahomedally, and had

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. October. had a little before the ſiege of Madraſs retired with his wealth, which was conſiderable, to Kalaſtri. His diſguſt to the preſent Nabob had attached him to Maphuze Khan, who ſtill continued helpleſs and diſcontented, endeavouring to keep up the diſturbances which he had created in the Tinivelly countries. An officer deputed by them both went to Baſſaulut Jung, as ſoon as it was known that he had ſeparated from his brothers, Salabadjing and Nizamally; and it is ſaid, ſeconded the advice of the French in his ſervice, to enter the Carnatic, but with very different views; for Sampetrow, who managed the intrigue, intended that Baſſaulut Jung ſhould proclaim himſelf Nabob, and appoint him his Duan; foreſeeing that the concerns of his countries nearer the Kriſtna would ſoon call him away; when he intended that Baſſaulut Jung ſhould nominate Maphuze Khan his deputy in the Carnatic, and Sampetrow continuing Duan, would, by his aſcendance over Maphuze Khan, gather the whole power of the government into his own hands. When it was objected what engagements were to be taken or kept with the French, Sampetrow ſaid, None, if poſſible, with either them or the Engliſh; but, if neceſſitated to chuſe, Maphuze Khan was at leaſt equally free from predilection to either. As a ſpecimen of his own abilities for the ſituation to which he aſpired, he perſuaded the two Polygars to make each of them a preſent of 40,000 rupees in ready money, and added the ſame ſum of his own. This aſſiſtance was very much wanted, and gave recommendation to his counſel, of which he was expecting the effect, when an officer of the firſt diſtinction in Salabadjing's court, and the confident of Nizamally, arrived in the camp, with offers of friendſhip, reconciliation, and grants, to diſſuade Baſſaulut Jung from entering into any alliance with the French againſt the Engliſh. Nizamally foreſaw, that the ſtandard of his brother, as the ſon of Nizamalmuluck, with the force he commanded, and his reſources, if acting in conjunction with the French in the Carnatic, might turn the fortune of the war in their favour; and, in their ſucceſs, he ſaw and dreaded, with abomination, the reſtoration of Mr. Buſſy to the councils of Salabadjing, as the ruin of his own ambition. Baſſaulut Jung inclined to the advice of Sam-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

petrow, and would probably have advanced into the plains of the Carnatic, with equal profeſſions to the French and Engliſh, if the Engliſh troops had not arrived as they did at Kalaſtri. Their appearance diſconcerted him the more, becauſe the commander of the French troops in his army, and the agent deputed to him from Pondicherry, had, with as much confidence as imprudence, aſſured him, before he croſſed the Pennar, that Mr. Buſſy would join him at Sydaporum on the 1ſt of October. It was now the 19th, and Baſſaulut Jung, ſo long diſappointed, would not at length believe that Mr. Buſſy had even left Pondicherry; when reports arrived of the revolt at Vandiwaſh; on which, he beat his great drum, recroſſed the Pennar, and marched to the N. W. into the country of Cudapah, towards the capital of the ſame name. The French troops accompanied him, diſtreſſed for neceſſaries; but their officers prevailed on him to requeſt of Mr. Buſſy, that he would immediately advance and join him in Cudapah. Mr. Buſſy received this intelligence on the 24th, and ſet out the ſame day; but, as more than half the way he had to paſs was through the mountains, he took with him only three companies of Sepoys, 100 of the European horſe, and 200 black under a good partizan, which he had enliſted at his own expence at Arcot, becauſe thoſe he had brought from Vandiwaſh were gone off for want of pay. They marched without artillery, and with very little baggage. 1759. October.

The monſoon, with ſigns of ſtormy weather, warned Admiral Pococke to quit the coaſt: the preſidency endeavoured to perſuade him to leave ſuch of his ſhips as did not require the dock, in the bay of Trinconamalée; from whence they might return with the fair weather in January, ready to oppoſe any part of the French ſquadron, which might be ſent back expeditiouſly from the iſlands, in order to command the coaſt during the abſence of the Engliſh; but Mr. Pococke judiciouſly reſolved not to diminiſh his ſtrength, until he had rounded Ceylon, and was far enough up the Malabar coaſt to be ſure the enemy were not waiting to meet him there, under this very diſadvantage: but promiſed, as ſoon as ſecure from this event, to ſend round Mr. Corniſh's ſhips, if they ſhould join him in the way.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. October. way. On the 16th, the Revenge, which had been left cruizing to the ſouthward, came in with intelligence that ſhe had on the 8th fallen in with Mr. Corniſh's diviſion, and three Indiamen, having on board Colonel Coote, with 600 men, the remainder of his regiment, and that they were beating up to Madraſs. Mr. Pococke ſailed, with his ſquadron, at break of day on the 18th, and the ſame night met Mr. Corniſh's off Pondicherry: he immediately put ſuch of the troops as were on board the men of war into the Queenſborough frigate, and ſent her away, with the three Indiamen, to Madraſs; where they did not arrive until the 27th, taking ten days againſt the monſoon to gain what with it might have been run in as many hours. As ſoon as the troops were landed, 200 from the camp were embarked, in five Indiamen, for Bengal, with Major Calliaud, whom Colonel Clive had requeſted might be ſent to take the command of the army in that province, if Colonel Coote ſhould be detained to ſerve on the coaſt. Sixty Europeans had been ſent a few days before to Maſulipatam; but theſe detachments were partly compenſated by another exchange of priſoners with Pondicherry, from whence 170, all that remained there, were delivered, and arrived on the 17th at Madraſs.

The laſt exchange before this in Auguſt had cleared Tritchinopoly of the remainder of the French priſoners in confinement there. The numbers which, on different ſucceſſes, had been brought into the city, were 670, all taken during the campaigns of Colonel Lawrence, under the walls of the city; but only 400 were remaining to be releaſed, in the late exchanges: of the reſt moſt had died; 30 had been ſent on their offer of enliſting to ſerve with Mahomed Iſſoof in the countries of Madura and Tinivelly; and the others, who, although foreigners were not Frenchmen, had been admitted to ſerve in the garriſon of Tritchinopoly, which, the final clearance of its dungeons releaſed from the ſevereſt and moſt anxious part of their duty. The detachment of 90 men ſent from Madraſs, arrived at the city on the 26th of Auguſt. The Dutch at Negapatam would not let them land in their bounds, which obliged them to come on ſhore in the open town of Nagore, where they would have been expoſed to riſque, if

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

there had been a ſtrong force in the French fort of Karical. With this reinforcement the garriſon had 250 eſtimated Europeans, moſt of whom were invalids, deſerters, or topaſſes, and 3000 Sepoys; and the Nabob ſtill maintained his 1000 horſe, which had afforded parties ſufficient to ſecure the revenues of the diſtricts of Tritchinopoly ſouth of the Coleroon, of Seringham on the other ſide, and even farther on to Volcondah, before the detachment with Fumel had extended the authority of the French government as far as Utatoor. The intermediate villages, of which the French had lately taken poſſeſſion, had remained for many months before unmoleſted, and were flouriſhing; and, as ſoon as it was known that Fumel was returning from Volcondah to Pondicherry, Captain Joſeph Smith detached Captain Richard Smith, with 180 Europeans, four guns, 800 Sepoys, and 500 of the Nabob's horſe, to recover the country that had been loſt. They marched on the 18th of September; but had only croſſed the Coleroon, when news of the arrival of the French ſquadron at Pondicherry alarmed the Nabob ſo much, that, to quiet his apprehenſions, all the Europeans, with 600 of the Sepoys, were recalled into the city; but the horſe, with the other 200 Sepoys, went on to Utatoor. Colonel Brereton, when determined to march againſt the French at Vandiwaſh, had enjoined Joſeph Smith to undertake ſome enterprize which might draw off a part of their force from their ſtations towards the Paliar, and oblige them to detain to the ſouthward, what might be at this time in thoſe quarters: his letters arrived on the 6th of October. J. Smith had for ſome time meditated an attempt to retake Devi Cotah by ſurprize, to give the ſquadron a certain ſtation, from which they might be ſupplied with water and proviſions, without begging leave, as it were, of the Danes and Dutch. The opportunity was at this time probable; for, confiding in the remoteneſs of its ſituation from any of the Engliſh ſtations, and wanting troops in other parts, Mr. Lally had reduced the garriſon to 30 Europeans and 100 Sepoys; and the Coleroon, which diſembogueth into the ſea near Devi Cotah, was at this time full and rapid. On the night of the 9th, Captain Richard Smith, with 140 Europeans and Topaſſes, 300 Sepoys, two petards, and ſome ſcaling ladders,

1759. October.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. October. embarked in two large boats, which ſerved as ferries over the Coleroon, and thirteen of wicker, covered with leather, which are likewiſe uſed on the ſame river. Lieutenant Horne, with 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, marched two days before to Tanjore, and the Nabob's horſe, with the 200 Sepoys, advanced from Outatoor to the diſtricts of Verdachelum; all the three parties were to join, and attack Chilambarum, if the attempt on Devi Cotah ſucceeded. It was expected, that the current would carry the boats down in 60 hours, although the diſtance by the courſe of the river is 200 miles. Heavy rains commenced as ſoon as the troops were embarked, and continued this and the ſucceeding day. At the noon of the 11th they landed in an unfrequented part covered with wood to dreſs their meal and clean their arms; in the enſuing night, one of the large boats, in which was Enſign Hunterman, with half the Europeans and Topaſſes, the ſcaling ladders and petards, and ſeven of the ſmaller boats, loſt the main channel of the river, and entered into that which leads from it on the left toward Chilambarum, and ſoon after ran aground on a bank of ſand; where ſeeing nothing of the other boats, and uncertain whether they were before or behind, or whether they might not likewiſe have ſtruck on ſome ſand, Hunterman reſolved to remain where he was until day-light; before which, Captain Smith, with the reſt of the boats, was arrived at the rendezvous, five miles from Devi Cotah, and waiting for thoſe with Hunterman, which did not come up until the evening. This delay diſcovered the detachment. Nevertheleſs Captain Smith marched acroſs the land, and took poſt on the 14th, intending to eſcalade in the enſuing night. Two broad and deep channels of the Coleroon paſs along the north and ſouth ſides of the fort; the ground to the weſt was at this time a moraſs; the eaſtern face ſtanding on dry ſand, was the only part acceſſible; but had a dry ditch and glacis; both, however, ſlight. The boats carrying the troops dropt down the north channel to the ſtrand, where all landed. The Europeans were to eſcalade, the Sepoys to ſuſtain them, and no fire was to be given by any on any cauſe, before the Europeans had gained footing on the rampart. The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

moon was riſen, and the Europeans with the ladders were nevertheleſs at the foot of the wall before they were diſcovered by the garriſon, who immediately thronged and fired; which the Sepoys at the creſt of the glacis, who ſhared part of it, returned in much hurry and confuſion, and then ran away; on which Captain Smith ſeeing no farther probability of ſucceſs, ordered the Europeans to retreat likewiſe. Thirty of them had continued in the boats, unable to move with ſwelled legs, acquired by ſetting 60 hours up to their knees in water; and nine, who were foreigners, had deſerted. The next day he received intelligence of the repulſe of the Engliſh troops at Vandiwaſh, ſignified with apprehenſions of evil conſequences from the ill ſucceſs; and this news, with the miſchances of his party, and the preparation of the garriſon rendered farther perſeverance imprudent. In the morning the diſabled men were ſent off to Atchaveram, and the reſt followed in the afternoon. The ſwelling of the rivers had prevented Horne's detachment from advancing beyond Tanjore; and if they had, the news of the repulſe at Vandiwaſh, would equally have prevented the attempt on Chilambarum; and they were ordered to return to Tritchinopoly. Captain Smith followed, with his own detachment, and all the ſtores, through the country along the ſouth bank of the Coleroon, and arrived on the 24th. The ſmall boats were burnt for want of hands to carry them back, but the two larger were left to be towed up, as ſoon as the freſhes were paſſed. 1759. October.

All the revenues collected by the French government, even when their poſſeſſions were moſt extended, had never ſufficed for the expences of the field. Much ground had lately been recovered by the Engliſh; whoſe reinforcements, and their late, although unſucceſsful, attack on Vandiwaſh alarmed the country on the ſouth of the Paliar; in which many of the villagers were quitting their fields, which gave the renters ſpecious pretexts to require abatements on their leaſes from the adminiſtration of Pondicherry. No money, and many debts remained in the treaſury there; and the late revolt demonſtrated that the troops could not be truſted for the time to come any longer than they ſhould be ſtrictly paid. The only part of the pro-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. October. vince, whether under the French, the Engliſh, or the Nabob's authority, which had lately remained exempt from ravage, contributions, or military operations, was the country from Outatoor to the ſouthern diſtricts of Tritchinopoly, including the rich and fertile iſland of Seringham; where the approaching harveſt of December, which is by far the greateſt of the year, promiſed in this, a more abundant crop than uſual. The government's ſhare was valued at 600,000 rupees, and would be received in February. From theſe conſiderations Mr. Lally reſolved to take poſſeſſion of theſe countries, with a force ſufficient to keep the garriſon of Tritchinopoly within their walls. But as this could not be effected, without expoſing the ſtations and country near the Paliar to riſque, by the ſubſtraction of ſuch a number of troops as would be ſent away to the ſouthward, he meant to ſtation 800 men near Arcot, who were to move to the relief of any place that might be attacked; and, with this aſſiſtance in proſpect, he ſuppoſed that the garriſons he ſhould leave in the forts, although very ſlender, would defend themſelves to extremity, and protract the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh force, until his object to the ſouthward was accompliſhed. Mr. Deleyrit, and the Council of Pondicherry, objected to the ſeparation of the army, as fraught with the moſt dangerous conſequences. Mr. Lally imputed their repugnance to the intention he had declared of farming out the collections under his own inſpection, by which they would be deprived, as he ſuppoſed, of their uſual perquiſites; and they attributed his propenſity to the expedition to the ſame ſpirit of peculation.

To confirm the appearance of maintaining the Paliar, a detachment of 50 men of Lally's regiment attacked three companies of Sepoys, poſted in a village called Checkrimalore, ſituated on the ſouth bank of the river, in a line oppoſite to Conjeveram; but the Sepoys ſtood firm, killed five, and took three men, with an officer mortally wounded. Two companies were likewiſe poſted at Salawauk, between Outramalore and Chinglapett, of which Lieutenant Fletcher drew off one to ſtrengthen the eſcort proceeding with the laſt exchange of French priſoners to Sadraſs; on which the French guard at Outramalore drove away the other company remaining at Salawauk; but a few days

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

days after, Lieutenant Fletcher recovered this poſt. At the ſame time, parties and detachments were continually moving, to accompliſh the diſpoſitions Mr. Lally had arranged. The troops allotted for the ſouthern expedition were 900 Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, 1000 Sepoys, 200 black horſe, and ten pieces of cannon, under the command of Mr. Crillon; their rendezvous was at Thiagar, to which they reſorted from different parts by various routes, and were all aſſembled there on the eleventh of November. Neither the preſidency of Madraſs, nor Captain Smith at Tritchinopoly, obtained any certain account of their force or intentions. The Nabob's horſe, with the 500 Sepoys, which had been ſent to Verdachelum, and had done no little miſchief during their excurſion, had returned to Utatoor on the 12th, and were halting there on the 15th, when they diſcovered an advanced party of the enemy, which they ſuppoſed the whole, and immediately retreated to Pitchandah; a few hours after, the enemy came up to Samiaveram, and the next day, their horſe advanced, and reconnoitered the banks of the Coleroon, and then fell back and took poſt with the reſt in the village and pagoda of Munſurpet. The whole force was 35 Europeans, 100 Coffrees, 500 Sepoys, two guns, and ſome black horſe, commanded by a partizan and two ſubalterns; of which Joſeph Smith obtained right intelligence; and early the next morning ſent out 10 companies of Sepoys, 120 Europeans and topaſſes, ſix field-pieces, and 400 of the Nabob's horſe, under the command of his ſecond Richard Smith, and from the intimacy between them he accompanied the detachment as a volunteer. They croſſed the Caveri and Coleroon oppoſite to the city. The village of Munſurpet had rice-fields in front, through which the road onwards to the Coleroon was a cauſeway raiſed above them; ſo that the enemy had no attack to fear on this ſide, and their retreat was open to Samiaveram and Utatore. The banks of the Coleroon are ſteep and high, and the water at this time was ſo low as to run only in ſmall channels, leaving large beds of ſand, and a ſhore of it, under the banks. Three companies of Sepoys were ſent up the bank with the colours of all

1759. November.

the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. November. the companies, which they diſplayed at proper diſtances to reſemble, whilſt the main body of the detachment filed unſeen under the bank, two miles on to the left, when quitting the river, they continued their march in the bed of a water-courſe then dry, which led to the north, and brought them on two miles, ſtill undiſcovered, until they were in a line with Munſurpet, when the water-courſe turning another way the troops came out of it; and as they were aſcending a riſing ground juſt before them, within a mile and a half of Munſurpet, were for the firſt time perceived by the enemy there; whoſe confuſion was much leſs than might have been expected from the ſurprize. They got, although in hurry, their line into order, and began to retreat faſt in order to gain Samiaveram. The Nabob's horſe were detached to harraſs and impede their front, and by hard driving four of the field-pieces were brought near enough to fire upon their line of march, when they very imprudently unlimbered their guns to return this fire. Nevertheleſs the purſuit laſted four miles, when they halted in a village, to ſtand the brunt; but were ſoon beat from their guns, and the whole broke, and every man begged quarter. One officer, 15 Europeans, and 30 Coffrees, were made priſoners; moſt of the reſt of theſe troops were killed during the purſuit and fight. Some of the Sepoys were cut down in the beginning of the rout by the Nabob's horſe, who were immediately ordered to ſpare all who flung down their arms. The two guns, two tumbrils, a great quantity of ammunition, all the baggage, and an elephant, were taken. Captain Richard Smith converſing with one of the priſoners, obtained information from him of the force with Mr. Crillon, and, to his great ſurprize, that it would encamp this very evening at Utatore, and advance on the morrow. Fatiguing as the ſervice of the day had been, no time was to be loſt. The whole detachment, with their priſoners and ſpoils, returned that night to the bank of the Coleroon, and ſlept on their arms, and early the next morning began to croſs the river, in which a ſudden freſh was coming down, which obliged the latter part of the detachment to paſs in boats, and the laſt boat in which was one of the guns, was driven on a ſand, from whence it took four hours to releaſe it, and four men were drowned in the attempt;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

attempt; and by this time the foremoſt of Crillon's troops appeared on the bank of the river. The flood kept them there until the 20th, when they croſſed into the Iſland of Seringham, and encamped oppoſite to the weſt face of the pagoda, in which Captain J. Smith had ſtationed 300 Sepoys, 500 colleries armed with their long lances, and two field-pieces, with European gunners. The outward wall of the pagoda, being 40 feet high, can neither be defended nor eſcaladed; and, if battered down, which would be tedious, the ruins would be difficult to paſs. The great gateway is within, 40 feet high, 30 broad, and 40 through to the inſide of the pagoda. As it is impoſſible to weild gates of ſuch a ſurface, a wall 20 feet high had been raiſed acroſs the middle of the paſſage, and in the wall was left an opening, in which likewiſe no gate had been erected. A trench was therefore dug acroſs the paſſage in front, and a parapet was raiſed behind the opening for the field-pieces. At day-break on the 21ſt, the French advanced their heavieſt cannon, which ſoon beat down the partition-wall, and diſabled the field-pieces on the parapet. They then ran to the aſſault, and ſtormed their way in; not without much reſiſtance from the Sepoys, but very little from the colleries. Irritated by their loſs, they refuſed quarter for ſome time after all reſiſtance had ceaſed. They then turned out whom they had ſpared, when the muſketry fired upon them as they were going away, and ſome of the European horſe rode after and cut down others: but neither with the permiſſion of their officers. The garriſon of Tritchinopoly beheld this wanton cruelty from the walls; but could give no relief. Few of the Sepoys regained the city, and one of the three companies was intirely loſt. Joſeph Smith reproached Crillon ſeverely for this barbarity. 1759, November.

The preſidency, as ſoon as certified of the deſtination of this part of the French army, reſolved that the whole of their own ſhould immediately take the field. The choice of operations was left to Colonel Coote, who on the 21ſt of November came from Madraſs to Conjeveram, where the largeſt diviſion of the troops were in cantonment. Having taken the command, he immediately aſſembled a council of war, in which it was agreed, that the ſeparated and diſtant ſituations

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. November.

tions of the enemy's troops, left a fair opportunity to reduce the fort of Vandiwaſh, which it was determined to try. The troops which had landed with Colonel Coote, joined the camp at Conjeveram on the 23d; from whence Captain Preſton was ſent off the ſame day with his own company of infantry and of the pioneers, to remain at Chinglapett, in readineſs to advance with them when called for to Vandiwaſh, bringing likewiſe two eighteen-pounders and a howitz. The next evening Major Brereton proceeded with a ſtrong detachment to attack Trivatore; and on the 25th Colonel Coote with the main body advanced towards Arcot, where all the enemy's troops in the field were encamped. Theſe diſpoſitions were meant to perplex their gueſs of what blow was intended; they had moſt reaſon to expect againſt Arcot, but nevertheleſs concluded Vandiwaſh.

A party ſent forward by Major Brereton inveſted Trivatore at nine at night, but kept their guards ſo negligently, that the garriſon, which were only a company of Sepoys, eſcaped through them before morning. Major Brereton, leaving two companies of Sepoys in Trivatore, marched on with his diviſion, and arrived the next day, which was the 26th, at Vandiwaſh. Early the next morning they aſſaulted the pettah and carried it, after a ſlight reſiſtance from ſome Sepoys, but without any loſs.

Colonel Coote arrived the ſame morning with his diviſion at Arcot, where he ſaw nothing of the enemy's troops on the ground of their encampment near the town. They had ſent a detachment on the night of the 24th, preceding the morning that Colonel Coote began his march, which attacked the Engliſh poſt at Checkrimalore, where the three companies of Sepoys had juſt been reinforced, without the enemy's knowledge, with 50 Europeans from Conjeveram. Their detachment attacked before day-break of the 25th, and were repulſed, with the loſs of 20 Europeans, and their commanding officer, and retreated immediately to Chittapet; to which, as appointed the general rendezvous, the reſt of the troops in the field at Arcot were on their march in the evening of the 26th, whilſt Colonel Coote's diviſion was approaching the ground they were quitting. In the evening of the 27th, ſome hours after his arrival at Arcot, Colonel Coote received

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

an expreſs from Major Brereton of his ſucceſs on the pettah of Vandiwaſh; and immediately made a forced march towards him. The next day, he left Major Monſon to bring on the line, and proceeding with the cavalry, arrived before noon at Vandiwaſh; where Brereton had almoſt completed a battery for the two eighteen-pounders which accompanied his diviſion. It was erected in the weſtern pettah, againſt the tower and cavalier in the s. w. angle of the fort. In the night, another battery was begun near the N. W. angle of the ſouthern pettah, directly oppoſite to the ſame tower; and both were compleated before the morning; but as the two eighteen-pounders expected from Chinglapett were not arrived, two twelve-pounders brought up from the line were mounted in their ſtead. Hitherto the enemy had fired day and night from the walls, and only ſlightly wounded one man. The fire of the batteries opened with the day, which was the 29th, and the tower attacked was ſilenced, and a practicable breach made in it, before noon: when Colonel Coote ſummoned the French officer, who anſwered, that he ſhould obey the orders he had received, to defend the fort to extremity. The batteries then continued to diſmantle other parts of the defences; and in the evening Major Monſon came up, with the main body of the army. 1759. November.

In the morning, the Kellidar ſent ſome of his officers and ſervants, to ſtipulate for his own ſecurity in the event. Colonel Coote pledged himſelf to continue him in the fort, and in the rent of the diſtricts, as a dependent of the Company, if he would, with his own troops, ſeize, and deliver up thoſe he had admitted belonging to the French; but inſiſted on a poſitive anſwer by two in the afternoon; at which hour no anſwer came; but a little after, the French ſoldiers appeared on the walls, and called out, that they would deliver up the fort. Colonel Coote chanced to be at the battery, and immediately ordered a company of Sepoys to advance, and take poſſeſſion of the gateway; who when they came there, were told that the key was with the Kellidar. This baulk might have produced untoward conſequences, if Colonel Coote, at the ſame time that he ſent the Sepoys to the gate, had not advanced himſelf with another company to the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. November. breach, which they entered without oppoſition; and being immediately followed by ſome of the officers with the picquet, no reſiſtance was attempted in any part of the fort. The troops belonging to the French were five ſubaltern officers, 63 private Europeans, and 100 Sepoys; the Kellidar's, 500 horſemen and foot. In this ſucceſs, not a man of the Engliſh troops was killed, and only five were wounded. The Engliſh forces had thrice before been againſt this place, and in the laſt were repulſed, as we have lately ſeen, with as much loſs as they had ſuffered in any action in theſe wars. The Kellidar had ſigned the treaty, juſt as the troops entered; but his importance in the province, his relation to the family of Chundaſaib, his long connexion with the French government, and his inveterate enmity to the Nabob Mahomedally, weighed unjuſtly more than the reſpect due to a contract of which he was fulfilling his part. He was brought to Madraſs, behaved haughtily, and would give no account of his treaſures, which he had ſent away to Coilas Guddy, a fort on one of the higheſt hills near Velore, in which reſided the widow of Subderally Cawn. The Nabob ſaid, that the making him priſoner was of more importance than the reduction of the fort, but offered to releaſe him for ten lacks of rupees.

The French troops in the field had made no motion from Chittapet to interrupt the attack; and, as their inaction rendered it unneceſſary to march againſt them, Colonel Coote reſolved to attack Carangoly, before they were reinforced ſufficiently to riſque an engagement. Carangoly is ſituated 35 miles w. s. w. from Vandiwaſh, 12 to the ſouth a little weſterly from Chinglapett, and 18 from Sadraſs and the ſea. The fort is large, having four not very unequal ſides, of which the circumference is 1500 yards. It is built of ſtone, and has, before the main wall and the towers, a parapeted fauſebray, and a wet ditch. The four ſides nearly face to the cardinal points of the compaſs; a pettah, ſeparated from the fort by an eſplanade, and extending in a curve, intirely enveloped the north, and part of the weſt and eaſt faces of the fort. As the weakeſt part, becauſe neareſt to the oppoſite pettah, the French had thrown up a glacis before the north front, but had not completed it before the tower in the N. E. angle.

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December.

The army, by detachments, entered the pettah, on the 4th of December, and were expoſed to ſome fire from the fort, which killed a grenadier. The attack was confined to the north front, which, beſides the two round towers in the angles, had the uſual voluminous defences of a gateway, and a ſquare tower on each hand of it; in all five projections. On the 6th the army had finiſhed, and began to fire from, a battery of two eighteen-pounders, oppoſite the ſquare tower next the round one in the angle on the left of this front. One of the guns fired to breach in the angle of the curtain on the left of the ſquare tower, and the other to take off the flanking fire of the round: but the fire of the fort was much ſuperior; for beſides ſeveral old guns long belonging to the fort, the French had nine excellent pieces well mounted, which they brought to this face; and embraſures not only in the gate-way, but in the two towers on the right of it, commanded the battery; to oppoſe which another battery for two guns was raiſed on the left of the firſt, which opened on the 7th in the morning, and the eight-inch howitz was planted in the N. W. part of the pettah, which firing dead ſhells in recochet infiladed in its whole length the rampart of the front attacked. At noon of this day the breach appeared practicable, and Colonel Coote ſummoned the commandant, Colonel O Kenelly, an Iriſhman, and an officer of reputation in Lally's regiment, ſignifying that, if he perſiſted, the garriſon would be expoſed to the ſame treatment as had been inflicted on the troops taken by aſſault at Seringham. O Kenelly anſwered, that, as the letter was not directed in French, he had not opened it; and as ſoon as the trumpet who brought it had reached the pettah, recommenced the fire. It continued hotly on the 8th and 9th; when Colonel Coote advanced a zig-zag from the breaching battery. On the 10th in the morning, there only remained ſhot for two hours; and more had been ſent for from Chinglapett; but before the batteries ceaſed, a flag of truce, little expected, appeared on the walls. Time was at this time of more importance than any thing but the diſgrace of a repulſe, and Coote granted almoſt all that was aſked. The garriſon, which conſiſted of 100 Europeans, including officers, marched out with their arms, two rounds

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. November. a man, ſix days proviſions, colours flying, and drums beating: the Sepoys were diſarmed, but likewiſe ſet free. Four of the nine guns belonging to the French had been diſmounted, two Europeans were killed, and five dangerouſly wounded. The Sepoys had ſuffered more. The loſs of the Engliſh troops was lieutenant Campbell of the artillery; a grenadier, a Sepoy, and a Topaſs mortally wounded.

On the 12th, the army encamped again at Vandiwaſh; where they were joined the ſame day by Captain More, with his detachment from the northward. Theſe troops had advanced, accompanied by thoſe at Tripetti as far as Nelore, and were joined on the road by the party of Europeans ſtationed there with lieutenant Elliot; but the troops of Nazeabullah although ready had not ſtirred a ſtep from the walls; he nevertheleſs pretended that the dread of his preparations had been the principal cauſe of Baſſaulut Jung's retreat out of the Carnatic. All alarms having ceaſed in this part of the country, Captain More ſent back Elliot's party to Nelore, and thoſe which had come from Tripetti, and returned with his own diviſion by the way of Tripaſſore to Conjeveram.

Colonel Coote, when marching againſt Vandiwaſh, had ordered Captain Wood, if to be done with ſafety, to advance from Covrepauk, and take poſt in the city of Arcot, in order to prevent the French garriſon in the fort there from collecting proviſions. Wood arrived in the town on the 28th, with 300 Sepoys, 50 Europeans, and 50 black horſe, who, without the leaſt oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the Nabob's palace and the adjacent ſtreets, although not half a mile from the fort; where they obliged the French renter and the principal inhabitants to redeem the reſt of their property, by furniſhing at the market-price a large quantity of rice, of which the ſcarcity was encreaſing every day by a general failure of the harveſt in this part of the country. Captain More's detachment was ordered to join Captain Wood's on their return, and both to make preparations for the attack of the fort of Arcot, againſt which Colonel Coote intended to march as ſoon as he had reduced Carangoly. They had collected faſcines and other materials, and had even begun to conſtruct one of the batteries, when they were obliged to deſiſt,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

desist, and retire, on the 9th, by the approach of Mr. Bussy returning from the northward with a much larger force than had accompanied him out of the province. 1759. December.

After fifteen days march, and three of halt, Mr. Bussy, with his detachment, arrived on the 10th of November at Bassaulut Jung's camp, which was lying on a plain, six miles from the city of Cudapah. The distance from Arcot in the direct line is 110 miles, nearly north; but 300 by the road, which winds more than two thirds of the way along the valleys of rocky mountains. The French detachment with Bassaulut Jung, the Europeans as well as the Sepoys, were, for want of money, in want even of food; and to maintain them, their officers had sold every thing of their own, but their cloaths; from similar distresses, although not so severe, the troops of Bassaulut Jung were ready to revolt. His proposals to Mr. Bussy were, "that the French should regard him as the absolute "master of the province of Arcot, should surrender to his authority "all the countries of which they were in possession, whether in this "province or in the dependencies of Tritchinopoly, and he would "account with them for one-third of the produce; but whatsoever "might hereafter be conquered, should become entirely his own, free "of this deduction. All affairs and tributes were to be regulated by "the Duan he should appoint. The French were to swear they would "assist him against Nizamally, if he should enter the Carnatic; "with whom they should make no treaty without the participation "of Bassaulut Jung; and, after they had conquered or made peace "with the English, should furnish him with a body of troops, to "make war on Nizamally. After the peace, he was to be put in "full possession of the whole Carnatic, and its dependencies, ac-"cording to the ancient usages, when the French were no longer "to be entitled to any part of the revenues. He might return "into the Decan, whensoever he pleased; and, during his absence "from his capital of Adoni, the French were to furnish a detach-"ment of 300 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, with artillery, ammu-"nition, and stores, to garrison this place; and the expence of this "body of troops might be deducted out of his share of the revenues

"of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December.

"of the Carnatic. As his troops were unpaid, and ſince the diſaſter "of Nazirjing were afraid of ſerving in the Carnatic, Mr. Buſſy "ſhould immediately lend him four lacks of rupees to be diſtributed "amongſt them as the only means of engaging them to march. If "this agreement ſhould not take effect after his arrival at Arcot, he "and his army ſhould be reconducted out of the province with "friendſhip and good faith." The tenor of theſe terms bore the ſtrongeſt marks of Sampetrow's advice: Mr. Buſſy anſwered them by other propoſals, which left the iſſue of every one made by Baſſaulut Jung uncertain, and liable to future diſcuſſions and arrangements. The perſonal conferences only widened the difference, by diſcovering more clearly to each the views of the other; but Baſſaulut Jung took no perſonal diſguſt to Mr. Buſſy, and at his ſolicitation iſſued patents ſubjecting, at leaſt in words, the whole province of Arcot to the government of Mr. Lally, and enjoining all the chiefs and feudatories to pay him the uſual tributes and obeiſance. In the ſame plain where Baſſaulut Jung and Buſſy were encamped, were likewiſe lying two other conſiderable bodies of troops, the one a detachment of 3000 Morattoes appointed to guard that part of the territory of Cudapah, which had been ceded the year before the laſt to the Morattoe juriſdiction; the other was a body of 2500 Pitan horſe, belonging to the Nabob of Cudapah. Mr. Buſſy, by former intercourſes, knew the officers of both. The Pitans lent him money, which enabled him to inliſt 100 of their horſe, the ſame number of Baſſaulut Jung's, and 200 of the Morattoes; and to ſupply the immediate wants of the French troops attending Baſſaulut Jung, and his own detachment, which he now joined into one body under his own command. This whole force collected, conſiſted of 350 European infantry, 100 European horſe, 2500 Sepoys, of which 500 were Arabs or Abyſſinians, 800 black horſe, and 10 pieces of cannon; with which he marched away on the 16th of November, five days after his arrival, returning by the ſame way he had come. On the 10th of December, he arrived at Arcot, from whence his approach had obliged Captain Moore and Wood to return with their detachments to Covrepauk, and from hence

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

hence Captain Moore proceeded with his to the army at Carangoly, to which it added 180 Europeans, 1200 Sepoys, and 160 black horſe. The Europeans replaced the number which were left in garriſon at Vandiwaſh and Carangoly, and the Sepoys were more. 1759. December.

The loſs of theſe places was the ſevereſt reproach of the error which Mr. Lally had committed in detaching ſo great a part of his force to the ſouthward: of which he himſelf was ſo ſenſible, that he juſtified it only by the diſtreſs to which he was reduced for money to ſupply the immediate pay and ſubſiſtance of the army. He now ſent expreſſes to recall them all, excepting 300 Europeans, which were to be left in the pagoda of Seringham. The main body of the French troops remained waiting their arrival at Chittapet. Mr. Buſſy left his force about the town of Arcot, and went himſelf to Pondicherry. The horſe he brought ſpread themſelves, and committed every kind of ravage and deſtruction as far as Conjeveram, between the Paliar and the mountains. A body of Morattoes belonging to Morarirow had been for ſome time at the paſs of Cudapanatam, w. of Velore; they were commanded by Innis Khan, whom we have ſeen ſerving in the former wars of Tritchinopoly. Both Madraſs and Pondicherry had agents in their camp, treating for their ſervice. The Engliſh, Morarirow knew, had moſt money; and pretending, that he had incurred great charges in preparing a body of troops at their requiſition, to march to their aſſiſtance before the ſiege of Madraſs, for which he had not been paid, the terms he now demanded were peremptory, and the rates high. They endeavoured to bargain lower; and he, as the ſhorteſt means, in his own politics, to make them conclude immediately, accepted 20,000 rupees from the French agents, and ſent a thouſand of his horſe through the hills, who did not join their camp, but in two days were on the Engliſh ground between Arcot and Conjeveram.

Colonel Coote, with the army, marched from Vandiwaſh on the 13th, and encamped the next evening at Papantanguel, a town ſix miles forward in the road from Trivatore to Arcot; in which ſituation, half a day's march enabled him to interſect the enemy's troops moving to join each other, whether from Arcot,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December. or from Chittapet; but none appeared; for few of the returning troops from Seringham, and none they expected from Pondicherry, were as yet come up; and the diviſion remaining at Arcot was too weak to venture, before the others were advanced near enough, to enſure the junction. On the 16th, the army marched, and encamped at Muleawady, ſix miles nearer Arcot, but ſtill to the ſouth of the Paliar. By this time, the horſe brought by Mr. Buſſy, and the Morattoes let looſe by Morarirow, were committing every kind of ravage and deſolation in the country to the north of this river, and as far as within 20 miles of Madraſs. Thouſands of cattle were ſwept off in as many days, which they ſold to the firſt purchaſer, at ſeven or eight for a rupee, and then made them again the booty of the next excurſion. With this experience, the inhabitants would no longer redeem them; after which, no ſubmiſſions exempted themſelves from the ſword, and all abandoned the villages and open country, to ſeek ſhelter in the woods, forts, and hills neareſt their reach. Not a man ventured himſelf or his bullock with a bag of rice to the camp; which, for three days, were totally deprived of this ſtaple food. Exceſſive rains fell during the 17th and all the next day, which the tents could not reſiſt; and from the neceſſity of affording the troops ſome repoſe, Colonel Coote marched from Muleawady on the 19th, and put the whole army into cantonments in the fort of Covrepauk, and the villages adjacent. The next day, he went to Madraſs, to confer with the Preſidency on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken againſt the force which had been ſent to recover the countries of Seringham and Tritchinopoly: for intelligence had not yet been acquired, that the greateſt part of them were recalled.

The reduction of Vandiwaſh, notwithſtanding the loſs of Seringham, revived the reputation of the Engliſh arms in the ſouthern countries. The king of Tanjore ſent horſe and foot, and Tondiman and the two Moravers their colleries, to the Nabob at Tritchinopoly. Mr. Lally's orders, recalling the troops, were immediately obeyed. On the 9th, 600 European foot, and 100 horſe, left the pagoda, and recroſſed the Coleroon. As ſoon as they were gone, Capt.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December.

Joſeph Smith reſolved to circumſcribe the troops which remained, as much as the ſtrength of his garriſon allowed, and detached 500 Sepoys, and as many Colleries, to inveſt Cortalum, a mud fort on the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, 15 miles w. of Tritchinopoly, which were followed the next day by 300 more Sepoys, two field-pieces, two cohorns, and 50 Europeans, under the command of Enſign Morgan. The fort, in which were ſome Sepoys, capitulated as ſoon as the cannon appeared. Enſign Morgan then ſent half his detachment to attack Totcum, another fort like, and almoſt oppoſite to Cortalum, in which were 10 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys, who defended themſelves until Morgan came up with the reſt of his force, when they ſurrendered. From Totcum, Morgan marched to Samiaveram, in order to join another detachment from the city, when both were to proceed againſt Utatoor. Early on the 16th, Joſeph Smith received intelligence, that a convoy of ammunition, guarded by a few Sepoys, were on the road from Utatoor to Seringham; and at the ſame time, a party of 40 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys ſent from Seringham to join and aſſure the arrival of this convoy, were perceived croſſing the Coleroon; on which he detached 40 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 200 of the Nabob's horſe, and ſome Colleries, acroſs both rivers, under the command of Enſign Bridger, with orders to proceed to Samiaveram, where he was to be joined by Morgan's party from Totcum, and both united, were to take poſt at Samiaveram in order to intercept the return of the enemy's detachment. At the ſame time, Captain Richard Smith marched out of the city with 100 Europeans, 300 Sepoys, and three guns, and took poſt on the ſouthern bank of the Caveri oppoſite to the Pagoda of Seringham; where he ſoon after knew, by a ſignal from the rock of Tritchinopoly, that 100 more Europeans had marched from the pagoda, and were paſſing the Coleroon; on which, as had been concerted, he croſſed the Caveri, and kept up the hotteſt fire he could againſt the gate of the pagoda, which was returned from various ſcaffoldings within, and Captain Smith was wounded; but ſtill perſiſting, the enemy, as had been foreſeen, recalled their detachment. Soon after Enſign Bridger's ſignals gave token that

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December. he was in poſſeſſion of the pagodas at Samiaveram; but that Enſign Morgan's party was not yet come up. The next morning, the French detachment which firſt marched from Seringham, returned with the convoy from Utatoor, and advanced boldly to the upper pagoda of Samiaveram; near which, enſign Bridger was prepared to oppoſe them. On the firſt firing, moſt of the coolies threw down their burthens of ammunition, and ran away; on which the troops, with the reſt, took poſt in the leſſer pagoda, and, ſhutting the gates, prepared for defence. But in leſs than an hour, enſign Morgan, with the whole of his force from Totcum, appeared, and the enemy ſurrendered. They were a captain, a lieutenant, and 38 grenadiers. Of Bridger's detachment, ſeveral Sepoys, with a Serjeant of one of the companies, and three Europeans, were killed. Theſe operations were of conſequence; for this being the ſeaſon of harveſt, and the corn ready to reap, the renters, as uſual, yielded the government's ſhare, which amounted to 100,000 rupees, to the ſtronger force. The intelligence of theſe ſucceſſes had not reached Madraſs, when Colonel Coote arrived there from the camp, but advices were received that the greateſt part of the French force were returning from the ſouthward; nevertheleſs, the preſidency were much inclined to indulge the anxious and repeated requeſts of the Nabob, to reinforce Tritchinopoly with 200 Europeans, in order to retake Seringham and Utatoor, and to recover the countries which had lately been loſt, with ſo much detriment to his revenues; but the arguments of Colonel Coote, confirmed by the recent example of the ſame error committed by Mr. Lally, and its conſequences, evinced the impropriety of diminiſhing the army at this time, when it ſeemed that the French were collecting their whole force, in order to riſque the fate of the Carnatic in a general battle. His reaſons prevailed; and he returned on the 25th to Covrepauk, where, during his abſence, nothing had happened, but a ſkirmiſh between the black horſe of the army, which were encreaſed to 700, and an equal body of Morattoes, whom they beat off. On the 24th, a detachment of 40 black horſe, with ſome Sepoys of the garriſon at Vandiwaſh,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Vandiwaſh, ſurpriſed a party of the enemy's Sepoys, quartered in a village called Niconum, 15 miles to the ſouth, of whom they killed twelve, and diſperſed the reſt. 1759. December.

The main body of the French army from Chittapett, encreaſed by the returning troops from Seringham, and whatſoever more could be ſpared from the garriſons to the ſouth of the Paliar, had advanced to Arcot, ſoon after the Engliſh filed off to Covrepauk. Thus their whole force, but ſtronger than before, was once again aſſembled; and they encamped along the ſouth ſide of the river quite up to the ſuburbs of the city. On the 26th, Colonel Coote moved the Engliſh army to Chineſimundrum, a village ſix miles from Covrepauk, and five from Arcot, where the ground afforded a very advantageous encampment; for a large tank extended in front, a moraſs on each hand, and the only acceſs in front and rear was by a cauſe-way. On the 29th, the Generals Lally and Buſſy came with a party of horſe to reconnoitre the camp, and a ſkirmiſh paſſed between them and the out-poſts. The next day, the greateſt part of their horſe appeared again, and, after ſeveral motions, made an attack on a guard of Sepoys, poſted in a village called Trimetcherry, about a mile in front of the camp, and cut down ſeveral of them in the ſtreet; but the reſt kept their ground in the houſes, and revenged the loſs by killing ſeveral of the horſe, who, ſeeing other troops advancing, retired. On the 31ſt, three companies of Sepoys croſſed the river, and, at three in the morning, entered, and beat up the camp of the Morattoes, which lay on the right of the French encampment. All fled, as uſual when ſurprized; but of the few ſhot which were returned, one chanced to wound Enſign Meredith, who commanded the party; after which, the Sepoys could not be prevailed upon to purſue their ſucceſs by deſtroying the animals and baggage. Thus cloſed the year 1759, the third of this dubious war, with the two armies in ſight of each other, but neither ready for immediate deciſion; for the Engliſh were afraid of the ſuperiority of the enemy's cavalry, and were waiting in expectation, not only of drawing off the body of the Morattoes, which were with them, but likewiſe of being joined by 2000 more

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December. who were ſtill remaining with Innis Khan on the other ſide of the mountains. On the other hand, Mr. Lally was likewiſe negotiating for the ſame aſſiſtance, and ſtill miſtruſted the attachment of his European troops, although equal in number to the Engliſh; and waited for an addition, by the return of what remained of the detachment which had been ſent in April, under the conduct of Mr. Moracin, to reinforce Maſulipatam.

Not venturing to land the troops, as Maſulipatam was taken, Mr. Moracin ſailed away on the 18th of April, and in five days arrived at Ganjam, which is ſituated at the northern extremity of the Chicacole province on the ſea. The French had long kept a trading-houſe here, and were connected with Narraindeu, the principal Rajah in this part of the province: the fort and wood of his reſidence is called Moherry, and is ſituated twelve miles from the ſea-ſhore, and thirty miles w.s.w. from Ganjam. Beſides Moherry, he had ſix or ſeven other forts, which lie more inland, and farther to the north. His conſtant force was 3000 men, beſides which he occaſionally hired from the other polygars. The Rajah Vizeramrauze, during his adminiſtration under Mr. Buſſy in the province of Chicacole, had by ſome ſeverities provoked the hatred of Narraindeu; which devolved, after the death of Vizeramrauze, on his ſucceſſor, Anunderamrauze, who, as we have ſeen, had invited and joined the Engliſh, whom nevertheleſs Narraindeu had leſs reaſon to diſlike than the French, under whoſe authority the vexations he reſented from Vizeramrauze had originated. Nevertheleſs Moracin propoſed, "that their forces united ſhould march firſt againſt the "Engliſh ſettlement of Vizagapatam, and then againſt Viziana-"garum, the principal reſidence of Anunderauze. If ſucceſsful "thus far, they were to go on, until joined by the French army of "obſervation, which was with Salabadjing, when Maſulipatam was "ſtormed: probably Salabadjing would aſſiſt in retaking this place, "and Narraindeu, in reward for his ſervices, was to be placed in all "the advantages poſſeſſed by Anunderauze." Narraindeu accepted the terms, but with no intention of proſecuting the expedition, any farther than the continuance of his own advantages.

But

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December.

But the French troops, having expected to land at Masulipatam, were not provided with equipments for long marches, which it required much time to prepare at Ganjam. There were in the detachment 43 English soldiers, who had been taken prisoners, and had entered into the French service, on condition of being only employed on this expedition. Thirty of these men together made their escape soon after they landed, and, through many hardships, found their way to Cuttack in Orixa in the middle of May, where they were relieved by the English resident, Mr. Grey, who sent them to Balasore, from whence they were conveyed to Calcutta. Seven more arrived at Cuttack in June, and afterwards came in several other deserters of other nations. It was the beginning of July, before Mr. Moracin was ready to march; by which time, he had expended all his ready money, and the subsistance of the detachment depended on the sale of some trumpery commodities, and the precarious faith of Narraindeu; who, however, accompanied them with his troops. After three or four marches, they were distressed to extremity for provisions, which neither the army of Narraindeu, nor the inhabitants of his towns, would supply without money. At Burrampoor, a town in the hills, six miles before you arrive at Mogherry, the French soldiers entered the houses to get victuals; a fray ensued, and blood was shed on both sides. Narraindeu, with all his troops, immediately left them; and summoned the assistance of the neighbouring chiefs. The French detachment, having no alternative, marched back towards Ganjam. Narraindeu, and his allies, met them in the way, and stood what they called a battle; but the European arms, as usual, easily dispersed them; and the detachment took post in Munsurcottah, a town situated eight miles from Ganjam, in a country abounding in flocks and grain, where they collected provisions, although surrounded by the enemy; with whom they commenced a negociation, of which Narraindeu seemed to be as desirous as themselves. To conclude it, one of the French officers, named Darveu, went to Narraindeu in his camp, but accompanied by 40 Europeans, and the same number of Sepoys. On their return, they were attacked by the whole force they had visited,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December. ſited, and all the Europeans excepting three were killed: the Sepoys, not being ſo much the object of this treachery, ſuffered leſs. Mr. Moracin immediately returned to Ganjam, and encamped within and round the French factory, which is on the river-ſide; and threw up works ſufficient to protect his detachment from attacks through the avenues of the town, which Narraindeu, and his allies, ſurrounded. Of the two ſhips which brought the detachment, the Harlem had been diſpatched to Arracan for proviſions, and the Briſtol had been driven aſhore in a hard gale of wind, before the troops marched to Burrampore. There was on the ſtocks on the river-ſide a large ſnow; and in the river, ſeveral ſmaller veſſels belonging to the factory, in which they intended to return to Pondicherry with the northern monſoon, after the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould have quitted the coaſt. In the mean time, they continued for many days, ſkirmiſhing with the troops of Narraindeu, who at length offered to treat, which produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities, but no terms of reconciliation; for the demands of the French were in proportion to the injuries they had received; and Narraindeu only meant to ſave the expences of the field, with ſecurity that the French troops would not make incurſions into his country, after his own ſhould have returned to their quarters. This they promiſed, and remained quiet.

In the mean time letters from Narraindeu to Colonel Clive arrived in Bengal, requſting him to ſend a body of Europeans, which, joined by his own force, might eaſily take or deſtroy the whole of the French detachment with Moracin. The report of the deſerters confirmed the feaſibility of this project. But the dubious ſtate of the Engliſh affairs, and the decreaſe of their military force in Bengal ſcarcely permitted any farther diminution of it: however, Colonel Clive, with his uſual ſpirit of enterprize, determined to try the experiment. Sixty Europeans, half of them artillery men, were embarked on the Hardwicke, which had 100 Europeans as her crew. The ſhip ſailed out of the river on the 30th of September, and on the 7th of October anchored in the road of Ganjam under Dutch colours. Two French officers immediately came on board to enquire news, and were detained priſoners. Captain Samſon then went aſhore under

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

der a paſſport to Moracin, magnified the force he had brought, ſaid more was coming, and propoſed that he ſhould ſurrender his whole detachment to avoid unneceſſary bloodſhed. But Moracin had obtained juſter intelligence. Samſon then landed meſſengers which got to Narraindeu, who being by this time certified that the French detachment would ſoon go away of their own accord, had no farther motive or inclination to renew hoſtilities againſt them: but nevertheleſs promiſed Sampſon that he would ſoon appear with his army, and again inveſt the town. A civil intercourſe of meſſages continued between them until the 20th, when Sampſon being convinced that he intended to do nothing, ſailed away for Bengal. 1759. December.

In the beginning of November, Mr. Moracin embarked from Ganjam with 40 Europeans in a ſloop, and on the 11th landed at Cocanara, which lies cloſe to the ſea, on the right-hand of a ſmall river, about 20 miles N. E. of the eaſtern arm of the Godaveri. On this arm are ſituated the Engliſh and French factories of Ingeram and Yanam. Of the priſoners taken at Maſulipatam, moſt of thoſe who had been admitted to give their parole, had departed, and were reſiding at Yanam, waiting for embarkations to proceed to Pondicherry: and, on this pretence, went to Moracin at Cocanara, and informed him fully of the ſtate of affairs in this part of the country. The diſtricts from the Godaveri to Cocanara, were under the government of Juggapettyrauze, a near relation of Anunderauze. They had long been at enmity, and when Anunderauze invited the Engliſh, Jaggapetty joined the French, and with his troops accompanied them at the battle of Peddipore. After the victory Colonel Forde granted away his countries to Anunderauze, who hitherto, for want of the aſſiſtance he expected from the Engliſh, had not ventured to employ his own force to get poſſeſſion. Jaggapetty nevertheleſs expecting to be attacked by him, had kept the field on the weſtern arm of the Godaveri, and from his camp correſponded with Mr. Andrews, the Engliſh chief at Maſulipatam, to revoke the ceſſion made to his rival. His fort of Samel Cotah is only ten miles inland from Cocanara. Moracin ſent agents thither and to his camp, to propoſe an alliance, informing him of the force that was following from

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December. Ganjam, and promiſing more from Pondicherry. Jaggapetty neither concluded, nor rejected the propoſal; but neither he nor his people at Samel Cotah gave even the common aſſiſtances of the country to the troops with Moracin; who, for want of proviſions, committed violences, were reſiſted, and moſt of them were either ſeized by the officers of the diſtrict, or took ſervice with them; which reduced Moracin to re-embark on the ſloop with five or ſix, the remainder of his party; they ſailed on the 19th, and a few days after arrived at Pondicherry.

The troops remaining at Ganjam were 250 eſtimated Europeans, but of which half were Topaſſes, and 100 Sepoys. They embarked under the command of the Chevalier Poete, on the ſnow and two ſloops, rigged and manned with the ſtores and crew of the Briſtol: they arrived at Cocanara on the 19th of December; and Poete ſent aſhore fifty Europeans, and the Sepoys, to try the inclinations of Jaggapettyrauze: immediately after they landed, a hard gale of wind drove the two ſloops aſhore.

The troops ſent from Bengal with Colonel Forde had received repeated orders from this Preſidency to return thither from Maſulipatam; but they were to march overland the whole way, in order to meet, and attack Moracin's detachment, who it was ſuppoſed would be, if not at Ganjam, ſomewhere on the coaſt. The rains would not permit the Bengal troops to take the field until the beginning of November; before which, Colonel Forde had ſailed in the middle of October from Maſulipatam for Bengal, where he arrived juſt in time to render one more very important ſervice to his country. The command then devolved on Captain Fiſcher, and varying reſolutions detained the troops at Maſulipatam until the 5th of December. They were reduced from 500 Europeans, and 1500 Sepoys, to 300 of the one, and 800 of the other: the Europeans, by death and deſertion, notwithſtanding they had recruited 50 out of the priſoners; but the Sepoys, chiefly by the diſmiſſion of 500, who had ſailed with Clive on the expedition to Bengal, and were permitted to return from Maſulipatam to their homes in the Carnatic.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

natic. The waters of the Godaveri were not yet abated; near the sea are seven or eight channels between the two principal arms; and other smaller rivers coming from the Colair lake, intersect the land between the western arm of the Godaveri and Masulipatam; which render the march along the sea-shore, although shorter in distance, much more tedious than the inland road. The troops therefore returned this way, which was the same they had come, excepting, that they passed the bed of the Colair farther to the westward, where it becomes soonest dry. At Rajahmundrum they heard, that the French detachment with the Chevalier Poete had landed at Cocanara. 1759. December.

Anunderauze, on the appearance of Moracin at Cocanara a month before, had no doubt that he would be immediately joined by Jaggapettyrauze, and sent off a body of troops from Vizianagarum to protect the districts of Rajahmundrum from their inroads. On the approach of this force, Jaggapettyrauze returned with his, from the Godaveri to his fort of Samelcotah, and both were near each other, when the French troops with Poete arrived on the coast, and the English with Fischer at Rajahmundrum. The officers of Anunderauze begged assistance from Fischer, who, advising them to keep the forces of Jaggapettyrauze at bay, proceeded with his command as fast as fatigue and impediments permitted, towards Cocanara. The district for some distance round this place is covered with coconut-groves, for the shelter of the weavers; and the French troops were lying in a village at the skirt of the groves two miles from the Dutch fort, and the sea; and, for what reason is not found, Poete had not yet landed any more to reinforce the first detachment. Jaggapettyrauze was encamped five miles on their left, against whom the forces of Anunderauze were advancing, but in a different line of march, at the same time that the English troops were approaching Cocanara, who, before they came in sight of the French detachment, saw the armies of the two Rajahs skirmishing on their right; which Fischer deeming a proof that none of the French had joined Jaggapettyrauze, supposed them intent only on preserving their retreat to the sea, and sent forward Captain Yorke with the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

560

1759. December.

grenadiers and 500 Sepoys to prevent their embarkation. The French troops had gained no certain intelligence of the force with Fiſcher, and waited on their ground until they could diſtinguiſh the number of Yorke's diviſion, who when near ſent off the Sepoys to gain their flank, and haſtened up in front with the grenadiers as faſt as they could march. The French only remained to give one fire, and then ran as faſt as they could through the grove, followed almoſt at the ſame pace, to gain the Dutch factory, into which they were admitted. Yorke immediately ſurrounded the factory, which had very ſlight defences, and Fiſcher coming up in the evening with the main body, inveſted it more cloſely, and peremptorily demanded the French troops, whom, after a very formal proteſt, the Dutch agents delivered the next day, which was the 28th of December. In the enſuing night Poete ſailed with the reſt of his detachment 200 men, Europeans and Topaſſes, all in the ſnow. From Cocanara the Engliſh troops marched on to Vizagapatam, where they arrived on the 16th of January; and a few days after, all the Europeans embarked in two Engliſh ſhips proceeding to Bengal; but the Sepoys were left to purſue their route on ſhore by Ganjam and through the province of Orixa. Thus nothing remained to fear in the company's poſſeſſions and acquiſitions to the north of the Kriſtna. We ſhall now deſcribe the progreſs of their officer Mahomed Iſſoof in the countries towards Cape Comorin.

May. He arrived at Madura on the 4th of May, and had been abſent ten months. The force he left in the country, when called away, was 14 companies of Sepoys, ſix in the fort of Madura, five in Palamcotah, and three at Tinivelly. Nothing more could be expected from either of theſe bodies, than to defend the ground in ſight of the walls they garriſoned. Accordingly all the diſtricts of both provinces from the foreſt of Nattam to the gates of Travancore, lay ſubject to their contributions, or expoſed to their ravages. The declenſion of the Engliſh affairs, which began with the ſurrender of Fort St. David, (on which Mahomed Iſſoof was recalled) and continued until the French were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Madraſs, kept Maphuze Khan in continual hopes, that he ſhould be joined by a body of French troops, and eſtabliſhed

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December.

bliſhed with their aſſiſtance in the government of thoſe countries; and the adminiſtration of Pondicherry, by their letters and emiſſaries, encouraged him to think ſo. Waiting this fortune, he remained with the Pulitaver, ſtyling himſelf, and ſtyled a ſovereign; but without any other means of ſubſiſtance than what the Pulitaver choſe to ſupply, who, never regulating his money by words, ſcarcely furniſhed him with common neceſſaries. The return of Iſſoof Khan bettered his condition; as the Pulitaver was afraid he might at length liſten to a reconciliation with the Nabob, and Maphuze Khan, always governed by the love of eaſe, felt no reſentment at the humility to which he had been reduced. He preſided, at leaſt in appearance, in the councils of the eaſtern Polygars; who reſolved to meet Iſſoof with their united force, and invited the weſtern to the common defence; who having joined them againſt Palamcotah in the late diſtreſſes of the Engliſh affairs, expected no pardon, and took the field. The weſtern league conſiſted of ſix polygars: Catabominaigue, their former leader, was lately dead, and had been ſucceeded by a relation, who took as uſual the ſame name, and bore, inſtead of the indifference of his predeceſſor, an averſion to the Engliſh. Etiaporum was always the next to him in importance, and now in activity.

The force which accompanied Mahomed Iſſoof from Conjeveram, conſiſted only of ſix companies of Sepoys, and 60 horſe, but he had on his march requeſted troops from Tondiman and the two Moravers, with whom he had always continued on good terms, and 3000 men, horſe, colleries and Sepoys, from the three polygars joined him on his arrival at Madura, where he nevertheleſs immediately began to make farther levies, and by ſhifting and garbling out of all that were with him, compoſed a body of 300 horſe, and 700 Sepoys, who had ſeen ſervice, which he ſent forward to ravage the diſtricts of Etiaporum, where they were to be joined by three of the companies of Sepoys from the garriſon of Palamcotah, which had reſtored its loſſes by new levies. This body of troops were to maintain their ground until the laſt extremity, in order to prevent the junction of the weſtern with the troops of the eaſtern polygars, until Mahomed Iſſoof himſelf could follow with the main

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December. body from Madura, where he was under the neceſſity of remaining a while longer.

The Colleries of Nattam extend 40 miles, from the diſtricts of the leſſer Moraver to the eaſtern mountains. Their foreſt ſkirts the Madura country to the north; and, where oppoſite, is within twelve miles of the city. It was they who attacked the troops with Colonel Heron in 1755. They are much wilder than the colleries to the North of them in the territory of Tritchinopoly, and differ ſtill more from thoſe of Madura and Tinivelly, having neither forts nor military array. They acknowledge no conſiderable chiefs, and live in ſmall parcels, connected by choice or relation; ſo that their diſputes rarely exceed the private revenge of individuals. They regard all other people as booty; but robbery amongſt themſelves as the greateſt crime: and any one of them eſcorting a ſtranger is a ſufficient protection againſt all the reſt; but without this ſafeguard, which is always paid for, the traveller riſques his life at every ſtep. Contemptible in the open field, where they rarely truſt themſelves, they are much more dextrous than any of theſe races in the practices of ambuſcade and theft. They had plundered the country up to the gates of Madura of all the cattle, robbed all the villages, and continued to waylay whatſoever parties were returning to the city with proviſions from other quarters. As all of the troops with Mahomed Iſſoof were fit for hoſtilities againſt ſuch an enemy, he reſolved to employ them in attacking their haunts, whilſt his levies were forming to better diſcipline. He, however, attended the ſervice himſelf, which appeared more like one of the general huntings peculiar to Aſia, than a military expedition. Avenues were cut into the foreſt, and the inhabitants ſhot as they fled; but

June. ſome were reſerved to be releaſed, or executed, on occaſion. A month was, however, employed before he had completed this revenge, and reduced them to beg quarter, and pay cattle, their only money, moſtly collected by theft; which, with others he procured, to the amount of 1000 beeves, and 2000 ſheep, were ſent to Tritchinopoly, from whence they were forwarded at different times by Captain Joſeph Smith to the ſea-coaſt, for the uſe of the ſquadron, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and enabled them to keep the windward ſtation, without conſuming their own ſtock of proviſions. 1759. December.

On the ſecond of July he began his march from Madura, with 600 horſe, 3000 Sepoys, and 2400 other foot belonging to Tondiman, and the Moravers, in all 6000 men. His artillery was one eighteen-pounder, and nine from ſix and lower. He was ſcant of powder, having none but what he made himſelf; for, ſince the deſtruction of the mill at Madraſs by Mr. Lally, the preſidency could not ſupply their troops and garriſons in the Carnatic from their own produce; but borrowed from the ſquadron, and received from Bombay. The muſkets of his Sepoys were old, infirm, of various nations, and not ſufficient in number, and were ſupplied by fowling-pieces, and any fuzees he could collect. He was likewiſe in want of flints, which are ſubſtituted in ſome parts of India by agate; of which there is none in theſe countries. All theſe wants he repreſented to the preſidency, and eſpecially requeſted two eighteen-pounders, and two field-pieces of ſix, with a full ſupply of ſhot. *July.*

His firſt march was to Calancandan. He had taken this fort in 1756; but after his departure for the Carnatic, the Pulitaver and Vadagherri had extended their acquiſitions thus far, and placed their guard in Calancandan. It was a mud fort, without cannon, and, after a ſlight reſiſtance, ſubmitted to his. From hence he proceeded to take up the large detachment he had ſent forward againſt Etiaporum; who, by continually ravaging the diſtricts of this polygar, kept his troops on their own ground, and deterred both him and Catabominaigue from marching acroſs the country to join the Pulitaver: having ſufficiently conſtrained theſe chiefs, the detachment proceeded againſt Coilorepettah, which ſtands nearly midway in the ſtreighteſt road between Madura and Tinivelly, about 50 miles from each. This fort had likewiſe been ſtormed in June 1756 by Mahomed Iſſoof, and carried with conſiderable loſs. The polygar was then taken priſoner; whether reſtored or ſucceeded by another, we do not find; but the place was at this time in the hands of one who defended it as well; for 100 of the Sepoys were

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

564
1759.
December.
July.

killed and wounded in the attack, which laſted three days, and then the polygar made his eſcape by night. The fort was immediately razed to the ground, after which the detachment joined the main body with Mahomed Iſſoof, and the whole proceeding by the way of Gangadaram, arrived at Tinivelly in the middle of July. They were ſcarcely arrived, when Maphuze Khan, whoſe mind always wavered with every change of circumſtances, wrote a letter to Mahomed Iſſoof, offering to quit his allies, and proceed to the Carnatic; provided he was allowed a ſuitable jaghire for his maintenance: He even aſked a ſafeguard to come to Tinivelly. Mahomed Iſſoof, without authority, aſſured him that his requeſts ſhould be complied with; and recommended them to the Preſidency, by whom they were referred to the Nabob.

The midland country, for thirty miles to the north of the town of Tinivelly, is open and of great cultivation, and, lying between the eaſtern and weſtern Polygars, had been the favourite field of their depredations. The principal ſtation from which the eaſtern made their inroads into theſe diſtricts was the fort and wood of Wootamally, ſituated 35 miles N. N. W. of Tinivelly. The Polygar, grown rich by eaſy plunder, had many colleries, who were well armed; and Mahomed Iſſoof ſoon after his arrival at Tinivelly, marched againſt him with the greateſt part of his force, and in a few days reduced his fort, in which he placed ſome troops; and ſtationed a guard of 50 horſe, and ſome peons and colleries in a place called Shorandah, as an intermediate poſt. He was no ſooner returned to Tinivelly, than a multitude of colleries belonging to the Pulitaver and Vadgherri ſurprized the guard at Shorandah, and either killed or took all their horſes, with their riders; on which Mahomed Iſſoof detached ſeven companies of Sepoys, recovered the poſt, and remained in it, in order to protect the adjacent country.

Equal confuſion prevailed in the diſtricts to the ſouth of Tinivelly. The troops of the Maliaver, or King of Travancore, were making incurſions from their wall to ſeize the harveſts at the foot of the hills from Calacad to Cape Comorin. The variety of diſ-

tractions,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

tractions, which exiſted on every ſide, could not be all oppoſed at the ſame time, unleſs a greater army were embodied, than all the revenues of the two provinces could defray. But the king was the leaſt inveterate enemy to the Engliſh; becauſe the polygar of Vadagherri had provoked his reſentment, by continually employing his colleries to make depredations in his country on the other ſide of the mountains, through the paſs of Shencottah, which lies 15 miles to the ſouth of Vadagherri. On this ground of common enmity, Mahomed Iſſooff opened a negotiation with the king; who conſented to a conference at the gates of his country near the promontory. They met in the end of Auguſt, and the interview paſſed with much politeneſs and ſeeming cordiality. The king, at leaſt publicly, demanded nothing, and agreed to deſiſt from his inroads into the diſtricts of Tinivelly, and to act with a conſiderable force in conjunction with Mahomed Iſſoof againſt Vadagherri, and the Pulitaver. On the 3d of September, Mahomed Iſſoof ſtill remaining at the gates of Travancore, was joined by 1000 of the king's Sepoys, armed with heavy muſkets made in his own country, and diſciplined, although aukwardly, in the European manner; but they were well ſupplied with ſtores and ammunition. He then returned to Tinivelly, and marching from thence with his whole force, in deference to the king, proceeded directly againſt Vadagherri, although 20 miles beyond Nellitangaville, the reſidence of the Pulitaver: when arrived near Shencottah, he was joined by an army full as large as his own, conſiſting of 10,000 more of the King's troops of various kinds of infantry, who had marched through the paſs. This was perhaps the greateſt force that had been aſſembled for ſome centuries in this country. Vadagherri defended his woods for a day, in which about 100 men were killed and wounded on both ſides; but in the night abandoned his fort, and eſcaped away to the Pulitaver at Nellitangaville.

1759. December. *Auguſt.* *September.*

The arrival of ſuch a gueſt, who, for the firſt time, had been reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, frightened the Pulitaver; and ſet his cunning to work to divert the ſtorm from himſelf. The repulſe of the Engliſh troops at the attack of the pettah at Vandiwaſh on the 30th of September,

October.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December. October. September, was known in the country, and was believed, as the French had repreſented it, a ſignal defeat. Maphuze Khan had received letters from Baſſaulut Jung and the government of Pondicherry, which encouraged him to think, that they ſhould very ſoon overpower the Engliſh in the Carnatic, when he might expect to be ſubſtituted to his brother Mahomed Ally, who was to be depoſed from the Nabobſhip. This correſpondence, and theſe expectations, the Pulitaver communicated to the king of Travancore, and offered, if he would quit the Engliſh, and join Maphuze Caun againſt them, to give him whatſoever diſtricts in the Tinivelly country might lie convenient to his own. The King immediately expoſed theſe documents to Mahomed Iſſoof, and ſtanding on his importance, demanded the ceſſion of Calacad and the adjacent diſtricts, for which he had ſo long contended againſt the Nabob's government. He ſaid, that more territory than he claimed had already been recovered with his aſſiſtance; that what might be refuſed by one, would be readily given to him by another; and that, if he ſhould join the polygars, the Nabob's authority would never be eſtabliſhed in the Tinivelly country. Mahomed Iſſoof, whilſt perplexed with this dilemma, was informed that the two eighteen-pounders, with 500 muſkets, which had been ſent, according to his requeſt, from Madraſs, were loſt at ſea; and that the two ſix-pounders, although landed, were ſtopped by the Dutch agent at Tutacorin. This miſchance gave greater weight to the king's arguments, and greater value to his aſſiſtance; for the force of Mahomed Iſſoof alone was not ſufficient to reduce the Pulitaver, whom all the beſt colleries in the country were flocking to defend. He therefore ſurrendered the diſtricts which the king demanded; and the Preſidency approved the ceſſion: but the Nabob ſuſpected that it had been promiſed by Iſſoof at his firſt interview with the king, in order to ſecure his future aſſiſtance to his own ambitious views.

November. As ſoon as this agreement was ſettled, the Travancores moved again in conjunction with his troops. On the 6th of November, they inveſted the wood and fort of Eaſaltaver, which was one of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the dependencies of the Pulitaver. The Colleries defended the wood three days, and then abandoned both; and retired to Nellitangaville. After this ſucceſs, the want of ammunition obliged Mahomed Iſſoof to remain until he received ſupplies from Madura, Palamcotah, and Anjengo. The army of Travancore, to prevent diſguſts from diſparity of cuſtoms, encamped ſeparately, but in ſight of Mahomed Iſſoof's; and on the 20th of November, a body of 5 or 6000 Colleries attacked the camp of the Travancores in open day. Mahomed Iſſoof, on the firſt alarm, ſent his horſe, and followed with his Sepoys and other foot; but the Colleries retreated before they came up, and their nimbleneſs, with the ruggedneſs of the country, rendered the purſuit of little avail. They had killed and wounded 100 of the Travancores, before they went off. A day or two after this ſkirmiſh, Mahomed Iſſoof received three howitzes, with ſome ſtores, and a ſupply of ammunition from Anjengo; and the two ſix-pounders with their ſhot likewiſe came up from Tutacorin; he then moved with his allies, and on the 4th of December ſet down before Waſhinelore, another fort dependent on the Pulitaver, much ſtronger than any he had, excepting Nellitangaville, from which it is ſituated twenty miles to the N. W. and twelve in the ſame direction from Outamaly.

1759. December. *November.*

Waſhinelore ſtood within three miles from the great range of mountains, at the foot of which ran a thick wood, extending two miles into the plain, and within 1300 yards of the weſt and ſouth ſides of the fort; but turned to a much greater diſtance on the north, and to the eaſt the plain was open, and everywhere covered with profuſe cultivation. A very extenſive pettah, the reſidence of ſome thouſand inhabitants, commenced within forty yards, and extended 1200 to the N. E. of the walls: a thick thorn hedge, with barriers, ſurrounded both the pettah and the fort. The extent of the fort was 650 by 300 yards: it was of mud, but almoſt as hard as brick; it had four large ſquare towers, one at each angle, and ſeveral ſmaller, which were round, between. Every tower was a ſeparate redoubt, encloſed by a parapet, to command within as well as without the fort: the acceſs to the tower was a ſteep ramp, only two feet broad, the entrance a narrow wicket in the parapet; the curtain between the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December.

towers had no parapet, and was only a rampart ſloping on both ſides from a baſe of 15 feet to 3 at top; but the ſlope from within was much leſs ſharp than from without, ſo that, if aſſaulted, the defenders might eaſily run up to the top. The parapets of the towers have circular holes for the uſe of ſmall arms, but no openings prepared for cannon, of which there was not a ſingle piece in the fort. This deſcription only ſuits Waſhinelore, for the other forts in the Madura and Tinivelly countries have parapets with loop-holes to their ramparts, as well as to their towers; but all are of earth, excepting Madura and Palamcotah. The Colleries on this ſide of the Tinivelly country, poſſeſs nothing of the uglineſs or deformity which generally characterize the inhabitants of the hills and wilds of India. They are tall, well-made, and well-featured. Their arms are lances and pikes, bows and arrows, rockets, and match-locks, but whether with or without other weapons, every man conſtantly wears a ſword and ſhield. In battle, the different arms move in diſtinct bodies; but the lancemen are rated the moſt eminent, and lead all attacks. This weapon is 18 feet long; they tie under the point a tuft of ſcarlet horſe-hair, and when they attack horſe, add a ſmall bell. Without previous exerciſe, they aſſemble in a deep column, preſſing cloſe together, and advance at a long ſteady ſtep, in ſome degree of time, their lances inclining forward, but aloft, of which the elaſticity and vibration, with the jingle, dazzle and ſcare the cavalry; and their approach is ſcarcely leſs formidable to infantry not diſciplined with fire-arms. The importance of Waſhinelore, and the great force which was come againſt it, brought ſome thouſands of Colleries to its relief; but all, excepting 8 or 900 choſen men allotted to defend the walls, kept in the woods: from whence every day and night parties ſallied, and alarmed or attacked one or other, and ſometimes both the camps; and greater bodies on three different days made general attacks on the batteries, of which theſe continued interruptions retarded the conſtruction, inſomuch that they were not finiſhed until the 26th, 20 days after the arrival of the armies; but the howitzes had commenced before. The only

2 efficacious

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1759. December.

efficacious gun was the 18 pounder, which Mahomed Iſſoof had brought from Madura, for the reſt were only 6 pounders and lower; but from exceſſive firing, the 18 pounder burſt the day after it was mounted; and by this time, all the ammunition, as well of the batteries as troops, excepting the quantity which prudence required to be reſerved for defence, was expended. However, part of the parapet of the tower fired upon, was beaten down, and Mahomed Iſſoof reſolved to ſtorm the next day. Many troops of both armies waited on the aſſault; and as ſoon as it began, the Pulitaver, with 3000 choſen colleries, who had marched in the night from Nellitangaville, iſſued from the wood and fell upon the camp of Mahomed Iſſoof, drove away the troops that guarded it, and began to commit every kind of deſtruction. Mahomed Iſſoof inſtantly ſent back a large body to repulſe them, and continued the aſſault; but the garriſon within received double animation from the Pulitaver's ſucceſs, which was announced to them by the uſual war-cry and the ſounding of their conchs. All the other colleries collected in the woods appeared likewiſe, as if on the ſame notice, and in different bands attacked the troops at the batteries, and at the foot of the breach; and although continually repulſed, continually rallied, and with the reſolution of the garriſon ſaved the fort until the evening, and then waited in the woods to interrupt the renewal of the aſſault in the night; but ſo much of the reſerved ammunition had been expended in the day, that Mahomed Iſſoof deemed it dangerous to remain any longer before the fort, and drew off his artillery. Two hundred of his troops and of the Travancores were killed, but more of the enemy. The next day he moved to a diſtance, and diſmiſſed the Travancores, who proceeded through the paſs of Shencotty to their own country, and Mahomed Iſſoof returned with his own troops, and thoſe lent him by Tondiman and the Moravers, to the town of Tinivelly.

END *of the* ELEVENTH BOOK.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

BOOK XII.

THE two armies in the Carnatic continued, during the first days of January, in their encampments near Arcot, equally cautious of risquing any attempt of consequence, because both were waiting the result of their negotiations to bring Innis Khan with his Morattoes to their assistance. Both offered 60,000 rupees; but, whilst the English were proposing conditional bills, the French sent ready money, which determined his preference. He arrived on the 8th in the French camp, with 3000 mounted, and a greater number of foot plunderers, who are called Pandarums, and always troop with the horse, as we have described when Bajinrow joined Clive in the fight near Arni. The next day, the French army filed off from their encampment which extended from the suburbs of Arcot along the south side of the Paliar, and took the road towards Trivatore; and, as they were going off, Mr. Lally, with a large body of Morattoes, some of the European horse, and two field-pieces, crossed the river, and advanced to Trimuddi, an out-post, three miles in front of the English camp at Chinasimundrum. A cannonade ensued, but more guns and troops coming up, Mr. Lally retired, and recrossed the river: during which, a body of 200 Morattoes, with whom Colonel Coote had treated, came over from the enemy's, and joined his camp. In the evening, Colonel Coote proceeded across the river, with an escort of horse, and reconnoitred the enemy's line of march, and suspecting, that they might intend against Vandivash, took his measures accordingly. Orders were dispatched to Captain Sherlock, who commanded

1760. January.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January. manded in the fort, to defend it to extremity, and to the two companies of Sepoys at Trivatore, to repair thither immediately. The baggage of the army was ſent off that night to Covrepauk; and in the morning the whole army moved from Chinaſimundrum, where they had lain eighteen days, and in the evening pitched anew on the bank of the Paliar, five miles lower down than the ground which the French had occupied on the other ſide. A ſtrong poſt of horſe and foot was advanced at ſome diſtance towards Arcot, and another on the left, with orders to keep up continual patroles. The next day paſſed without any alarm from the enemy, or intelligence of conſequence concerning them, who nevertheleſs were not idle.

Mr. Lally had formed another project beſides that which Colonel Coote ſuſpected; and, to accompliſh it, had not ſuffered his army to advance with half the expedition they might. They were on the 11th, the third day after they quitted their encampment, no farther than Papantanguel, ſix miles on this ſide of Trivatore, and halted there the greateſt part of the day. Towards the evening, all were under arms, and the ſtores and baggage loaded; but, inſtead of marching on, he diſplayed them on the plain, facing to the Paliar, and then exerciſed them as if for practice, in large evolutions, which were calculated to fling the whole line to the eaſtward, with all the horſe, Morattoes, as well as Europeans, on the right, of whom the outermoſt, when the exerciſe ended, were ſix miles from Papantanguel. Having thus whiled away the time until the cloſe of the evening, he continued all on the ground they ſtood until it was dark; and then ſeparated the army into two diviſions. The horſe, excepting ſome which rejoined the ſecond, filed off, followed by 300 Sepoys, who had formed next to them, and marched on as faſt as they could, keeping together; the reſt of the army, which conſiſted of all the European infantry, with the baggage and artillery, were ordered to follow, but without ſtrain. Mr. Lally led the firſt diviſion himſelf. After a march of 15 miles, in which they had croſſed the Paliar, they arrived at eight in the morning at Conjeveram; expecting to find in the town the magazines of rice which ſupplied the Engliſh army; but they had no ſuch ſtore,

living

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

living on the purchaſe of the day; nor had the inhabitants more than the common proviſion of their houſes; but in the pagoda was the hoſpital, and a ſtock of military ſtores, under the guard of two companies of Sepoys, commanded by Lieutenant Chilſholm, of which the capture would have been diſtreſſing; but Mr. Lally having brought no cannon made no attempt on the pagoda, and employed his troops in collecting plunder, and ſetting fire to the houſes of the town; during which, the Sepoys, and all the ſick in the pagoda, who could move, came out, and being well acquainted with the ſtreets and covers, continually attacked their ſmaller parties and ſtragglers, and whenever likely to be over-powered, diſappeared. In the evening the enemy retreated, driving off 2000 bullocks, the moſt valuable part of their booty, loaded with the trumpery they had collected. By this time the other diviſion of the army had arrived at Jangolam, a village on the bank of the Paliar, three miles from Conjeveram, from whence both united, immediately proceeded, and the next day reached Trivatore.

The neareſt ground of the French line, whilſt marching on this exploit, was eight miles from the advanced poſt of the Engliſh camp, whoſe black horſe, awed by the number of the Morattoes, were afraid to venture, and could not be truſted ſo far abroad; and the European horſe, being only one hundred, were not even ſufficient for the neceſſary patroles of the camp; ſo that the firſt intelligence of the enemy's march was from Lieutenant Chiſholm at Conjeveram, ſent as ſoon as they appeared there. It arrived in the afternoon; Colonel Coote immediately ſet off with the cavalry, and ordered the whole army to follow, which was in march before the ſun ſet, and before it roſe at Conjeveram, where Colonel Coote, with the cavalry, had arrived at one in the morning. The way is twenty-one miles.

It was now a month, that Mr. Buſſy had acted once more in the field in conjunction with Mr. Lally; and the intercourſe had only encreaſed the averſion. The late errors of Mr. Lally's operations, which had loſt Vandivaſh and Carangoly, without gaining any thing equivalent by the expedition to Seringham, had lowered his military character throughout the army; and even his own regiment as well as Lorrain, although the King's troops, began to acknowledge the

ſuperior

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

ſuperior talents of Mr. Buſſy to conduct the war: the battalion of India always thought ſo. Mr. Lally imputed this riſing predilection in the officers to the influence of Mr. Buſſy's money, and amongſt the ſoldiers to the intrigues of Father St. Eſtevan, a crazy, buſy Jeſuit, who officiated in the camp, and confeſſed the regiment of Lorrain: his antipathy no longer liſtened to any reſtraints. As ſoon as the army returned to Trivatore, Mr. Buſſy aſked his leave to retire to Pondicherry for the recovery of a painful diſorder, which incapacitated him for fatigue: but Mr. Lally forbid him in the name of the king to quit the field. He obeyed, and gave his beſt opinion concerning the future operations of the campaign. "The Engliſh, he ſaid, would not ſee "Vandivaſh taken, without riſquing a battle to ſave it, in which the "French army would be deprived of all the force employed in the "ſiege; and from the neceſſity of covering it, not maſter of the choice "of advantages in the action: whereas, if the whole of the regular "troops kept together on the banks of the Paliar, and detached "the whole body of Morattoes to lay waſte the Engliſh diſtricts, "their army would ſoon be reduced to the neceſſity, either of "giving battle at diſadvantage, or of ſeeking its ſubſiſtence under "the walls of Madraſs." No advice could be more judicious; for the firſt diviſion of the Morattoes, although only 1000, had ventured to carry their ravages as far as Pondamalee and Vendalore, and by cutting off every kind of proviſion on every ſide, had reduced the Engliſh camp to as great want, as they brought abundance to the French, where they ſold the beeves they had plundered at ſeven for a rupee, and rice at half its value in any other part of the country; and at this very time the Preſidency of Madraſs, anxious for the loſs of their ſureſt revenues, repented that they had not bought the Morattoes on their own terms, and were adviſing Colonel Coote to fall back nearer to the adjacencies of the town. But Mr. Lally ſuſpected Mr. Buſſy's advice, as deſigned to prevent or diſparage the activity of his own operations; and on the 14th marched away from Trivatore, with a detachment of 500 Europeans, half the European cavalry, 500 Morattoes, 1000 Sepoys, and four field-pieces, leaving Mr. Buſſy with the main body at Trivatore, as the moſt

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

central ſituation, at hand to join his own diviſion, if the Engliſh army ſhould march after it; or ready to oppoſe and interrupt them, if they ſhould go againſt Arcot, in order to divert the ſiege of Vandivaſh. 1760. January.

On the 14th in the evening, Colonel Coote received intelligence of Mr. Lally's arrival at Vandivaſh, and the next day marched with his whole force from Conjeveram, croſſing the Paliar to the S. E. inſtead of following the enemy by the longer, but better road of Trivatore. On the 17th, they arrived, and encamped near Outramalore. This ſituation, lying half-way in the road between Vandivaſh and Chinglapett, ſecured the communication with this place, and from henee with Madraſs: it likewiſe had Carangoly in its rear to the left. The fort at Outramalore having long been neglected, was open in ſeveral parts from top to bottom of the wall; but was a much more defenſible repoſitory for the ſtores and baggage of the army, than any poſt in the open plain.

Captain Sherlocke kept 30 Europeans and 300 Sepoys in the ſouth pettah of Vandivaſh, which Mr. Lally attacked at three in the morning with all his infantry, in two diviſions: the one, in which the Europeans were marines from the ſquadron, was allotted to the weſtern rampart, and only intended to make a diverſion during the real attack on the oppoſite; where the Europeans were of Lally's regiment, and led by himſelf. Both diviſions were diſcovered and fired upon before they gained the foot of the wall; and the marines, unuſed to ſuch ſervices, broke, and ran round to Mr. Lally's diviſion, who, ſuppoſing them enemies, fired upon them until the miſtake was diſcovered. Nothing more was attempted until eight o'clock the next morning, when all the infantry in one column, with two field-pieces at their head, advanced againſt the ſouth-ſide of the pettah; but the fire to which they were expoſed, brought the front of the column to a halt without orders. Mr. Lally rode up, diſmounted, and calling for volunteers, ran to the ditch, and mounted the wall, himſelf the firſt. The whole column immediately poured after him; and the troops in the pettah, having no orders to defend it to extremity, eſcaped along the ſtreets, and regained the fort without any loſs in the retreat; in the whole defence only four or five had been killed; but the enemy loſt twelve Europeans, beſides Se-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January. poys, and more wounded of both. They immediately entrenched the openings of the ſtreets facing the fort, and began to raiſe a battery in the N.E. angle of the pettah, againſt the ſame tower which Colonel Coote had breached, and nearly on the ſame ground.

A thouſand of the Morattoes had been ordered to obſerve the motions of the Engliſh army; but they followed nothing but plunder, and continued ſpreading themſelves to the north of the Paliar; and as Mr. Lally never rewarded ſufficiently to encourage daring ſpies, the firſt news he received of the approach of the Engliſh army, was on the 17th at ſun-riſe, by a letter from Mr. Buſſy at Trivatore, by which time they were arrived at Outramalore. His averſion to the authority, made him unwilling to accept the information as authentic; and at firſt he only ordered part of the army to advance from Trivatore: but, on farther intelligence, left Mr. Buſſy to act according to his diſcretion; who at five in the afternoon marched with the whole, and arrived at Vandivaſh before midnight.

The Engliſh army arrived at Outramalore without proviſions, and too much fatigued to march on, and reach Vandivaſh, before Mr. Buſſy's diviſion had joined Mr. Lally's there, which, otherwiſe, on their appearance, muſt either have retreated, or would have ſtood their ground with great inferiority and diſadvantage. The horſe, as ſoon as the foot were encamped, went abroad to rummage the villages for proviſions, and the next day the troop of huſſars fell in with 50 Morattoes, of whom they killed one, and took twelve with their horſes. Still the want of grain continued in the camp, and it was found that the renter, although he depended on Madraſs, had ſold his ſtore to ſome agents, probably employed by the French, at Sadraſs; on which he was ſeized, and confined without eating, until the army was ſupplied; and his people in a few hours brought enough for the immediate want, and promiſed more. The ſcarcity had, however, been no obſtacle to the operations of the army; for Colonel Coote had reſolved not to advance upon the enemy, until they were ready to aſſault Vandivaſh, when he ſhould have his choice of attacking either the troops employed againſt the fort, or the army which covered them in the plain. This Mr. Buſſy foreſaw, and again adviſed Mr.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Mr. Lally to deſiſt from the ſiege until a better opportunity; and to keep his whole force together, until the Engliſh either fought or retired; but Mr. Lally as before could not brook inſtruction from the rival he deteſted, and perſiſted. 1760. January.

Their battery did not open until the 20th; having waited for the cannon, which were brought 70 miles from the ramparts of Valdore, on carriages ſent from Pondicherry. They were two eighteen, and two of twenty-four. By the night of the 20th the wall of the fauſſebray was opened. Colonel Coote, on this intelligence, marched the next day with all the cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy's ſituation and the ſtate of the ſiege, and receiving, when near, a meſſage from Sherlocke, that they had breached the main rampart, went back, and halted at Tirimbourg, a village half way, to which he ordered the main body of the army to advance without delay from Outramalore, but to ſend their heavy baggage, for better ſecurity, to Carangoly. They arrived at Tirimbourg in the night; at ſun-riſe, Colonel Coote taking with him 1000 of the black horſe, and the two troops of European, with two companies of Sepoys, advanced in front of the main body of the army, which he ordered to follow, but without preſſing their march.

The diſtance from Tirimbourg to Vandivaſh is ſeven miles; the road leads from the N. E. to the S. W. The mountain of Vandivaſh lies in the ſame direction, extending more than a league in length. The fort ſtands two miles to the S. of the mountain, but nearer to the weſtern than the eaſtern end. The French army was encamped directly oppoſite to the eaſtern end of the mountain, at the diſtance of three miles, and at two to the weſt of the fort. The camp was in two lines ſeparated by paddy fields; a great tank covered the left flank of both lines. At 300 yards in front of this tank, but a little on its left, was another, and farther on, likewiſe on the left of this, another, neither more than 200 yards in circumference, and both dry; and the bank which ſurrounded the foremoſt tank had been converted into a retrenchment, in which were mounted ſome pieces of cannon, which commanded the plain in front, and flanked in its whole length the eſplanade in front of the camp.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

All the Morattoes were returned, and lying with their plunder under the foot of the mountain, extending along it towards the N.E. end. Their ſcouts brought intelligence of the approach of Colonel Coote's diviſion, on which all mounted, as did the European cavalry in the French camp, and the whole ſpread in different bodies acroſs the plain to the eaſt of the mountain. Colonel Coote, with 200 of the black cavalry, followed by the two companies of Sepoys, was advancing a mile in front of the reſt of the cavalry, which compoſed the diviſion he was leading; and the Morattoes ſent forward 200 of their horſe, on which he halted, called up the Sepoys, and interſperſed them in platoons between the troops of horſe.

The advanced body of the Morattoes nevertheleſs puſhed on, but were ſtopped by the fire of the Sepoys, before they came to the uſe of the ſword. Nevertheleſs, they recovered after their wheel, ſtood till within reach of the Sepoys again, then turned again, and in this manner fell back to their main body, which with the French cavalry had gathered, and were drawn up, extending in a line to the eaſt, from the end of the mountain; the French on the right of the Morattoes.

Colonel Coote, whilſt halting for the Sepoys, had ſent off a meſſenger, ordering up the body of cavalry, which were a mile behind, and the firſt five companies of Sepoys with two of the field-pieces from the head of the line of infantry, to come on likewiſe as faſt as they could march: the cavalry ſoon joined him, but more time was requiſite for the Sepoys and guns, as the line was three miles off. During which, Colonel Coote, by continual halts, advanced very ſlowly; and the enemy's cavalry continued on the ground they had choſen. At eight o'clock the detachment of Sepoys, with the guns, came up, when the diviſion with Coote were at an aſcent, which intercepted them from the ſight of the enemy, who, although they had perceived the cloud of march, had not diſtinguiſhed the two guns which accompanied the Sepoys, who, joined by the other two companies, formed in a line in the rear of the cavalry, with the guns in the center; the two troops of European horſe were in the center of the cavalry in the firſt line. In this order the two lines advanced againſt

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

againſt the enemy, who were ſtill waiting for them; but when at the diſtance of 200 yards, the cavalry opened from the centre, and brought themſelves round, divided on each wing of the Sepoys, in the ſecond line; and the inſtant the ground was clear, the two field-pieces began quick firing on the enemy's line of cavalry, which were ſetting off to take advantage of the evolution making by the Engliſh. The field-pieces were, one a twelve, the other a ſix-pounder, both of braſs; and Captain Robert Barker, although he commanded the whole of the Company's artillery, had come up with, and now ſerved them himſelf: the effect anſwered the good-will and dexterity; the fire was directed amongſt the Morattoes; and every ſhot was ſeen to overſet men and horſes, which ſtopped their career, but not before they were within reach of the muſketry of the Sepoys; and ſome of them on the wings had even rode in amongſt the outward of the Engliſh cavalry during their evolution; but the encreaſing havock which fell amongſt them ſoon after, put the whole body to flight, and they galloped away to their camp, leaving the French cavalry alone, who were advancing in regular order on their right, againſt whom the field-pieces were then directed, which they ſtood for ſome time, ſeeming to expect the Morattoes would rally; but ſeeing them entirely gone off, turned and went off themſelves, but ſtill in order, and with much compoſure. 1760. January.

Colonel Coote advanced with his diviſion to the ground they had quitted, and ſeeing the plain clear, quite up to the French camp, ſent orders to his line of infantry to halt, whereſoever the order ſhould meet them, until he returned to them himſelf. There were ſome gardens and other encloſures half a mile to the right of the ground which the French cavalry had occupied, whilſt drawn up in a line with the Morattoes extending from the end of the mountain. The encloſures were good ſhelter on neceſſity, and the ground beyond them excellent for the diſplay and action of the whole army, which Colonel Coote having reconnoitred, ordered his diviſion to file off to the left, and to form on this ground, in the ſame order as before; the cavalry in a line in front, the Sepoys in another behind them.

As

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

As ſoon as this diſpoſition was executed, he rode back to the line of infantry, which were halting, drawn up in two lines according to the order of battle he had iſſued to the principal officers in the preceding night. He ſignified his intention of leading the army on to a general action, which was received with acclamations, that left no doubt of the ardour of the troops to engage the enemy they had ſo long been ſeeking. The plain dry, hard, and even, admitted of their marching on in the ſame order they were drawn up, without filing off in columns, ſo that they were ſoon upon the ground where the advanced diviſion were halting, when the cavalry wheeled from the right and left, and formed the third line of the main battle, and the five companies of Sepoys took their place again on the right of the firſt line: but the two field-pieces, ſtill attended by Captain Barker with the two detached companies of Sepoys, kept apart at ſome diſtance in front, but to the left of the firſt line.

In this array the army ſtood in full view of the French camp, in which no motions were perceived; but no firing was heard againſt the fort of Vandivaſh. Colonel Coote having waited half an hour to ſee the effect of his appearance, rode forward with ſome officers to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, who ſuffered them to approach near, without cannonading or ſending out a party of cavalry to interrupt them.

The day began to wear, and Colonel Coote, as ſoon as he returned to the troops, ordered the whole to file off to the right; the infantry marched in two lines at the ſame parallels they had drawn up; the baggage formed a third column on the right, and the cavalry followed in the rear of all the three. They proceeded towards the ſouth ſide of the mountain, but inclining a little towards the French camp. As ſoon as the firſt files of the infantry came to the ſtony ground which extends from the foot of the mountain, on which the enemy's cavalry could not act, the whole halted, and the two lines of infantry facing to the right, preſented themſelves again in order of battle, oppoſite to the French camp, at the diſtance of a mile and a half, but outſtretching it on the right; the baggage falling back at the ſame time, gave place to the cavalry to reſume their former ſtation as the third line.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

The Morattoes were ſpread at the foot of the mountain to protect their own camp, and none of them ventured within reach of the two guns, which during the march had kept on the left of the firſt line; but ſome of the French cavalry came out to reconnoitre, and were driven back by their fire. The army halted ſome time in this ſituation, in expectation that the defiance would bring the French out of their camp; but they ſtill remained quiet; which obliged Colonel Coote to proſecute the reſt of the operations he had meditated.

The ground for ſome diſtance from the foot of the mountain, is, as under all others in the Carnatic, encumbered with ſtones and fragments of rock. From this rugged ground up to the fort the plain was occupied by rice fields. The Engliſh army coaſting the mountain until oppoſite to the fort, and then making a converſion of their lines to the right, would immediately be formed in the ſtrongeſt of ſituations; their right protected by the fire of the fort; their left by the impaſſable ground under the mountain, and with the certainty of throwing any number of troops, without oppoſition, into the fort; who, ſallying with the garriſon to the other ſide, might eaſily drive the enemy from their batteries in the pettah; from whence the whole of the Engliſh army might likewiſe advance againſt the French camp, with the choice of attacking it either on the flank, or in the rear, where the main defences, which had been prepared in the front of their encampment, or aroſe from the uſual diſpoſitions on this ſide, would become intirely uſeleſs.

The Engliſh army had no ſooner began their march along the foot of the mountain, than Mr. Lally perceived the intention, with all the conſequences of this able operation. The camp immediately beat to arms, and ſoon after the troops were ſeen iſſuing to occupy the ground in front of its line, where the field of battle had been previouſly marked out.

The French cavalry, 300 riders, all Europeans, formed on the right; next to them were the regiment of Lorrain, 400 firelocks: in

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

in the centre, the battalion of India, 700; next to them Lally's, 400, whoſe left were under the retrenched tank, in which were poſted the marines or troops from the ſquadron, with Poete's from Ganjam, in all 300, with four field-pieces. Between the retrenchment and Lally's were three, the ſame number between Lally's and India, India and Lorrain, Lorrain and the cavalry; in all 16 pieces. Four hundred of the Sepoys of Hyder Jung, whom Mr. Buſſy had brought from Cudapah, were poſted at the tank in the rear of the retrenched tank where the marines were, whom they were to ſupport on occaſion: 900 Sepoys were ranged behind a ridge which ran along the front of the camp; and at each extremity of this ridge was a retrenchment guarded by 50 Europeans, which covered the entrances into the camp. The whole force drawn out, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was 2250 Europeans, and 1300 Sepoys: 150 Europeans and 300 Sepoys continued at the batteries againſt Vandivaſh; but none of the Morattoes, although 3000, left the ground and protection of their own camp to aſſiſt their allies in this deciſive hour.

The ſight of the French army iſſuing into the open plain gave Colonel Coote all he intended by the preceding operations of the day. He inſtantly halted his lines, which had advanced ſome way along the foot of the mountain. Facing as ſoon as they halted, the two firſt lines were in order of battle, oppoſite but obliquely to the enemy. The baggage were ſent back under the eſcort of two companies of Sepoys, to a village in the rear, and the cavalry as before took their place in the third line.

The Engliſh army conſiſted of 1900 Europeans, of whom 80 were cavalry, 2100 Sepoys, 1250 black horſe, and 26 field-pieces. In the firſt line were Coote's regiment on the right, the Company's two battalions in the centre, Draper's on the left; but all without their grenadiers; and 1800 Sepoys were equally divided on the right and left of the Europeans in this line; in the intervals of which were 10 pieces of cannon, three on each ſide of the Company's battalions, and two between Coote's and Draper's and the Sepoys. In the ſecond line were all the grenadiers of the army, 300, with a field-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

piece next, and beyond 200 Sepoys on each of their flanks: the cavalry formed the third line; the 80 Europeans, as before, in the center of the black horſe; the two field-pieces with the two companies of Sepoys of the morning ſtill continued apart, advanced as before a little on the left of the firſt line. 1760. January.

As the Engliſh army were marching up, and before they were within cannon ſhot, Mr. Lally, putting himſelf at the head of the European cavalry on the right, ſet off with them, and taking a large ſweep on the plain, came down, intending to fall upon the horſe of the Engliſh army, which made their third line. The black horſe, who were nine-tenths of this body, pretended to wheel, in order to meet the enemy's, but purpoſely confuſed themſelves ſo much, that ſome went off immediately, which gave a pretext to the reſt to follow them, and the 80 Europeans were left alone, who faced and drew up properly to receive the charge, relying on better aſſiſtance. As ſoon as the intention of Mr. Lally was underſtood, the diviſion of Sepoys on the left of the firſt line were ordered to fall back in an angle from the front, ready to take the enemy's cavalry in flank as they were approaching, but performed the evolution with ſo little firmneſs, that little hope was entertained of any execution from their fire; but Captain Barker with the 2 guns of the ſeparate detachment, had watched, and directing his own by the movement of the enemy, was within point blank of them juſt before they were oppoſite and riding in on the flank and rear of the horſe, where only the European were ready to oppoſe them, for all the black were gone. In leſs than a minute the quick firing of the two guns brought down ten or 15 men or horſes, which, as uſual, threw the next to them, and they the whole, into confuſion; and the horſes growing every moment wilder, all turned and went off on the full gallop, leaving Mr. Lally, as he aſſerts, ſingly alone. If ſo, he could not have ſtaid long where he was, for the European horſe, on ſeeing the enemy's check, were advancing; and many of the black, encouraged by the ſecurity, were returning, and the whole ſoon after ſet off after the enemy, whom they purſued in a long courſe quite to the rear of their camp.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

The Engliſh army halted ten minutes in attention to this attack, during which the French line cannonaded, but beyond the proper diſtance even for ball, and nevertheleſs often fired grape, and neither with any effect. The Engliſh did not begin to anſwer until nearer, and then perceiving their own fire much better directed, halted in order to preſerve this advantage, as long as the enemy permitted it to continue, by not advancing from the front of their camp. Mr. Lally retiring from the Engliſh cavalry, and deſerted by his own, rejoined his line of infantry, which he found ſuffering, and with much impatience, from the Engliſh cannonade: his own impetuoſity concurred with their eagerneſs to be led to immediate deciſion, and he gave the order to advance. The Engliſh line was not directly oppoſite to the front of the French, but ſlanting outwards from their left, which required the French troops on this ſide to advance much leſs than thoſe of their right, who had more ground to wheel, in order to bring the whole line parallel to that of the Engliſh.

Colonel Coote ſeeing the enemy coming on gave the final orders to his own. None but the Europeans of the firſt and ſecond lines were to advance any farther. The Sepoys on the wings of both, and the cavalry in the third line, were to continue where they were left, and to take no ſhare in the battle, until they ſhould hereafter receive orders how to act.

The enemy began the fire of muſketry at one o'clock, but Colonel Coote intended to refrain until nearer; nevertheleſs the company of Coffrees, which was inſerted in one of the Company's battalions, gave their fire without the order of their officers, and it was with difficulty that the irregularity was prevented from extending. Colonel Coote was at this time paſſing from the right to the left to join his own regiment, and received two or three ſhot in his cloaths from the fire of the Coffrees. As ſoon as he arrived at his regiment they began, and the fire became general through the whole line.

Coote's had only fired twice, when Lorrain formed in a column twelve in front: the operation is ſimple and was expeditious. Colonel Coote made no change in the diſpoſition of his regiment, but

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

but ordered the whole to preſerve their next fire; which Lorrain coming on almoſt at a run, received at the diſtance of 50 yards in their front and on both their flanks; it fell heavy, and brought down many, but did not ſtop the column. In an inſtant the two regiments were mingled at the puſh of bayonet; thoſe of Coote's oppoſite the front of the column were immediately born down, but the reſt, far the greateſt part, fell on the flanks, when every man fought only for himſelf, and in a minute the ground was ſpread with dead and wounded, and Lorrain having juſt before ſuffered from the reſerved fire of Coote's, broke, and ran in diſorder to regain the camp. Colonel Coote ordered his regiment to be reſtored to order before they purſued, and rode himſelf to ſee the ſtate of the reſt of the line. 1760. January.

As he was paſſing on, a ſhot from one of the guns with Draper's regiment, ſtruck a tumbril in the retrenched tank on the left of Lally's, where the marines were poſted, and the exploſion blew up 80 men, many of whom, with the chevalier Poete, were killed dead, and moſt of the others mortally hurt. All who were near, and had eſcaped the danger, fled in the firſt impulſe of terror out of the retrenchment, and ran to gain the camp by the rear of Lally's, and were joined in the way by the 400 Sepoys at the tank behind, who, although they had ſuffered nothing, likewiſe abandoned their poſt. Colonel Coote on the exploſion, ſent orders by his aid de camp Captain Izer, to Major Brereton, to advance with the whole of Draper's regiment, and take poſſeſſion of the retrenched tank before the enemy recovered the confuſion which he judged the exploſion muſt have cauſed; as in this ſituation they would command, under cover, the flank of Lally's regiment. The ground on which Draper's was ſtanding oppoſite to Lally's when the order came, obliged them, in order to prevent Lally's from enfilading, or flanking them as coming down, to file off by the right. Mr. Buſſy, who commanded on this wing, had before endeavoured to rally the fugitives, of whom he had recovered 50 or 60, and adding to them two platoons of Lally's, led and poſted them in the tank, and then returned to ſupport them with the regiment. But Brereton's files kept wheeling at a diſtance, and moving at the quickeſt pace, ſuffered little from their fire, and coming upon the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January.

left of the retrenchment, assaulted it impetuously, and carried it after receiving one fire of much execution from the troops within, under which Major Brereton fell mortally wounded, and when fallen refused the assistance of the men next him, but bid them follow their victory. The first of Draper's who got into the retrenchment fired down from the parapet upon the guns on the left of Lally's, and drove the gunners from them; whilst the rest, being many more than required to maintain the post, formed, and shouldered under it, extending on the plain to the left to prevent the regiment of Lally, if attempting to recover the post, from embracing it on this side. Mr. Bussy wheeled the regiment of Lally, and sent off platoons from its left, to regain the retrenchment, whilst the rest were opposed to the division of Draper's on the plain. But the platoons acted faintly, only skirmishing with their fire instead of coming to the close assault. The action likewise continued only with musketry, but warmly, between the two divisions on the plain, until the two field-pieces, attached to the right of Draper's, which they had left behind when marching to attack the retrenchment, were brought to bear on the flank of Lally's, who had none to oppose them; on which their line began to waver, and many were going off. Mr. Bussy, as the only chance of restoring this part of the battle, put himself at their head, intending to lead them to the push of bayonet, but had only advanced a little way when his horse was struck with a ball in the head, and floundering at every step afterwards, he dismounted; during which the fire from Draper's had continued, of which two or three balls passed through his cloaths, and when he alighted only 20 of Lally's had kept near him, the rest had shrunk. Two platoons set off on the full run from Draper's to surround them: the officer demanded and received Mr. Bussy's sword, and sent him with a guard into the rear; he was conducted to Major Monson, who had wheeled three companies of the grenadiers of the second line, and was halting with them and their field-piece at some distance, ready if necessary to support the event of Draper's. Mr. Bussy asked who the troops he saw were; and was answered 200 grenadiers, the best men in

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the army, who had not fired a ſhot; he claſped his hands in ſurprize and admiration, and ſaid not a word. 1760. January.

During the conflict on this ſide the two centers, which were compoſed of the troops of the two Eaſt India Companies, had kept up a hot, but diſtant fire; neither chuſing to riſque cloſer deciſion until they ſaw the event between Draper's and Lally's; but as ſoon as Lally's broke, the enemy's center went off likewiſe, but in better order, although in haſte, to regain their camp. Many of Coote's, in the firſt fury of victory, had purſued their antagoniſts of Lorrain up to the retrenchment, by which the fugitives entered the camp: they might have ſuffered by this raſhneſs, if the guard there, as well as the neareſt Sepoys along the ridge, had not taken fright, and abandoned their poſts on ſeeing the rout of Lorrain. It took ſome time to bring the purſuers back to their colours, when the officers, ſending off the wounded, formed the reſt into their ranks, and afterwards only made the appearance of advancing, whilſt the reſt of the battle remained in doubt, leſt Lorrain with the Sepoys ſhould rally; to prevent which the four field-pieces on the left kept up an inceſſant fire plunging into the camp.

As ſoon as the other wing and the center of theEnemy's army gave way, their opponents, the Company's battalion and Draper's regiment got into order, and with Coote's, who were ready, advanced to the purſuit, leaving their artillery behind. They entered the enemy's camp without meeting the leaſt oppoſition. India and Lally's had paſſed through it haſtily to the other ſide, although not in rout as Lorrain's before. Mr. Lally, after the rout of Lorrain, rode away to join his own regiment on the left, but on the way ſaw the exploſion of the tumbril at the retrenched tank, the diſperſion of the marines in this poſt, and the flight of the Sepoys out of the tank behind. He was in this inſtant near, and intended to ſpeak to Mr. Buſſy, but turned ſuddenly, and ordered the Sepoys ſtationed along the ridge in front of the camp to advance. None obeyed; and moſt of them being thoſe of Zulphacarjung who had ſerved with Mr. Buſſy in the Decan, he raſhly ſuſpected treachery, and, unable to controul the impulſe of diſtraction, rode into the camp to ſtop the fugitives of Lorrain.

The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January. The whole body of the French cavalry, near 300, who were all Europeans, appeared on the plain in the rear of the camp to which they had retreated, followed by the cavalry of the Engliſh army, whoſe encounter they had hitherto avoided by abler evolutions: ſo that neither of theſe two bodies had been within ſight of the brunt between the two infantries. The French cavalry chanced to be near enough to ſee the flight of Lorrain through the camp, and, animated by a ſenſe of national honour, reſolved to protect them, if, as might be expected, they ſhould endeavour to eſcape ſtill farther by gaining the plain. In this purpoſe they united their ſquadrons and drew up in the rear of the camp, and in face of the Engliſh cavalry, of whom the black horſe, awed by their reſolution, dared not, and the European were too few, to charge them. This unexpected ſuccour probably prevented the utter diſperſion of the French army. There were in the rear of the camp three field-pieces with their tumbrils of ammunition; at which the fugitives of Lorrain, encouraged by the appearance of the cavalry, ſtopped, and yoked them. Theſe protections reſtored confidence to Lally's and the India battalion as they arrived, likewiſe beaten from the field. They ſet fire to the tents and undangerous ſtores near them, and the whole filed off into the plain in much better order than their officers expected. The three field-pieces kept in the rear of the line of infantry, and behind them moved the cavalry. They paſſed to the weſtward, and when oppoſite to the pettahs of Vandivaſh were joined by the troops, who had continued at the batteries there, which they abandoned, leaving all the ſtores and baggage, and received no interruption from the garriſon as they were going off. The Morattoes, who were under the mountain when the cannonade began, intended not only to protect their own camp, but to fall upon the baggage of the Engliſh army; but when they ſaw the whole body of Sepoys remaining in the rear of the action, were deterred from advancing to the village, to which the baggage was ſent; and having their own all ready loaded on their bullocks, ſent off the whole train to the weſtward ſoon after the cannonade commenced; and with the firſt notice from their ſcouts of the rout of Lorrain, began to go off

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

themſelves. Their rout led them acroſs the way, along which the French were retreating; whom 700 of them joined and accompanied. Colonel Coote ſent repeated orders to his cavalry to harraſs and impede the retreat of the French line. They followed them five miles until five in the afternoon, but the black horſe could not be brought up within reach of the carbines of the French cavalry, and much leſs of their field-pieces. The brunt of the day paſſed intirely between the Europeans of both armies, the black troops of neither had any part in it, after the cannonade commenced. The commandants of the Engliſh Sepoys complimenting Colonel Coote on the victory, thanked him for the ſight of ſuch a battle as they had never ſeen. 1760. January.

Twenty-four pieces of cannon were taken, 19 in the field and camp, and five in the battery againſt Vandivaſh, 11 tumbrils of ammunition, all the tents, ſtores, and baggage, that were not burnt. Two hundred of the Europeans were counted dead in the field, and 160 were taken, of whom 30 died of their wounds before the next morning; ſix of the killed, and 20 of the priſoners, were officers: wounded continually dropt on the road; ſo that the immediate diminution of the enemy's force was computed 600 men. Of the Engliſh army, 63 Europeans were killed, and 124 wounded, in all 190; of this number, 36 of the killed, and 16 of the wounded, belonged to the Company's battalions, 17 and 66 to Draper's, 13 and 36 to Coote's regiment; four of the European horſe, and two of the artillery, were wounded, but none of either killed. Of the black troops, 17 of the horſe were killed, and 32 wounded: in all, 22 and 47: of the Sepoys only 6 and 15. The killed, as well in the European as the black troops, was, although not in the different bodies, one half of the number wounded, a proportion on the whole which rarely happens, excepting as in this action, by cannonade.

The firſt news of the victory was brought to Madraſs at ſun-riſe the next morning by one of the black ſpies of the Engliſh camp. At noon came in another, with a note of two lines, written with a pencil, by Colonel Coote on the field of battle; other accounts followed, and ſoon after eye-witneſſes. The joy which this ſucceſs diffuſed throughout the ſettlement, was almoſt equal to that of Calcutta

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January. Calcutta on the victory at Plaſſey. Their congratulations to Colonel Coote and the army were abundant as their joy.

The day after the battle ſcarcely ſufficed for the variety of orders neceſſary to reſtore the army to its ſtrength, and to make the diſpoſitions, by which Colonel Coote, with his uſual activity, reſolved to proſecute his ſucceſs. Captain Wood was ordered to advance with his garriſon from Covrepauk, and inveſt the fort of Arcot; Lieutent Chiſholm to ſend to Covrepauk the ſick and invalids left by the army at Conjeveram: Madraſs was requeſted to ſend to Conjeveram the recovered men of the King's regiments left in their hoſpital, together with ſtores, battering cannon, and ammunition: this line was meant to ſuſtain the ſiege of Arcot. Whatſoever other troops could be ſpared from Madraſs were to be ſent to Vandivaſh, with medicines and conveniences for the wounded there. The baggage at Outramalore was ordered to rejoin the army; a letter was written to Innis Khan, adviſing him to quit the province, with all his Morattoes, without delay, or that no quarter would be given to any of them whereſoever met. Orders were iſſued for 1000 of the black horſe to march to the ſouth; 200 ſet off immediately to plunder and lay waſte the country between Allamparvah and Pondicherry: the next day, which was the 25th, 800 with 20 of the huſſars, under the command of Vaſſerot, marched with the ſame intent againſt the diſtricts between Pondicherry and Gingee, and were to act in correſpondence with the other detachment.

The French army reached Chittapett the next day, where they only remained the day after; and then Mr. Lally, without reinforcing the garriſon, fell back with all the European force to Gingee, ſending the Sepoys of Zulphacarjung, of whom he had ſtill ſuſpicions, although Mr. Buſſy was taken, to act under the commandant at Arcot, and adviſed the Morattoes to renew their incurſions to the north of the Paliar. Colonel Coote, on intelligence of Mr. Lally's retreat, and the little care he had taken of Chittapett, reſolved to attack this place before he marched againſt Arcot. The baggage from Outramalore, waiting for ſome ſtores from Chinglapett, did not arrive until the 26th. In the ſame evening, a detachment

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

detachment marched from Vandivaſh, and the next morning inveſted Chittapett, when the commandant, De Tilly, refuſed to ſurrender. On the 28th, the whole army encamped within cannon-ſhot, and the commandant ſtill perſiſting in his refuſal, a battery of two eighteen-pounders was erected in the night, againſt the N. E. angle, and a howitz was planted in the pettah, to enfilade the north line of the rampart. The fire opened at five the next morning, and the breach was nearly practicable by eleven, when a flag of truce appeared, and De Tilly ſurrendered without terms. The garriſon conſiſted of four commiſſioned officers, and 52 private Europeans, with 300 Sepoys. In the hoſpitals were 73 Europeans, wounded in the late battle. The artillery were nine pieces of cannon; the ſtore of ammunition was conſiderable, and amongſt the arms were 300 excellent muſkets, which were diſtributed amongſt the Engliſh Sepoys. The garriſon reported, that a party, with two field-pieces, were marching from Arcot and Gingee, having taken the round-about road by Arni and Trinomalee; on which Captain Stephen Smith was detached, with 200 black horſe, and two companies of Sepoys, to intercept them. 1760. January.

In the mean time, the horſe ſent to the ſouthward had performed their miſſion with great alacrity, having burnt 84 villages, and ſwept away 8000 head of cattle, many of which were of thoſe the Morattoes had taken on the north of the Paliar, and ſold to whomſoever would buy them, at four-pence a head. The whole collection was driven under different convoys to Vandivaſh, Carangoly, and Outramalore, and more than reſtored the number which theſe diſtricts had loſt. Beſides what they had ſold, they had driven away a great multitude of the beſt cattle into the vallies leading from Lalliput to Daimalcherri, which they intended to ſend, with the reſt of their booty, to their own country on the other ſide the hills; but the menaces and ſucceſs of Colonel Coote raiſed apprehenſions in Innis Khan, that he might riſque the loſs of this plunder, if he continued any longer in the province. He therefore quitted Arcot, with all his Morattoes, on the ſame day that Chittapett ſurrendered; and continued his march through the paſs, from

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. January. whence he wrote to Mr. Pigot, that he ſhould at any time hereafter be ready to wait on him with his troops, if they could agree upon the terms.

On the 30th, intelligence was received from Captain Wood, that he had marched with his garriſon of Covrepauk to Arcot, and found the Sepoys of Zulphacarjung ſtrongly poſted in the ſtreets of the town; he nevertheleſs attacked them, and after much firing drove them from their ſtands, with conſiderable loſs on their ſide, and little on his own. They retreated out of the town, as the garriſon in the fort did not want their ſervice. On the 31ſt, the army, which had moved by two ſucceſſive diviſions, encamped near Arni, where they were rejoined by the detachment ſent with Captain Stephen Smith, who had taken the party they had been ſent after, which was much leſs than had been repreſented, conſiſting only of 20 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, eſcorting two braſs field-pieces, which Mr. Lally had ordered from Arcot. Captain Smith had likewiſe picked up three commiſſaries, who were travelling to Pondicherry in their pallankeens.

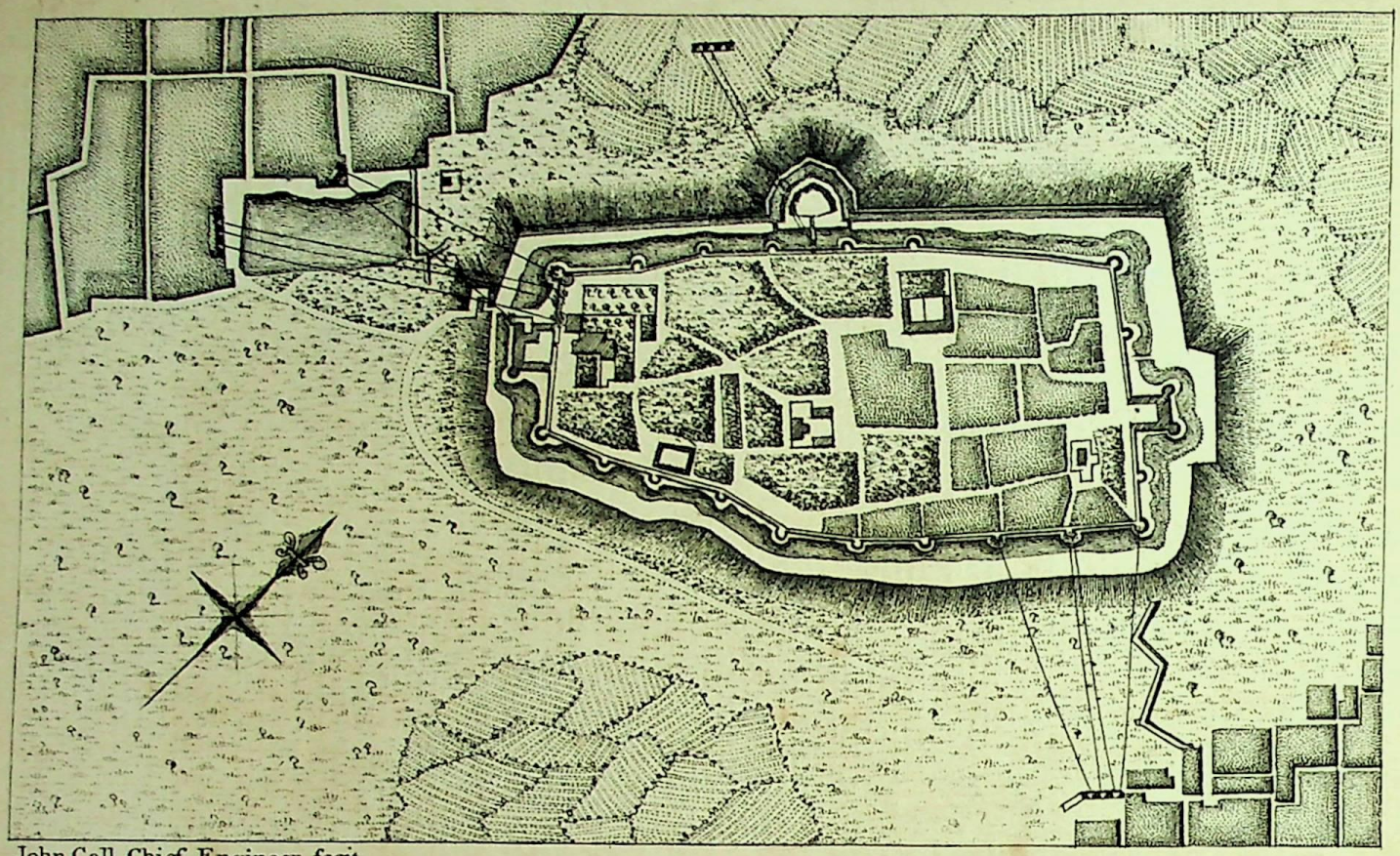
February. The next day, which was the firſt of February, Colonel Coote, with the firſt diviſion of the army, joined Captain Wood in the town of Arcot, having left the ſecond with Major Monſon, to attack Timery, which lies in the road. This fort being very ſmall, although well-built, only ſhells were fired, which before the evening reduced the garriſon to ſurrender: they were one ſerjeant commanding 20 ſoldiers, and 60 Sepoys, with five pieces of cannon. The next day Major Monſon arrived at Arcot, and all immediately ſet to work in erecting batteries, for which Captain Wood had prepared the materials, and had nearly finiſhed one on the north face of the fort.

The defences of the fort had been greatly improved ſince it was defended by Captain Clive, againſt Rajahſahib, in 1752. The Engliſh had contributed moſt; but the French finiſhed what was intended, but left undone by them, when they abandoned the fort on Mr. Lally's approach to Madraſs. The ditch was moſtly in the ſolid rock, and had every where been dug to man height: the fauſſebray

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

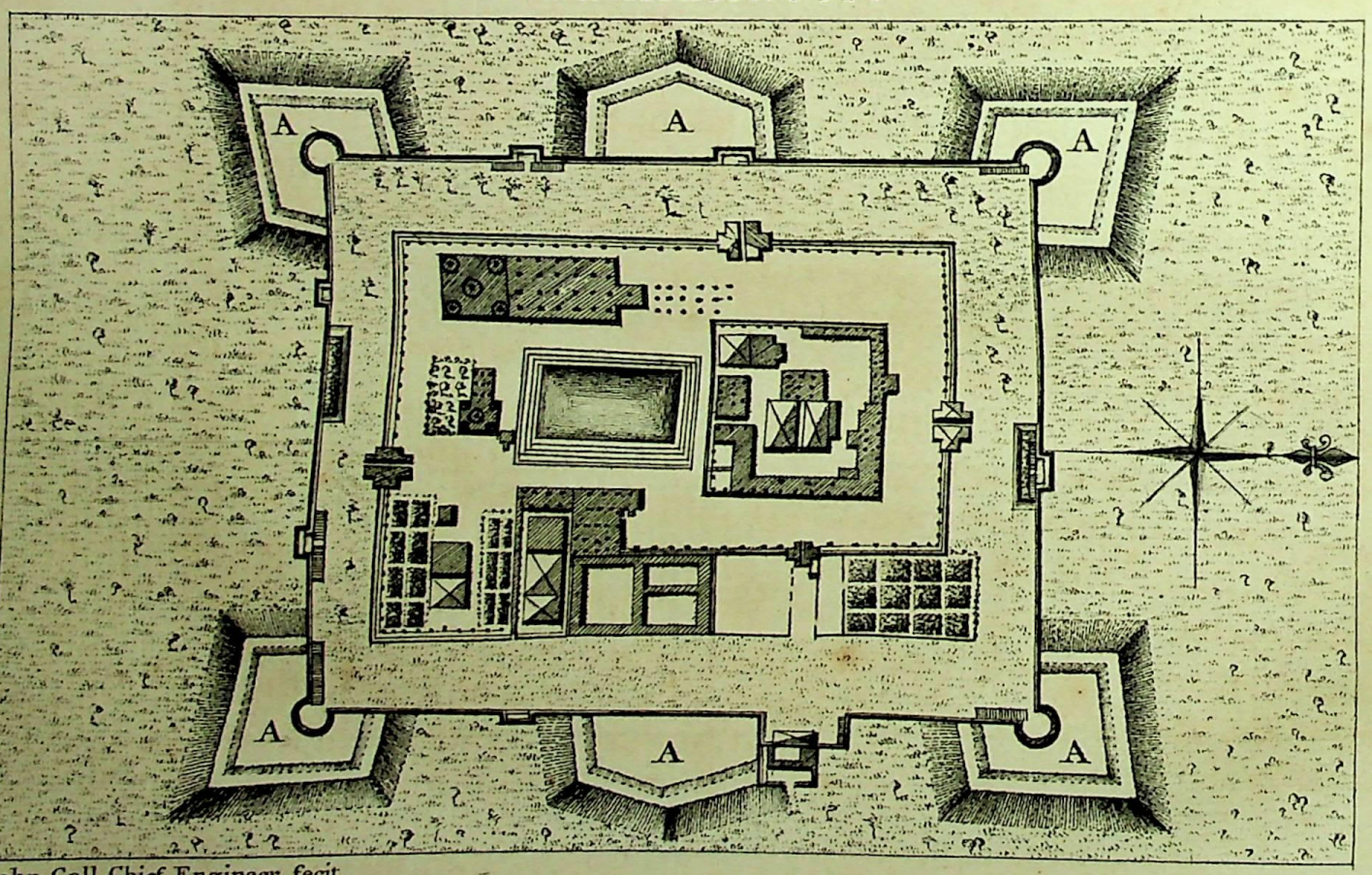
ARCOT FORT.



John Call, Chief Engineer fecit.

100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 yards.

CHILLAMBARUM.



John Call, Chief Engineer fecit.

A. *Fortifications intended and begun by the French.*

100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 feet

John Flowers Sculpsit

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February.

was clear, but open; being neither ſkirted with a parapet-wall, nor even with a paliſade: a glacis, and a covered way, had been carried round the fort; and from the center of the north-ſide of the covered-way projected a ſtrong ravelin, mounting ſix guns, round which the glacis was continued; a gate with a draw-bridge communicated with this ravelin: the narrow rampart of the old wall had in many places been widened, and ramparts raiſed to it, for the ready running up of cannon; each of the towers, of which there were twenty-two, was rendered capable of a gun of any ſize, thoſe at the four angles would admit three, and the platforms of the two gateways more. The extent of the fort from the weſtern to the eaſtern ſide is nearly 800 yards; the eaſtern face 350; but the ſouthern wall, receding as it ſtretches to the eaſtward, reduces the eaſtern face to 260 yards, of which 50 are occupied in the middle by a gate-way, and the main rampart on this face had only the two towers in the angles.

Two batteries were raiſed to the Eaſt; one, of three embraſures in the front of ſome houſes, ſtanding at the diſtance of 360 yards, nearly oppoſite to the rampart between the gateway and the tower in the angle on its right; and was intended to breach in the interval: the other battery was on the left of this, but 100 yards nearer; it mounted only two guns, of which, one was to diſmantle the tower in the angle to the right of the gateway, and the other the angle on the right of the gateway itſelf. A battery of three guns was raiſed to the ſouth, nearly oppoſite the s. w. angle of the fort, and bore upon the tower in this angle, and the two next to the eaſtward. This battery was at the diſtance of 200 yards, where a few houſes gave ſhelter to the guards, and covered the workmen in the outſet of the approaches. The fourth battery was that raiſed by Captain Wood on the north: it was to the left of the ravelin, at the diſtance of 200 yards, and mounted two guns, which were to plunge over the ravelin, in order to break the drawbridge behind, by which the ravelin communicated acroſs the ditch with the body of the fort: but this battery was of little uſe becauſe it enfiladed no part of the rampart, and the ravelin it fired upon bore only one gun againſt the two

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February. batteries to the eaſtward, and, in caſe the bridge ſhould be broke, the guard would be withdrawn into the fort, where their ſervice, if the breach ſhould be aſſaulted, would be of more detriment than their continuance in the ravelin; and the battery was employd only becauſe it was ready.

On the 3d and 4th, whilſt the batteries were conſtructing, the garriſon threw many ſhells to interrupt the work, but no men were hurt by them. On the 5th, all the three batteries opened; and the garriſon ſtill continuing their ſhells, returned likewiſe on all ſides with more cannon than fired upon them; and a ſoldier was killed on the N. E. attack, and four artillery-men to the ſouth. On the 6th, the enemy diſmounted two guns in the battery of three to the eaſt, in which two Europeans were killed and two wounded, and two were likewiſe wounded at the ſouth battery. This day, 200 cohorn-ſhells arrived from Madraſs, inſtead of eight-inch ſhells for the howitz, which was the only piece of bombarding artillery with the army; no powder came with the ſhells; and from the defence, the ſtock in camp ſeemed likely to be exhauſted before the place could be opened to aſſault; and ſhot grew equally ſcarce. Four hundred bullocks were therefore ſent off to bring a ſupply of both from Madraſs, with two eighteen-pounders to replace the two which had been diſmounted. In the night between the 6th and the 7th, the army began their approaches from both attacks. On the 7th, two eighteen-pounders arrived from Chinglapett; but from the want of ſerviceable bullocks they were accompanied by only 50 ſhot, and 50 barrels of powder expected with them were ſtill lagging on the road. From the preceding to the preſent evening, only one man was killed, and two wounded. The approaches were puſhed on all night; and the next day, which was the eighth of the month, arrived the powder from Chinglapett, and a quantity was diſcovered buried in one of the houſes of the town; but all the ſhot were ſo nearly expended, that, at four in the afternoon, Colonel Coote beat a parley, in order to get time to pick up what the enemy had fired. The French officer, Captain Huſſey, accepted the meſſage, which was a ſummons to ſurrender, as he could expect no ſuc-

cours:

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

cours: he anſwered, that not a man had been killed in the fort; but that he was willing to ſurrender it, if not relieved before, at the end of ſix days, on condition the garriſon ſhould be free, have the honours of war, and retire to Pondicherry. This to and fro laſted two hours, when the firing was renewed until dark. The loſs this day was only one man killed, and two wounded. In the night, the trenches to the s. were puſhed on with much diligence, and the garriſon employed every means to interrupt their progreſs, cannon and ſhells from the body of the place, muſketry, grenades, and fire-balls, which ſet on fire the blinds, gabions, and faſcines of the advancing ſap, dangerouſly wounded Enſign Macmahon, who conducted it, killed one, and wounded ten more of the men employed. Nevertheleſs, the ſap before the morning was very near the foot of the glacis. With the day, which was the 9th, the batteries, having received ſome more ſhot from Chinglapett, continued, and by noon their fire had opened both breaches to ſix feet of the bottom of the rampart; and had diſmantled the towers that flanked them: but ſtill the ditch remained to be filled, and no lodgement was yet made in the covered way. Great therefore was the ſurprize, to ſee a flag, followed by a voluntary offer of ſurrendering the next day, if allowed the honours of war; which, as before, implied that the garriſon were not to be made priſoners. Colonel Coote refuſed; and ſoon after came another letter, offering as the condition, that they might all retire to Pondicherry on their paroles not to ſerve again. Colonel Coote replied, that he ſhould allow the officers and men whatſoever belonged to them, and good treatment; but reſerved the right of diſpoſing of their perſons: at the ſame time, he invited the commandant to ſupper, who came. The fort was cloſely ſurrounded during the night, to prevent any of the garriſon from eſcaping; and early the next morning, the grenadiers of the army took poſſeſſion of the gates. The garriſon conſiſted of 11 officers, three of whom were captains, and 236 ſoldiers and artillery-men, in all 247 Europeans, and nearly the ſame number of Sepoys. The artillery were 4 mortars, and 22 pieces of cannon, of which ſome were eighteen-pounders: there was likewiſe a plentiful ſtock of

1760. February.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February. ammunition, and military ſtores of all kinds. The batteries muſt have ceaſed firing the next day, until convoys arrived: the garriſon had not loſt three men, and the fort might have held out ten days longer before the aſſault by ſtorm could be riſqued. They extenuated the early ſurrender by the certainty of not being relieved. It required the reſpite of ſome days to refit the wear and tear which the army had endured during the activity of the late operations; for all the carriages were ſhattered, all the men wanted cloathing, and all the bullocks were ſore.

Colonel Coote, in conſideration of Mr. Buſſy's generoſity to the Engliſh factory when he took Vizagapatam, had permitted him to repair to Pondicherry from the field of battle, immediately after he was taken. He arrived there the next day, and repreſented the defeat as far from irretrievable. On the 25th in the evening, came in Mr. Lally, and the troops were following from Gingee to Valdore. His ill ſucceſs, and the abandoning the field, rendered him ſtill more odious than ever. No invective, howſoever unjuſt, was ſpared. Cowardice borrowing courage from drunkenneſs was imputed as the cauſe of wrong diſpoſitions, redreſſed by worſe, until the battle was loſt, and the retreat to Pondicherry as a deſign to loſe the city, in revenge for the univerſal deteſtation in which he was held.

Nevertheleſs, the beſt ability and will would have been perplexed what meaſure to purſue after the defeat. The neceſſity of refurniſhing the army with the ſtores and artillery they had loſt, would alone have required them to fall back nearer to Pondicherry; and the protection of the diſtricts in the rear of Alamparwah and Gingee now became of great concernment; for ſince the loſs of Maſulipatam, of the northern provinces, and of their ſettlements in Bengal, very little grain in proportion to the former importations had been brought to Pondicherry by ſea; and the diſtreſſes for money to anſwer more immediate calls had hitherto prevented the government from laying in a ſtore of proviſions; ſo that their greateſt reſource at this time was from the harveſts in theſe diſtricts, which was ripe and gathering in.

The interruptions continually oppoſed by the garriſon of Tritchinopoly to the French troops remaining in the iſland Seringham, had prevented

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February.

prevented the controllers, appointed to manage these districts, from collecting enough to defray the expences of the late expedition, although the revenues, if unmolested, would have furnished more: Mr. Lally had ordered the whole to return, and expected they would join him before Vandivash. They were, besides the 300 European in Seringham, two detachments lately sent from Pondicherry, with stores and ammunition, who were arrived, and halting at Utatore. The manager appointed to collect the revenues, who was a counsellor of Pondicherry, thought that matters would mend, when he should be reinforced by the detachments at Utatore, and ventured to disobey the orders. The Nabob and Captain Joseph Smith at Tritchinopoly resolved, as the best means of preventing the arrival of the detachments, to get possession of the fortified pagoda of Pitchandah, on the farther bank of the Coleroon, which terminates the only high road leading from Samiaveram and Utatore into the Island of Seringham. The pagoda was reported to be garrisoned only by a company of Sepoys, with a few Europeans. Accordingly Captain Richard Smith, who was recovered of his wound, crossed the river on the 28th of December, and took the command of the country troops, and those from the garrison, which had continued at Samiaveram since the defeat of the French party, which had advanced a few days before. Early the next morning, Captain Joseph Smith moved with a party from the city, and began to cannonade the pagoda of Seringham from across the Caveri, in order to divert the French troops from sending a reinforcement to Pitchandah; for the attack of which, his fire upon Seringham was to be the signal. The troops from Samiaveram were in time on their ground near Pritchandah. The two field-pieces which were to beat down the gate were in the road; the oxen were cast off from them, and they were to be dragged the rest of the way, which was 50 yards, to a choultry within six yards of the gate. The troops were not discovered until they had got under the wall, and were fixing the scaling-ladders: the garrison, more numerous than supposed, fired hotly from the walls, and especially on the field-pieces. Most of the Europeans in the detachment were foreigners, and none of those employed in bringing on the field-pieces liked the service; and to encourage them,

Captain

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February. Captain Smith and Lieutenant Horne pulled themſelves at the guns; their example brought more aſſiſtance; but of ten, who were at the gun with Smith, two were ſhot dead, and three wounded, before they got them into the choultry, when a few rounds brought down the gate-way; in this inſtant captain Smith received a ball under his ſhoulder, which totally diſabled him. Lieutenant Horne then took his place and endeavoured to lead the men to the aſſault, but the detachment had ſuffered ſo ſeverely that none would follow him; he, however, prevailed on them to abide, and bring off the wounded, and the two guns. Soon after, a certain account was received of the ſtrength of the French parties at Utatore, which appeared an overmatch for the diſpirited troops at Samiaveram; nor could Tritchinopoly ſpare a reinforcement equal to what the French troops in the iſland might then ſafely ſend to act in conjunction with thoſe coming from Utatore: the whole detachment at Samiaveram were therefore recalled, and arrived the ſecod of February at Tritchinopoly. Their retreat relieved the French troops in the pagoda of Seringham from great diſtreſs; for they had little ammunition left, and ſtreightened towards the Caveri by the garriſon of Tritchinopoly, and on the other ſide of the Coleroon by parties from the encampment at Samiaveram, they could neither venture out to ſeek, nor the country people to bring them in proviſions; ſo that all their ſubſiſtence, for ſeveral days, had been what they had plundered from the bramins in the pagoda, whoſe houſes they pulled down for fire-wood to dreſs the victuals they found in them.

The French troops at Utatore having waited for ſome ſtores, which were lagging on the road, did not arrive at Seringham until the 8th: they were 140 Europeans, five pieces of cannon, and 600 Sepoys; and brought with them a competent ſtock of ammunition and ſpare arms. A day or two after their arrival, 200 of their Europeans, with 600 Sepoys, commanded by Huſſan Ally, marched againſt Totcum, which had been taken for the Nabob on the 26th of December. The garriſon left in it were four companies of Sepoys, under the command of two European ſerjeants; all of whom, although there were guns in the fort, behaved very ill, and ſurren-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

surrendered the place before any impression had been made on the walls. 1760. February.

At the same time that Mr. Lally recalled the troops from Seringham, he likewise ordered the fort of Devicotah to be evacuated; and the garrison, having made several breaches in the walls and towers, marched away in the beginning of February, but left a company of Sepoys in the pagoda of Atchaveram, which stands five miles inland of Devicotah.

Captain Joseph Smith, on this intelligence, detached two companies of Sepoys, under the command of serjeant Sommers, on whose approach the French Sepoys at Atchaveram were reinforced by another company from the pagoda of Chilambarum, with which they marched out, and met Sommers's detachment on the plain, who routed them completely, taking five stand of their colours, with four of their officers, and, beside the Sepoys who were killed, many were drowned in the hurry of crossing the Coleroon. Immediately after this encounter, Sommers proceeded, took possession of Devicotah, and began to repair the breaches.

The news of the victory at Vandivash reached Tritchinopoly on the 30th of January, and cleared at once the cloud of despondency which had overwhelmed the Nabob ever since he left Madrass to proceed thither. He pitched his tent, displayed his great standard, and declared his intention of returning into the Carnatic; but waited until the French troops should be removed from Seringham; and his wish was soon gratified; for Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, dispatched a second order, under the severest penalties of disobedience, for all the troops between Volcondah and Tritchinopoly to join his army without delay. They hoped to conceal their retreat from the garrison of Tritchinopoly, and made the preparations with all secrecy; but some of the Malabars employed by them were natives of this part of the country, who, solicitous to secure pardon, if not favour, with the change of government, gave immediate and constant intelligence to Captain Joseph Smith, who made ready to take such advantages as usually occur, when troops retreating are pursued. The

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February. whole body of the French troops were 450 Europeans and Coffrees, and 1200 Sepoys; of which 150, with the commiſſary, were in the pagoda of Jumbakiſſna. The retreat was appointed at nine at night, on the 6th of February; of which previous intelligence was brought to Captain Smith; and almoſt the whole garriſon of Tritchinopoly were on the bank of the Caveri, oppoſite to the pagoda of Seringham, ready to move as ſoon as the enemy. The notices were punctual; and the firſt diviſion of the Engliſh troops entered the ſouth gate of the pagoda as the laſt of the French were going out of the oppoſite: the reſt of the Engliſh troops marched round the pagoda to the weſt. When all were united on the north ſide, they advanced to the bank of the Coleroon, and, when nearly oppoſite to Pitchandah, heard the ſound, and thought they ſaw the motion of a line of men marching acroſs them to paſs the river. Captain R. Smith, who led the the troops of the garriſon, formed in order to receive or attack the ſtrangers; but Captain Joſeph coming up bid him not fire, becauſe he had ordered the troops of the polygar Tondiman, which had for ſome time attended the garriſon, to advance between the pagodas of Seringham and Jumbakiſſna, and what troops they now deſcried might as probably be them, as a part of the enemy; who they really were, being thoſe moving from Jumbakiſſna to join their main body: they were ſoon after aſcertained by a black ſervant of R. Smith's, who had ſtraggled into their line, and talking, was anſwered in French. On which the Engliſh troops immediately proceeded, and began to enter the bed of the Coleroon, as the enemy were leaving the farther bank, who in their hurry flung away fifty barrels of gunpowder, which were recovered; and they deſtroyed a tumbril of gun-ammunition at Pitchandah. But their line never ſtopped until they got to Utatore. The Nabob's horſe followed, hanging in their rear, and continually picked up a deſerter or a priſoner, in all 30 Europeans, or ſomething belonging to their equipages and ſtores; but the infantry, black and white, halted at Samiaveram until the horſe returned, which was the next day; when a detachment of 1000 Sepoys, and 50 Europeans, with two guns and a cohorn, and part of the Nabob's horſe, marched under the com-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

mand of lieutenant Horne, againſt Totcum and Cortalum: at the ſame time, all the other troops returned from Samiaveram to Tritchinopoly; and, beſides what had been gathered in the road, brought in two excellent eighteen-pounders, which the enemy had left in the pagoda of Seringham. The Nabob, ſolicitous to make his new appearance in the Carnatic with as much figure as poſſible, requeſted Joſeph Smith to go, and aſk 500 horſe of the king of Tanjore. The king was ill, and with difficulty admitted the viſit, but promiſed every thing, and referred the adjuſtment to his Dubbeer, or miniſter, which, amongſt the Indians, is equivalent to the Duan of the Mahomedan princes. The Dubbeer, notwithſtanding the late ſucceſſes of the Engliſh arms, inſiſted, that the Nabob ſhould furniſh the pay and expences, which he knew would not be complied with; and Captain Smith returned, as he had expected, without obtaining a ſingle horſeman. In the mean time, Haſſan Ally had abandoned Totcum, on the appearance of lieutenant Horne's detachment, but went away with the garriſon, which were 400 Sepoys, to reinforce Cortalum. Lieutenant Horne followed him; and here the enemy made a ſtand for three days, until a battery was raiſed, when they all went off in the night, leaving a gun and ſome ammunition in the fort. Some Sepoys were left in both, and the reſt of the detachment returned to the city; where the Nabob was making, with accuſtomed tediouſneſs, the preparations for his departure. 1760. February.

The ravages which had been committed by the Engliſh cavalry, in the diſtricts around Pondicherry, brought forth a part of the French troops from Valdoor; but not before the cavalry were gone off with their plunder. The French detachment, ſeeing nothing to oppoſe them, advanced within 20 miles of Carangoly; which, on intelligence of their approach, the Preſidency reinforced with 40 Europeans. Captain Preſton had already been ſent to command there; and on the 6th of February Colonel Coote had detached 500 black horſe, and 20 huſſars, from the ſiege of Arcot, with orders, if Preſton ſhould think proper, to lead them againſt the enemy's detachment, who, gaining intelligence of their march before they had reached Carangoly, retreated faſt; and on the 8th, 27 huſſars with their horſes deſerted and came to Vandivaſh, where

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February. they were enliſted in the Engliſh ſervice. Mr. Lally, on hearing that his detachment was retreating, and that Arcot was preſſed, took a ſudden reſolution of marching with all the reſt of the cavalry, in order, as he gave out, either to throw reinforcements into Arcot, or to retake Chittapett by ſurprize, and releaſe the wounded priſoners there; but the cavalry, when drawn out, mutinied, refuſed to proceed with him, and all went out of the bounds, as if they intended to go over to the Engliſh garriſons; their officers however brought them back; but ſuch was the general diſcontent for want of pay, that ſeveral of the common ſoldiers were overheard, in the night of the 11th, propoſing among themſelves to turn the guns in the ramparts againſt the government houſe, as the only means of bringing Mr. Lally to reaſon. He immediately repreſented the depoſitions of the witneſſes to Mr. De Leyrit and the Council, who, having no money in the public treaſury, propoſed expedients, which Mr. Lally did not approve. All the country in the rear of Vandivaſh and Chittapett, quite up to Pondicherry, had been let for five years to two of the European inhabitants of the colony, at the rent of 1,450,000 rupees a year: they were applied to in this exigency, and anſwered, that they had no money, having been diſappointed of much they expected by the loſs of Vandivaſh and Chittapett; on which the Malabar, to whom Mr. Lally had rented the diſtricts round Arcot, whilſt they remained under his authority, offered to advance 50,000 rupees in ten days, and 80,000 in twenty more, if what remained of the diſtricts let to the two Europeans were leaſed out to him, with the addition of all the country to the ſouth of Pondicherry, as far as Chillambarum and the banks of the Coleroon. His propoſal was accepted; but the preſent aſſiſtance he ſupplied could not ſerve long, and the future depended on the protection of the countries: they were farmed to him at 1,750,000 rupees a year.

This arrangement was not approved by the council, becauſe they doubted of the credit and integrity of the Malabars; and, perhaps, becauſe it was a ſuperceſſion of their own authority in the adminiſtration of the revenues. Immediately after, arrived intelligence of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the loſs of Arcot, which with that of Chittapett gave new ſcope to the imputations againſt Mr. Lally. It was ſaid, that he himſelf had declared, the one incapable of holding out four days, the other not more than five. Why then leave in them 400 Europeans, ſo much wanted in his own army, to fall a certain prey to the Engliſh? But this conduct, as his retreat to Pondicherry, was not void of juſtification; for, had he withdrawn theſe garriſons, the Engliſh army, having nothing to apprehend in their rear, might have immediately followed him to Gingee, and from thence to the adjacencies of Pondicherry, when the produce of the country, ſo neceſſary to ſtore Pondichery, would have fallen under the power of the enemy, whom the neceſſity of reducing Chittapett and Arcot had turned another way; and, beſides the time they muſt employ againſt theſe forts, other delays might concur to keep them ſtill longer at a diſtance. 1760. February.

The Engliſh army, after the reduction of Arcot, encamped without the town, towards Velore. The Kellidar Mortizally trembled for his fort; and having been very complacent to the Engliſh, ſince the French had been repulſed from before Madraſs, he now intreated the Preſidency to ſpare the attack, and ſent a preſent of 30,000 rupees to Colonel Coote; who refuſed it, ſignifying, that he was not empowered, either by the Nabob or the Preſidency of Madraſs, to levy tributes. The Kellidar replied, that it was intended as a homage to himſelf, a great commander, according to the cuſtom of the country; on which the money was accepted, and appropriated to the general ſtock of prize-money for the army.

The army had not reſtored its equipments ſufficiently to move from the neighbourhood of Arcot until the 20th of February, and even then left behind two eighteen-pounders and a ten-inch howitz, which were not repaired. They halted this day at Timery, and 500 Sepoys, with 100 black horſe, were diſpatched with Captain Stephen Smith againſt Trinomaly. The next day the army encamped under Arni. The Kellidar of this fort, which is conſiderable, and a fief belonging to the king of Tanjore, had conducted himſelf with ſo much hoſpitality to both ſides, that neither the French nor the Nabob conſidered him as an enemy. On the 23d

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February. they arrived at Chittapett, when intelligence was received from Stephen Smith, that he had got poſſeſſion of the pettah of Trinomaly; but that the troops in the fort ſeemed reſolved to hold out. The pettah could not be maintained without the fort; and the poſſeſſion of the fort was at this juncture of much conſequence, as its detachments might harraſs and interrupt convoys of proviſions coming from the country in the rear of the army, when advanced to the ſouthward. Colonel Coote therefore reinforced Stephen Smith with two twelve-pounders, and 50 Europeans, who were French deſerters, lately incorporated into a company under the command of one of their own ſerjeants; they were called the French Volunteers, and were intended to be employed on hazardous ſervices; but this did not prove one; for, although the guns could not breach, the garriſon offered on the 29th to give up the fort, if they were permitted to march out free whither they pleaſed, with their arms and baggage; their terms were accepted: they were 250 Sepoys, and left ſix pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, in the fort. Of the Engliſh detachment, one of the volunteers and a Laſcar were killed, and a Sepoy wounded, during the attack.

On the 23d, Rear-Admiral Corniſh arrived at Madraſs, with ſix ſhips of the line. They were the ſquadron which had ſailed under his command from England, and met Mr. Pococke, with his ſhips, off Pondicherry in October, whom they accompanied to Tellicherry: from whence they ſailed again for the coaſt of Coromandel on the 15th of December, whilſt Mr. Pococke, with his own, was proceeding to Bombay. Contrary winds and currents had retarded their paſſages from one coaſt to the other. The crews had received very little refreſhment from land ever ſince they left England about this time in the preceding year, and many were down with the ſcurvy.

The army marched from Chittapett on the 26th, ſtriking acroſs the country to the S. E. On the 29th in the forenoon they arrived and halted at Tondivanum, a town of much reſort, at which meet the high roads leading from Chittapett, Vandivaſh, Outramalore, and Carangoly, towards Pondicherry, from which place it is 30 miles

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

miles diſtant to the N. E. In the other direction of the country, it ſtands nearly midway between Gingee and Alamparvah on the ſea-ſhore; and on its left, five miles towards Alamparvah, is a fortified rock, called Permacoil. The wars between the two nations having never before brought any deciſion before this place, it had hitherto remained neglected by both: But as ſoon as the French army fell back towards Pondicherry, Permacoil became of importance to the protection of the intermediate diſtricts; and Mr. Lally, immediately after the defeat of Vandivaſh, had prevailed on the Kellidar to admit a party, with ſome cannon, into his fort; but the eaſy reduction of Chittapett and Arcot made the Kellidar repent of his haſty compliance; and, as ſoon as the Engliſh army were returning from Arcot to the ſouthward, he wrote to Colonel Coote, pretending, that the French party had got into his fort by ſurprize, adviſed him to attack it, and promiſed all the aſſiſtance in his power; and Colonel Coote reſolved to try the ſincerity of his profeſſions. 1760. February.

In this intention, he ſet off before the army in the laſt march to Tondivanum, with moſt of the cavalry and two companies of Sepoys, and arriving there before day-break went on to reconnoitre Permacoil. Beſides the fortified rock, lie others of leſs height before and behind it; the direction in length of the whole plot is 1200 yards, and extends from the N. E. to the S. W.: the S.W. end of the rocks lay neareſt to Tondivanum; but Colonel Coote, having no guide, followed the beſt ground, which brought him to the north-eaſt end, oppoſite to the northern face of the pettah, which lies under the weſtern ſide of the rock of Permacoil, and extends beyond it under part of the other rocks to the north. When near, the troops were fired upon by cannon from the neareſt tower on the rock, and by field-pieces and muſketry from the walls of the pettah below. Soon after came a man, commiſſioned by the Kellidar, who informed Colonel Coote, that the French in the fort were 50 Europeans, 30 Coffrees, and 50 Sepoys; that they had got ſome guns up the rock; but that four large pieces of cannon, which arrived the day before, were ſtill remaining in the pettah below; and offered to conduct them to the gate; for, although the pettah was under the main rocks, the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. February.

plain on all ſides round the walls was encumbered with large fragments, which might afford ſhelter to the approach. Colonel Coote immediately followed the guide with the Sepoys, ordering the horſe to form, and keep on the left, under cover of the main rocks to the N. E.

The rock on which the fort of Permacoil ſtands does not extend, even at its baſe, more than 500 yards in length. In breadth, it is at the northern end about 400 yards, at the ſouthern not more than 200: its height is likewiſe various, being at the narrow end 300 perpendicular feet, and diminiſhing by ſlopes and declivities to 200 at the other. Of theſe differences in the height, there is one more particularly marked, which croſſes in a natural zig-zag of two re-entering angles, about the middle of the mountain, and all the ground to the eaſtward behind this ridge is 30 feet higher than the other part before it to the weſtward. This eaſtern part is the upper, and the only real fort; being incloſed and fortified with high ſtone walls and towers ſtrongly built. The other incloſure, although called the lower fort, is only ſurrounded with a wall of looſe ſtones, and was principally intended for the immediate refuge of the cattle and inhabitants on ſudden alarm. The rock falls every where ſo ſteep, that the area of the fortified ſurface above is equal to half the baſe below. The adjacent rocks before and behind are not high enough to carry any detriment to its fortifications.

Colonel Coote with the Sepoys, led by the guide, took poſt behind ſome rocks oppoſite to the gate-way in the north face of the pettah, which ſtands nearly in the middle of the rampart. Two large pieces of cannon, mounted on field-carriages, were ſtanding at the entrance of the gate-way, which was in the left ſide of its projection; and ſome Coffrees and Europeans, with two field-pieces, were on the tower juſt behind to protect them. This guard, knowing that the cavalry in the rear could not act on the ground where the Sepoys were, ventured to ſally. Colonel Coote ordered Enſign Carty to meet them, with one of the companies of Sepoys; which turned out with great alacrity, gave their fire, and advanced to the bayonet. The French party, ſtartled by their reſolution, ran back, and were followed ſo cloſe

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March.

close by Carty's company, and they by Colonel Coote with the other, that the fugitives made no stand at the gateway, but continued their flight, still pursued, through the pettah, to the foot of the rock at the farther end, where steps were cut winding up to the upper fort, by which they escaped into it; but Colonel O'Kennedy, the commander, who was at the steps, and lame with old wounds, had very nearly been taken. Here were lying two twenty-four pounders, of which the garrison had burnt the carriages, because there was no path to draw, and no means to raise them, into the fort. As soon as the pettah was cleared of the enemy's guards, Colonel Coote posted the Sepoys in the best shelter the houses afforded against the fire of the cannon in the upper fort, and the musketry from the lower, which recommenced immediately, and continued through the day. The horse were distributed, some under the walls of the pettah, ready to dismount and assist, if any descent should be made; and the rest in different guards round the hills. In the evening came up six companies of Sepoys, with the French Volunteers, and an eight-inch howitz, from Tondivanum: the enemy continued their fire through the night, and small parties came down the side of the rocks, who threw grenades, and fired musketry, by which a Sepoy was killed, and nine, with three Europeans, wounded before the morning; no loss had been sustained in the day. All the return was from the howitz, which did no damage in either of the forts,

Before morning pioneers and tools arrived, and sufficient cover for the whole was formed with earth thrown up and houses broken down; during which some were employed in raising and fixing the two pieces of cannon, one after the other, to transporting carriages, in order to carry them off, which was not executed without difficulty and time; during which, the enemy fired down grenades and musketry, but did no mischief.

In the afternoon Colonel Coote summoned O'Kennedy, who sent down one of his men to receive the letter, and answered it with a temperate negative; on which Colonel Coote resolved to surprize the lower fort. Two guides belonging to the Kellidar offered to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March. ſhew the path leading up the north ſide of the hill, which being extremely rugged and difficult, was not likely to be ſuſpected: they proceeded with two companies of Sepoys at eight at night; at the ſame time a platoon of Coote's grenadiers, with another company of Sepoys, went up the ſteps leading from the pettah to the back of the upper fort, and made a falſe attack to divert the enemy from the real, which were forty minutes in gaining the ſummit, when the foremoſt got over the wall before they were diſcovered. The enemy's guards conſiſted chiefly of Sepoys, and all of them aſtoniſhed by the firſt fire ran away from their different ſtations, and regained the upper fort, where Colonel O'Kennedy, ignorant of the numbers which had got into the lower, and perplexed by the falſe attack, would not riſque a ſally which might have recovered the loſs; but kept up a hot fire upon them by gueſs from the defences along the ridge which ſeparates the upper from the lower fort; but with no effect, for the choultries and rocks riſing every where afforded ſhelter. The guides, as ſoon as the party was eſtabliſhed, came down with information of their ſucceſs to Colonel Coote, who was waiting at the foot of the path, with the pioneer company, and the Volunteers of France, provided with ladders, gabions, and faſcines, and immediately proceeded with them up the hill; where as ſoon as they had joined the party above, the whole proceeded acroſs the lower fort, to eſcalade the fortifications along the ridge, notwithſtanding the garriſon was prepared to receive them. The ridge might be aſcended without clambering. The grenadiers carried the ladders; the reſt followed, ready to mount, and in the mean time fired up againſt the parapet; from which the fire inſtantly became exceſſively hot. The ladders that were firſt applied proved too ſhort; it was ſuppoſed they would anſwer better in other parts, to which they were removed, and tried with as little ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs the conteſt continued half an hour; and the Sepoys behaved with as much eagerneſs as the Europeans, but many dropping or diſabled, Colonel Coote ordered the aſſault to ceaſe. He received a wound in the knee; his aid de camp, Captain Adams, was ſhot through the hip; a ſerjeant of the pioneers, one of the French Volunteers,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

luntеers, and ſeven Sepoys, were killed; 16 Europeans and 25 Sepoys were wounded: in the falſe attack on the upper fort, two Sepoys were wounded, and Enſign Blakeney was killed. The next day, which was the 3d of the month, the fire of the fort diminiſhed conſiderably, as it was ſuppoſed, and rightly, from ſcarcity of ammunition. At noon, a letter came from Colonel O'Kennedy, requeſting a ceſſation of 24 hours, to obtain Mr. Lally's orders concerning the ſurrender: this was refuſed, and ſoon after he ſent another letter requſting the honours of war, which were likewiſe denied. Several Europeans and Sepoys were killed and wounded through the day and night. Before noon of the next day, which was the fifth of the attack, a braſs ſix-pounder was got up the hill with much difficulty by Captain Barker. There were two choultries in the lower fort, ſtanding 100 yards from the ridge and rampart, which divide it from the upper: one of theſe choultries was near the wall which runs along the edge of the rock on the ſide over the pettah; and in this choultry the field-piece was planted; the other was a few yards on the left, which ſheltered thoſe whom it was not neceſſary to expoſe. The defences in the upper fort immediately oppoſite to the choultries lay in a large re-entering angle, at the two extremities of which was a round tower, one on the edge of the rock overlooking the pettah, the other about the middle of the ridge, which from hence falls back in another zig-zag out of ſight of the choultries. The gate leading into the upper fort was on the left of the tower in the middle of the ridge. The field-piece managed by Captain Barker battered, firing upwards out of the choultry, againſt the gate and the parapet of the tower, both which were ruined before night; but the garriſon had heaped earth at the back of the gate, which continued to ſtop the entrance. Many of thoſe expoſed in this ſervice ſuffered. New ſcaling-ladders had been provided; and the next morning, as the troops were preparing to advance with them, the garriſon beat the chamade, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. They were fifteen European gunners, choſen men, 32 Coffrees, and 100 Sepoys: only one of each had been killed. There were in the fort 20 pieces of cannon, but not ammunition

1760. March.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March. either for them or the muſketry ſufficient to have ſtood the aſſault, nor had the garriſon two days proviſion left. The total loſs and caſualties of the Engliſh, through the attack, were four Europeans killed, and 15 wounded, of the Sepoys 40 and 70; theſe troops had never behaved ſo well; of their killed, one was the Subadhar, equivalent to the Captain of a company, and two were Jemidars, the next rank of officers. The gallantry of Bulwanſing, who was the ſenior of the whole body in camp, was rewarded with a gold medal. The Kellidar, for his ſervices, was continued in the fort, in which were left a company of Sepoys, with 12 Europeans and a lieutenant. A large detachment of the French army had advanced as far as Manour, within ſeven miles of Permacoil, and were in motion to throw in a conſiderable reinforcement of men and ſtores, at the very hour they heard of the arrival of the Engliſh army at Tondivanum, on which they retreated towards Pondicherry.

On the 7th, Colonel Coote went from the camp at Tondivanum, with the cavalry, black as well as Europeans, and ſix companies of Sepoys, to diſcover near the bounds of Pondicherry. The diſtance to the bound-hedge was 20 miles; and the Sepoys, after marching ten, wanted reſt, and were left in the village of Trichimungalum.

The French troops which had been detached to the relief of Permacoil, had, on their retreat, encamped four miles to the weſt of the town, and three from the bound-hedge. A large collection of ſand-hills, of which the whole together is called the Red-hill, riſes about half a mile from the ſea-ſhore, and a mile and half to the north of the town: they extend four miles to the weſtward, and the laſt hill, where they ceaſe on this ſide, is called Perimbé: acroſs from north to ſouth they extend two miles, and have paſſable dales between: directly oppoſite to the ſide of Perimbé, ſtands the Fort of Villenore, a ſtrong out-poſt, ſituated near the north bank of the river of Ariancopang, which falls into the ſea about 500 yards from the wall of Pondicherry, and in its courſe from Villenore forms a curve to the ſouth. The Red-hill, on the other ſide the plain, recedes to the N. E. from Perimbé to its end towards the ſea. So that the interval between Villenore and Perimbé is the narroweſt part of the plain between the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the river and the Red-hill, being here ſcarcely more than a mile, whereas farther back it is three. The plain as far as the bound-hedge was occupied by country houſes, encloſures, avenues, and arable ground. The market of the French troops was in the village under Villenore. Temporary barracks for the European cavalry had been raiſed on the hill of Perimbé. Their foot and artillery were diſperſed in the houſes and encloſures which occupied the ſpace between. 1760. March.

Colonel Coote proceeded with the cavalry from Trichimungalum, not in the high road which paſſeth by Valdore, but acroſs the country to the left, and came in about the middle of the Red-hill, and paſſing through its dales appeared on the outward ridge between Perimbé and the bound-hedge. The enemy had gained notice of his approach, but not of the force which accompanied him; and, imagining that it conſiſted of foot as well as horſe, ſuſpected likewiſe that the main body of both might be marching to get between them and the bound-hedge, and impede their retreat into the limits. In this perſuaſion, all their infantry got into march with much hurry and confuſion, to gain the avenue neareſt the Red-hill, which, as well as another on its right, leads to the bound-hedge: they moved with all their field-pieces in front, to oppoſe the ſuppoſed danger, which if real would have been the greateſt: but the European horſe, which were 250 in three ſquadrons, remained on the hill of Perimbé to obſerve and protect their rear. Colonel Coote ſuſpected the error which occaſioned the diſorder he obſerved in the infantry, and as faſt as his troops came up ordered the European horſe, which were only 80, with three ſquadrons of the black, to advance, and keep the enemy's cavalry in check, whilſt he himſelf, with the main body, croſſed over to the avenue, in which the laſt of their infantry were entering; in whoſe rear he hung, having thus ſeparated them from their cavalry, who, ſeeing their danger, retreated before the diviſion advancing againſt them, to gain the other ſide of the avenue on the right of their infantry, whoſe flanks were already protected from the cavalry with Colonel Coote by the ditch on each ſide. Colonel Coote following the infantry, often advanced within

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March. 40 yards, to draw their fire; but the grenadiers of Lorrain, who formed the rear-guard, reſerved it with much diſcipline. At length, however, the foremoſt troop of horſe, led by Aſſafbeg, a Jemidar of great ſpirit, broke in upon a platoon, and cut down ſeven of them; but the next troop drew up their bridles, and were afraid to follow the impreſſion, which otherwiſe promiſed to break the whole column, which recovered, and continued its way as before, until they had paſſed the bound-hedge, under the redoubt of Valdore, which terminates the avenue along which they were marching, when the fire of the redoubt was left free, and Colonel Coote ſtopped the purſuit. In the mean while, the other diviſion under the command of Captain De Buke, had croſſed over to the village of Villenore, and routed the market-people there without reſiſtance, and the black horſe with him, joined by more from the main body, collected all worth the while they could carry off, and drove before them all the cattle. The whole aſſembled again on the hill of Perimbé, where they ſet fire to the barracks, and the carriage of an eighteen-pounder, for want of proper bullocks to draw it off. In the afternoon, the whole returned to Tritchimungalum, intending to reſt the night there; but a corporal of the dragoons deſerting, they removed five miles farther back to Manoor; from hence Colonel Coote ſent orders to Major Monſon, to march the army from Tondivanum againſt Alamparvah.

The next day he moved himſelf to Taliaveram, which is five miles from Manoor to the N. E. on the road towards Permacoil; but few of the black horſe accompanied him; they were all diſperſed to ſecure or ſell the plunder they had got the day before. They, however, came back on the 9th, and he proceeded with them from Taliaveram again to the bound-hedge of Pondicherry, and obſerved very nearly, without annoyance. On his return, he went to Conymere, where he met Mr. Buſſy by appointment, who had been recalled on his parole to Madraſs, in order to be ſent to Europe, in compliance with the earneſt importunity of the Nabob, who regarded him as fraught with more dangerous reſources than all his other enemies, and ſaid that if he became free, and commanded, he would

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

protract the war ten years. On the 10th Colonel Coote came to Alamparvah, which the army had inveſted the day before; but the wound he had received at Permacoil was ſo much exaſperated by his late fatigue, that he could not any longer ſtir without danger, he therefore ordered Colonel Monſon to carry on the ſiege of Alamparvah, but ſtill continued in the camp. 1760. March.

The fort of Alamparvah ſtands on the ſea-ſhore, about 20 miles E. N. E. of Tondivanum, 15 E. of Permacoil, and 24 to the N. of Pondicherry. It formerly belonged to the Nabobs of the province; and was given to Mr. Dupleix by Murzafajing in 1750. It has many wells of good water, which is not to be found in all parts of the coaſt ſo near the ſea. The fort was of ſtone, ſquare, of moderate extent, with four round towers at the angles, a parapeted fauſſebray, and a wet ditch, but without a glacis. A pettah extends along the ſtrand to the north, and fronts within 250 yards of the fort. An eight-inch howitz bombarded; and a ricochet battery of two guns, to enfilade the north front from the weſt, was began in the night, and finiſhed before morning; during which, a ſerjeant of pioneers and a Sepoy were killed. In the enſuing night, another battery of three eighteen-pounders was finiſhed in the pettah, to batter the tower in the weſt angle of the north face; and the loſs during theſe 24 hours, was Lieutenant Angus, of Coote's regiment, and a grenadier killed. Both batteries opened together at day-light on the 12th, and in three hours diſmounted moſt of the guns, and ruined the whole line of defence; and in the afternoon the Chevalier Viart, who commanded, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The garriſon, beſides himſelf, a Lieutenant, and a ſurgeon, were 50 Europeans, and 150 Sepoys. During the attack, three of their Europeans had been killed, and twelve wounded. There were in the fort 20 pieces of cannon, a howitz, and abundance of ammunition.

The ſeaſon was now advancing, when the French ſquadron might be expected from the iſlands. The loſs of Alamparvah deprived them of the only ſtation under their command to the northward, and Karical remained the only one they had to the ſouthward of Pondicherry;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March. cherry; but the importance of Karical roſe with the ſeaſon, and the encreaſing diſtreſſes of the capital; for becoming, with the change of the monſoon, the windward ſtation, all their veſſels arriving on the coaſt might get their firſt intelligence here, and, if the road were not occupied by a ſuperior force, were always ſure of water, and freſh proviſions from the fort, which the foreign ſettlements of Negapatam and Tranquebar might, or might not ſupply. The grain of the diſtricts, which was conſiderable, was gathered, and, with what might be purchaſed in the plentiful country of Tanjore, would become a great reſource to Pondicherry, continually loſing its own diſtricts by the ſucceſſes of the army; for it might be conveyed from Karical in the boats of the country, which, favoured by the wind and current, would almoſt make the paſſage in a night, and with little riſque, even if diſcovered and purſued, as they can keep cloſe to the ſurf, in ſhallow ſoundings, and along the ſhore ſwell of the ſea, where veſſels of European conſtruction ſeldom chuſe to venture. The French government already repented of the loſs of ſuch another poſſeſſion in Devicotah, although not commanding equal advantages; and had made a ſtrong attempt to recover it. On the 24th of February, a detachment from Chilambrum of 30 troopers, 40 European infantry, and 400 Sepoys, with two field-pieces, inveſted the fort. On the 27th, they were joined by 80 Europeans and Coffrees from Pondicherry, when the whole intrenched themſelves within 200 yards of the walls. The breaches which their garriſon had made when they abandoned it, were not completely repaired; and on the 29th in the morning, the enemy made an aſſault on that which was moſt practicable; the fire laſted an hour, when they were repulſed, with the loſs, as the ſerjeant ſuppoſed, of two officers, and 20 of their Europeans and Coffrees, and more of their Sepoys killed and wounded. They, however, during their ſtay, and on their retreat, ſent and carried away a conſiderable quantity of grain, which had juſt been got up from the harveſt of the diſtricts.

The Preſidency of Madraſs now became anxious to get poſſeſſion of Karical, before the French ſquadron ſhould arrive on the coaſt; but, as it was intended that the army ſhould as ſoon as poſſible

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ble encamp near Pondicherry, in order to intercept all convoys of 1760.
proviſions from the adjacent country, a body of troops ſufficient for March.
the attack of Karical could not be ſpared from the camp, without fruſtrating the other intention. Admiral Corniſh contributed to alleviate part of the difficulty, by offering to proceed with all the men of war which had arrived with him, and to land their marines, which were about 300; the Preſidency provided for the reſt. All the artillery and ſtores for the ſiege, with the Chief Engineer, Mr. Call, and a few gunners, were to be ſent in the ſhips from Madraſs. Colonel Monſon, who was to command, was to embark from Alamparvah, with the company of pioneers, which conſiſted of 50 choice Europeans, and with Captain Barker to direct the artillery. Captain Joſeph Smith, who was eſcorting the Nabob from Tritchinopoly, was ordered to reinforce his detachment from this garriſon to the ſtrength of 1000 Sepoys, 100 European firelocks, 40 artillery-men, and ſix field-pieces; with this force, he was to march away from wherever he might be, with all expedition; and either inveſt or lay before Karical, as circumſtances permitted, until the arrival of the ſhips. Captain Richard Smith, appointed to command in Tritchinopoly after the departure of Joſeph, was to ſend from thence, through the country of Tanjore, Laſcars for the ſervice of the artillery, 500 Coolies to pull and carry burthens, tents, doolies for the ſick and wounded, and cattle for proviſions to the ſquadron as well as the troops on ſhore. The king of Tanjore was requeſted to ſend his troops, and every kind of aſſiſtance.

The Nabob, notwithſtanding his eagerneſs to appear at the head of an army in the Carnatic immediately after the victory of Vandivaſh, was not ready to move from Tritchinopoly until the 18th of March, 40 days after he had received intelligence of that ſucceſs, and a month after the French had abandoned the pagodas of Seringham. Beſides the detachment from the garriſon of Tritchinopoly, he was accompanied by 1000 horſe, 1000 Sepoys, and a greater number of various ſorts of good-for-nothing infantry, entertained by himſelf. They arrived at Volcondah on the 20th, from whence he was ſolicitous to proceed towards Arcot; but Captain Joſeph Smith,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March. in conformity to the orders of the presidency, wished to lead him towards Pondicherry. This difference of opinion kept them some days at Volcondah, and as a reconciliation, by which some service might be obtained from the Nabob's troops, Captain Smith consented to march against Thiagar, which would bring them nearer Arcot, without being removed farther from Pondicherry. But the presidency, at the same time that they sent orders to Captain Smith to march away with his detachment to Karical, enjoined the Nabob to keep with his own troops in the country to the s. of Gingee, between Volcondah and Chillambarum, and to employ them in reducing these districts, and especially in preventing any supplies of provisions from being conveyed out of them to Pondicherry, from whence he would have nothing to fear, as the English army would be advanced and lying between.

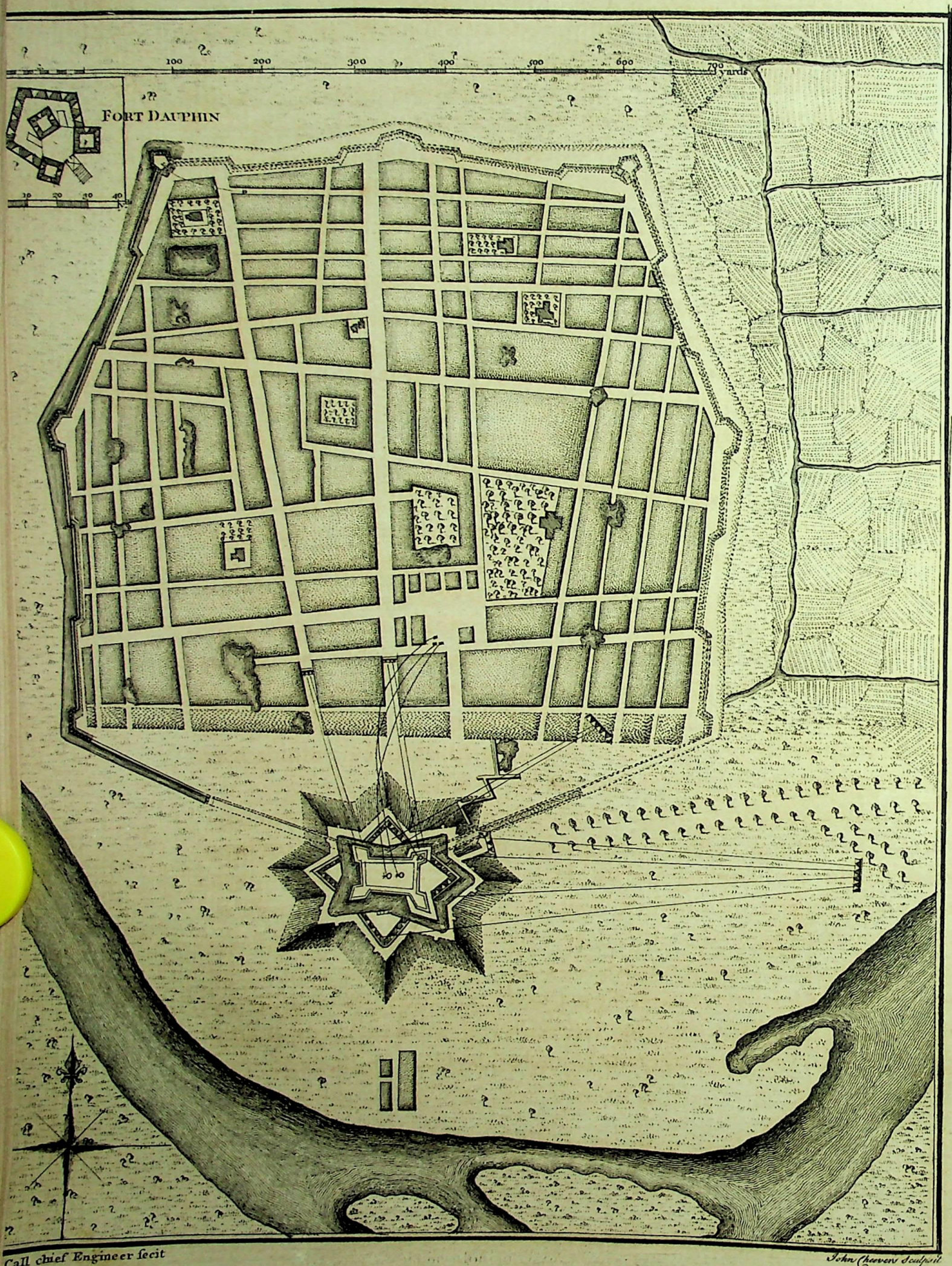
The number of manned Massoolas at Madrass, which are the only boats that can ply the surf, were not sufficient to carry off the ammunition and stores intended for the siege as fast as the men of war could have taken them in; and during this delay, the Falmouth of 60 guns was sent forward to take in Major Monson's party at Alamparvah, whilst the other ships were lading at Madrass: and on the 15th Colonel Coote, continuing much disordered with his wound, came in from the camp to adjust with the Presidency the prize-money accruing to the army from their late successes.

The Falmouth, standing into the road of Alamparvah on the 16th in the morning, discovered a ship at anchor close in shore, about two leagues to the northward of Pondicherry, and bore down to her with an easy sail, under French colours; but the stranger cut her cable, and ran ashore into the surf, which being boisterous, she immediately bilged, and all but three of the crew got ashore. The boats of the Falmouth, finding it impossible to get the ship off, set fire to her. She was the Harlem, which had been dispatched by Mr. Moracin from Ganjam to Mergui in the month of June, and was returning with rice and other provisions for Pondicherry, and had likewise tutenague and other merchandize on board, none of which

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

KARICAL.



Call chief Engineer fecit

John Cheveux Sculpsit

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

which could be recovered; but the loſs of the proviſions was by far the greateſt detriment to the enemy. 1760. March.

Major Monſon, with the pioneers and their equipments, embarked in the Falmouth from Alamparvah on the 25th; they anchored in the road of Karical at day-break on the 28th, when the Captain of the Falmouth, Mathiſon, went in his boat with Major Monſon to reconnoitre the ſhore. They diſcovered no ſigns, either of the people expected from Richard Smith at Tritchinopoly, or the detachment with Captain Joſeph; whoſe inſtructions had not reached them in time to be as yet fulfilled. At eight o'clock, the ſquadron, which had likewiſe ſailed from Madraſs on the 25th, appeared. Major Monſon went on board Mr. Corniſh's ſhip, and it was agreed, notwithſtanding they were entirely ignorant of the place, and diſappointed of the troops they expected to meet, to make the landing immediately. Fifteen maſſoolas accompanied the ſhips; they took in 170 of the troops, beſides the Macoas, who are the black fellows that row them; theſe formed the firſt diviſion, and were towed to the ſurf by the yawls and pinnaces of the ſhips, which, beſides their rowers, took as many ſoldiers as they could carry, who formed the ſecond diviſion: all theſe ſteered for the ſhore, five miles to the north of the fort. The third diviſion of the troops embarked in the long-boats, which were rigged with ſails, and proceeded cloſe to the ſurf, oppoſite to the fort, and the mouth of a river which leads to it, where they were to appear as if intending to land by puſhing over the bar of the river, which was not impracticable.

A ſmall ſnow and a ſloop, which drew little water, and mounted guns, anchored as cloſe as they could oppoſite to a village half-way between the real landing and the long-boats. As ſoon as the yawls and pinnaces reached the ſurf, they dropped their graplings, and caſt off the maſſoolas, which immediately rowed aſhore, and landed the troops in them; then returned, and landed the ſecond diviſion out of the other boats, when a ſignal was flung out, on which the long-boats came down, ſailing faſt with the wind and current, and the troops in them were likewiſe landed all together by the maſſoolas;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March. the whole without the appearance of any oppoſition intended by the garriſon. As ſoon as all were on ſhore, they advanced to the village oppoſite to which the two ſmall veſſels were at anchor, and received by catamarans two four-pounders, which belonged to the ſloop, and were mounted on ſhip-carriages; for the reliance on the field-pieces expected with Joſeph Smith had prevented any from being embarked at Madraſs. They paſſed the night in the village without alarm; and early in the morning moved on to take poſſeſſion of the pettah of Karical, which lay on the north ſide of the fort. It was a ſpacious town, ſeparated from the fort by an eſplanade of 100 yards; regular works had been traced round the other three ſides, which on the weſt had been raiſed to four feet above the ground, but the baſtion in the north-weſt angle was completed, and converted into a cloſed redoubt, which mounted nine guns, and had a good ditch all round, and a draw-bridge; it was called Fort Dauphin: the reſt of the north line was open, as was the ſide to the eaſt. The troops advancing from the north, without a guide or intelligence, fell under fire of Fort Dauphin, by which two men were killed, and two wounded, before the whole line got under ſhelter of the buildings in the pettah; which they entered without meeting any interruption in the ſtreets. They took poſt in the church-yard, which lay about 200 yards from the eaſt ſide of the pettah, and about the ſame diſtance from the line of houſes fronting the fort. They found about them plenty of proviſions, as well in the houſes of the natives, as of the French inhabitants.

The fort of Karical ſtands 300 yards from the ſea-ſhore: a river coming from the weſt ſtrikes when oppoſite to the weſt ſide of the fort in a curve to the ſouth, which continues until oppoſite to the eaſt ſide at the diſtance of 500 yards, when the channel turning again directly to the eaſt, in a 100 yards more diſembogues into the ſea. The fort was an oblong ſquare, completely fortified, but had the greateſt of defects, the want of ſpace: for its internal area, excluſive of the four baſtions, was no more than 100 yards from W. to E. and only 50 from N. to S. The baſtions admitted only three guns,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

guns in their faces, but each of the four curtains was covered by a ravelin much more ſpacious than the baſtions, and mounting ſix. A wet ditch ran between the three curtains to the N. W. and S. and their ravelins; but on the eaſt face the ditch ſurrounded the ravelin likewiſe, and dry ground occupied the ſpace between the rear of this ravelin and the eaſt curtain, continuing round the two baſtions in an excellent fauſſebray, from the interior angles of which the ravelin projected. A covered way well paliſaded, and a complete glacis, ſurrounded the whole, nevertheleſs the exterior extent, meaſuring acroſs from the foot of the glacis, was in the longeſt direction, that from E. to W. not more than 200 yards; and the pettah outſtretched this face 200 yards on either hand. The garriſon had lately deſtroyed the line of buildings in the pettah, which ſkirted the eſplanade, and had been ſuffered to riſe within 60 yards of the foot of the glacis; but this demolition added only a ſpace of 40 yards to the eſplanade, and that not clear; for the rubbiſh not being yet removed ſtill afforded ſome ſhelter. 1760. March.

As ſoon as the Engliſh troops had taken poſſeſſion of the pettah, Mr. Call, with the pioneers, marched, and took poſſeſſion of a ſaluting-battery, which lay near the mouth of the river, where was likewiſe the flag-ſtaff for the road. The fort fired fiercely as they were paſſing, but did no harm; and in the night the pioneers began to conſtruct a battery near the river on the eſplanade, which was clear quite up to where the river changes from the curve it has made, and ſtrikes ſtreight to the ſea: they were not interrupted in their work; neither did the troops in the pettah receive any alarm from the garriſon. The next evening a ten-inch mortar was landed, and at ten at night began to bombard Fort Dauphin. The range was exactly gained at the firſt ſhell, and only thirteen were fired before the guard, conſiſting of 50 men, abandoned it; and, knowing ways of which the Engliſh troops were not apprized, gained the fort without interruption. About the ſame time twelve gunners ſent from Pondichery, who had landed at Tranquebar, got into the fort, notwithſtanding a company of marines were looking out for them, who kept too far from the ſea-ſhore, whilſt the gunners travelled

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. March. velled along the beach until they came to the river, when they continued under the bank unperceived by the pioneers employed in conſtructing the battery.

The cover afforded by the pettah determined the attack to be carried on againſt the north face of the fort; and the greater extent of the eſplanade to the eaſt, which is 500 yards (whereas to the weſt it is interrupted by the curve of the river at 300) gave the preference of the enfilade from the eaſt, which of conſequence determined the breach to be in the north-eaſt baſtion, and on its north face. Accordingly, three batteries were marked out in the pettah, one to breach, and one on each hand to take off the defences: in the battery to the eaſt, two of the guns enfiladed the north line in its whole length, and the other two plunged into the oppoſite ravelin, and acroſs into the ravelin on the ſouth: ſo that every part of the fort would be laid under fire. Sailors were landed with the heavy artillery from the ſhips, and aſſiſted in drawing them, and in the other ſervices uſually allotted to bullocks and coolies; for all the neighbouring villages were deſerted, and ſupplied neither man nor beaſt; and no tidings arrived of the Captain Joſeph Smith's detachment, nor of the aſſiſtance expected from the garriſon of Tritchinopoly; and the king of Tanjore avoided all correſpondence with the armament.

Captain Joſeph Smith received the orders of the preſidency on the 25th, the day he was ſetting out with the Nabob from Volcondah, againſt Thiagar; he immediately turned his march to Karical; and the Nabob, unwilling to remain with only his own troops in the middle of the Carnatic, determined to march with the detachment. The neareſt road leading from Volcondah towards Karical falls upon the Coleroon, 30 miles N. N. W. of the city of Tanjore. Having croſſed the river, which is there ſpacious, you continue to Combaconum, which ſtands five miles farther, on the bank of the firſt arm of the Caveri; and beyond this is another arm to croſs, before you join the road leading eaſt to the ſea-ſhore: much of the ground between the rivers is ſunk in marſhes, and the better ground is overflowed in rice-fields, without any continued road, which greatly re-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and the paſſage of carriages; and the way between Volcondah and Karical being 120 miles, the march can ſcarcely be performed in leſs than ten days; but Captain Smith had received his orders to advance only four days before the armament anchored at Karical, whoſe ignorance of the impoſſibility of his appearance aggravated their anxiety concerning the arrival of the French ſquadron, which intelligence, artfully inculcated from Pondicherry, led them to expect from day to day when all the marines and ſailors muſt have been reimbarked, and Major Monſon would have been left with only 60 Europeans, and without a field-piece. 1760. March.

However, theſe apprehenſions only encreaſed their activity in puſhing the attack. The ten-inch mortar, which had been employed againſt Fort Dauphin, was removed on the 31ſt, and threw ſhells all night. The garriſon returned round and grape from their cannon, and even uſed their muſketry, although all they fired at was under cover, or out of reach: this early profuſion of ammunition is rarely followed by vigorous defence at extremity. In the morning of the 1ſt of April the two embraſures on the right of the enfilading battery to the eaſt were opened. The paſſage into the covered way lay oppoſite to this battery, leading through the glacis on the left face of its angle projecting to the eaſt, and the garriſon had lain a row of wood and palmiras in front of the barrier gate, which cloſed this paſſage at the foot of the glacis, in order to conſtruct a battery there with theſe materials. The ten-inch mortar ſometimes threw carcaſſes of fire-balls to ſet them afire, but without effect; and two royals, of which the ſhells are 5 inches and 5 twelfths diameter, continually bombarded the fort. In the morning of the 2d, the other two embraſures were opened in the enfilading battery. At ten o'clock, arrived Captain Richard Smith from Tritchinopoly with Laſcars, oxen, coolies, and ſtores; and the Nabob came up likewiſe with 1000 horſe and ſix companies of Sepoys, whom Captain Joſeph Smith had ſent forward, as the rains and the badneſs of the roads retarded the carriages and baggage of his detachment, with which he remained to bring them on. This reinforcement afforded troops ſufficient to April.

inveſt

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. April. inveſt the fort all round. In this day the enemy's fire was exceſſive, and diſmounted one of the guns at the enfilading battery, and endamaged all its embraſures; but all were reſtored during the night, and the ſame number of guns began to fire again the next morning, which was the 3d of the month. At eight o'clock of this day, Captain Joſeph Smith came up with the reſt of his detachment, which were 130 European muſketry, thirty artillery-men, two field-pieces, and five companies of Sepoys. The enemy during the night finiſhed two embraſures in one face of their battery at the barrier, which pointed againſt the enfilading battery; and traces appeared of another face to the north, which ſeemed intended to ſcowr the oppoſite ſtreet of the pettah, acroſs which the attack had thrown up a ſlight retrenchment.

Early the next morning, the breaching battery in the centre ſtreet opened with three twenty-four pounders againſt the N. face of the N.E. baſtion, at the diſtance of 10 yards, and was ſo well ſerved by Captain Barker, who attended it, that in three rounds the enemy quitted the three guns in the face attacked, and in leſs than an hour all the merlons were beat down; the other face had before been much ſhattered by the enfilading battery, which had likewiſe nearly ruined the north face of the eaſt ravelin: ſo that neither of the batteries had occaſion to fire more than a ſhot now and then through the reſt of the day. Sepoys were poſted in the ruins of the houſes, who kept up a conſtant fire through the night on the baſtion and ravelin, to prevent the enemy from placing ſand-bags to repair them. By the next morning, which was the 5th of the month, and the 10th ſince the landing, a battery, intended to deſtroy the eaſt face of the north ravelin, was almoſt completed, and the other againſt the N.W. baſtion quite finiſhed; but the guns for neither were yet landed from the ſhips. Intelligence was received, that a detachment of 450 infantry, and 150 European horſe, were arrived at Chillambarum from Pondicherry, intending to advance and interrupt the ſiege. The breach, though broad, could not be mounted without clambering, and the immediate acceſs to it was ſtill defended by the ditch, to which the beſiegers had not yet approached,

and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and by the parapet of the fauſſe-bray, which remained undamaged: but the gate of the barrier leading through the glacis to the eaſt ravelin, had been beaten down by ricochet ſhot flying over the battery, which the enemy had raiſed before it. The baſcul, or carpentry, which raiſed and let down the draw-bridge before the N. E. face of the eaſt ravelin, had likewiſe been ſhot away, and the bridge fallen into its place, and the garriſon had not yet deſtroyed it to interrupt the paſſage, which thus remained clear to the ravelin. The gateway leading through the curtain into the fort was at the back of this ravelin: and the ſame fire had deſtroyed the gates which cloſed it, nor had any thing been ſubſtituted to ſtop the paſſage; ſo that, if the ſtorm had been immediately and deſperately attempted this way, the enemy had nothing to oppoſe it, but the arms in their hands. All theſe circumſtances Major Monſon did not know; but the commandant of the fort feared, and anſwered the ſummons by requeſting to march away with the honours of war: to which Monſon replied, that the whole garriſon muſt become priſoners of war; but that the inhabitants ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of their houſes in the pettah, the officers have their baggage, and the Sepoys might go where they pleaſed. The terms were accepted; and the Engliſh troops marched in at two in the afternoon. The garriſon conſiſted of 115 Europeans, of whom 101 were military, 72 Topaſſes, and 250 Sepoys. Beſides ſmaller arms and ſtores, there were in the place 155 pieces of cannon of all ſorts, and nine mortars, with a large ſtock of ammunition for both. Only five men were killed in the defence, and in the attack only three Europeans, one of whom was a ſailor, and five wounded. Never perhaps was ſo great an armament prepared, to ſucceed with ſo little loſs, excepting when Delabourdonnais took Madraſs in 1746. 1760. April.

Nevertheleſs, the capture was well worth the exertion: as beſides the advantages of its ſituation with reſpect to the ſea, it afforded the French a conſtant and certain inlet to the territories of Tanjore, and by various purchaſes and ceſſions from the government they had acquired diſtricts round the fort, containing 113 villages, of which the farms, with the cuſtoms of the port and town, never

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. April. produced leſs than 30,000 pagodas a year, ſufficient for the expence of the garriſon. As the fort was too ſmall, all the European inhabitants had their houſes in the pettah, which were well built, as were many of thoſe belonging to the natives, and room was left and marked for more to both. The Nabob derived no advantage by this ſucceſs, beyond the detriment it occaſioned to his enemies; for a member of the council of Madraſs had been ſent in the ſquadron, to negotiate with Tanjore for the redemption of the diſtricts.

The abſence of Colonel Coote and Major Monſon had left the main army to the command of Major Robert Gordon, who moved with it from Alamparvah on the 28th of March, and on the 1ſt of April encamped at Killenore, from whence he ſent forward a detachment of obſervation, to take poſt at Manoor, within five miles of Valdore. The ſweep of Country to the weſtward of Killenore as far as Villaporum, which lies 20 miles due weſt of Pondicherry, abounds in cattle, and is as fertile as any part of the Carnatic, and remained at this time, as the French territory became every day more circumſcribed, their laſt reſource for proviſions. All the countries, which had been reduced to the ſouth of Chittapett and Vandivaſh as far as Permacoil, had been let by the Preſidency of Madraſs to a Malabar, named Ramalinga, who accompanied the army ready to rent more, and kept ſeveral companies of irregular Sepoys with him, to place as guards in new diſtricts, as reduced. By his advice, Major Gordon reſolved to ſend a detachment againſt Villaporum. The diſtance was 35 miles, and the way lay between the garriſon of Gingee on one hand, and of Valdore on the other. The detachment conſiſted of 200 black horſe, and five companies of Sepoys, under the command of captain Wood, and the renter accompanied with his people. They marched from Killenore on the 3d of April, a little after ſun-ſet, and, paſſing through Vicravandi, captain Wood, with the horſe, arrived before Villaporum at ten the next morning, but the Sepoys did not come up until two in the afternoon. The beſt intelligence that could be obtained, reported, that there were 300 Sepoys and 400 horſe in the place; and at ſix, as ſoon as the Sepoys were refreſhed, Wood led them to the attack, which could only

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

only be made by ſcrambling up the wall, as they had no ladders. Eight or ten got up to the parapet, but three or four mounting at the ſame time were killed, which deterred thoſe who were next from following, and flung the whole into confuſion, on which the enemy ſallied, but the horſe rode in between, and drove them back. The Sepoys rallied again in the pettah, and were preparing ladders to eſcalade before day-break; but at eight o'clock at night the garriſon abandoned the fort. Captain Wood placed three of the regular companies of Sepoys, and 200 of the renters, to garriſon it, under the command of an Enſign; and at ten at night ſet out on his return with the cavalry and the other company of Sepoys. They arrived at one in the morning at Vicrivandi, where he left this company, and, proceeding, rejoined the camp a little after ſun-riſe with the cavalry, which accompliſhed this march of 60 miles in 36 hours. 1760. April.

Since the retreat of the French army, their countries to the weſtward of Villaporum and Gingee, and the forts intended to protect them, had, like this, been left to the defence of ſuch troops as the renters choſe to levy and maintain; and in the end of March, Captain Airey, who commanded in Chittapett, and from thence over Trinomaly, ſent a detachment of Sepoys to enable the garriſon there to take the field, which in a few days drove the guards out of Soolabgur, Tricalour, and Trivaneloor: theſe three forts had been taken poſſeſſion of by Mahomed Iſſoof and Kiſtnarow of Thiagar, whilſt they were ravaging the countries adjacent to them during the ſiege of Madraſs. Soolabgur is ſituated on a hill 15 miles s.s.w. and Tricolour on the plain 20 miles s. of Trinomaly: Trivelanoor ſtands 10 miles s.e. of Tricaloor, and 20 s.w. of Villaporum. The French garriſon of Gingee on the one ſide, and of Thiagar on the other, were the neareſt to protect theſe leſſer forts; but both were too much alarmed for their own ſafety, to riſk any detachments abroad: the one by the Nabob's camp then at Volcondah, the other by the Engliſh army at Killenore. Kiſtnarow, after the loſs of Thiagar in the preceding month of June, had remained with the Nabob at Tritchinopoly, and, after the victory of Vandivaſh, obtained his permiſſion to act as a free-booter in the French diſtricts, and,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. April. having plunder to offer, eaſily enliſted a number of horſe, with which he accompanied the Nabob to Volcondah, and from thence trooped away to the country about Chilambarum, where they were carrying on all kind of ravage, at the time that Captain Wood marched and took Villaperum.

Colonel Coote recovered of his wound, rejoined the army at Killenore on the 7th; and the next day, after reconnoitring Valdore, ſent off 350 of the black horſe, to join Kiſtnarow in the country about Chilambarum; ſo that a chain of troops, or poſts, was now eſtabliſhed, which encircled Pondicherry in a ſweep of 70 miles, from that place to Allamparvah. On the 10th, a large number of Sepoys were ſeen marching into Valdore from the Gingee road: they were what remained of the body commanded by Zulphacarjung, who, when driven out of the pettah of Arcot by captain Wood, continued, until this fort was taken, at the back of Velore, encouraged for fear of accidents by Mortizally. From Velore he marched to Gingee; and Mr. Lally, yielding to the repreſentation of Mr. Deleyrit, and the general diſcouragement, repreſſed his prejudices againſt theſe troops, and recalled them to act again with the European force. Zulpharcarjung left a part of his Sepoys to reinforce Valdore, and marched on with the reſt into Pondicherry.

The next day Colonel Coote advanced the army to Manoor, and ſent forward Major Robert Gordon, with a large detachment, to take poſſeſſion of the pettah under the fort of Valdore; the day after, which was the 12th, he brought up the reſt of the army, and encamped at Cartaricopum, a village about a mile to the eaſt, nearer Pondicherry. In the night, two batteries were commenced, and ſhells thrown, which the garriſon anſwered by ſhot, and both were employed without miſchief. The next day all the cavalry, not on duty, were detached, under the command of a Lieutenant, to reconnoitre: and proceeded to the hither end of the Red-hill. The French cavalry with ſome platoons of infantry advanced towards them, and made ſome evolutions as intending to fall on their flanks, which the Engliſh cavalry prevented by contrary motions, and returned

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

turned to camp. They had perceived at a diſtance a large cloud of duſt, as of troops with cannon, advancing from Pondicherry. 1760. April.

The fort of Valdore ſtands nine miles N. N. W. of Pondicherry. Its form is an exact parallelogram, ſquaring with the compaſs; and extending 300 yards from E. to W. and 210 from N. to S. It is ſituated in a plain, and its original fortifications, like the generality of the forts in the country, were a rampart with towers, a fauſſe-bray, and a ditch. Mr. Dupleix, had raiſed a glacis on the north-ſide, and had converted the center tower on this ſide, and that in the S. W. angle, into baſtions with faces and flanks; but the pettah, which is to the weſt, remained within 150 yards of the wall: ſo that the vicinity of Pondicherry was its beſt defence. In the morning of the 14th, one of the batteries opened; it fronted and battered the tower in the north-weſt angle with one gun, and with the other took off the defences of the next tower in the weſt wall.

The duſt ſeen the day before was from a body of troops marching to encamp under Villenore. The intelligence of the preſent day ſaid they were the whole army, and that Mr. Lally intended to attack the Engliſh camp by ſurprize in the enſuing night, which determined Colonel Coote to reconnoitre them himſelf when the ſun abated in the afternoon. All the cavalry in two diviſions, each accompanied by five companies of Sepoys, marched with him. When arrived at the Red-hill, oppoſite to Villenore, he proceeded along the foot of it with one of the diviſions, and ſent the other acroſs the plain, to examine the enemy's out-poſts on that ſide, whilſt his own diviſion came oppoſite to a body of Europeans, with two field-pieces drawn up in the high road neareſt the hill, leading to the bound-hedge. They cannonaded, but at too great a diſtance; and Colonel Coote continued under the ſide of the hill until dark, in order to perſuade the enemy that he intended to patrole the field all night; but returned ſoon after to the camp. Five or ſix Sepoys and a horſe were killed in this ſervice. In the ſiege, one of the guns in the battery was ruined by the fire of the fort. Shells continued through the night, and the next morning, which was the 15th, the other

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. April. other battery was completed and opened. It faced the tower in the s. w. angle, and the fire from both continued through the day as hot as it could be ſafely kept up. The whole of the French troops had aſſembled at Villenore during the night, and puſhed on advanced poſts, which, in the morning, began to ſkirmiſh with thoſe of the camp; where all, excepting the men at the batteries, were kept in readineſs to turn out the line, but the enemy's main body did not advance. Intelligence was repeated of their intentions to attack the camp this night, as the night before: on which Colonel Coote ſtruck all the tents at ſunſet, as if he meant to change his ground, but pitched them again in the ſame place after dark; but half the troops lay on their arms until day-light. The howitz continued through the night, and in the morning the batteries, which had been much impaired, renewed their fire as violently as the day before. The ſkirmiſhes likewiſe recommenced between the outguards of both armies. At two in the afternoon, both breaches appeared practicable; and a deſerter, who at this hour eſcaped from the fort, reported, that the garriſon had nearly expended all their ammunition, and were inclined, if not immediately relieved, to ſurrender; on which Colonel Coote ordered Major Gordon, who commanded the attack, to ſummons the commandant at four o'clock, at which hour he ſhould proceed himſelf with the main body from the camp, and offer battle to the enemy's; which if they avoided, and the garriſon refuſed to ſurrender, Major Gordon was to ſtorm the breaches, and Colonel Coote would ſend aſſiſtance; but, if the enemy's army came to an engagement, Gordon was to march from the batteries with his diviſion, and form the third line in the order of battle. Accordingly the main body advanced a mile and a half from the camp, and halted in ſight of the enemy, who only ſent forward their European cavalry and ſome Sepoys, which were met by parties of the Engliſh cavalry, European and black, ſupported likewiſe by Sepoys, and ſome were wounded on both ſides by fire-arms, but no charges made hand to hand. At ſix o'clock, Colonel Coote received word, that the garriſon of Valdore had conſented to ſurrender without terms the next morning, and had given up the outer gate, on which he

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

he returned with the line to the camp. The garriſon conſiſted of a captain, a lieutenant, 80 other Europeans, and 280 Sepoys: they had loſt only two men killed, and three wounded; and the Engliſh not more. There were in the fort 25 pieces of cannon, and ſome paddy. Colonel Coote, as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion, detached 200 of the black horſe, with 300 Sepoys, under the command of Aſſafbeg, to take Trivadi, in which were ſome Sepoys that protected the diſtrict, and gathered the produce for the French government. 1760. April.

Of the French priſoners which had been taken in the late ſucceſſes, the Preſidency of Madraſs had inliſted 60 of thoſe confined there, and ſent them to the camp. Theſe men, as ſoon as they came before Valdore, ſo near their own army and their capital, deſerted daily, and 40 of them were gone before the place was reduced; ſome of the company of French Volunteers likewiſe went off, although they had hitherto behaved with as much ſpirit as if fighting under, inſtead of againſt, their own colours. But as ſoon as Valdore fell, new deſerters began to come over from the enemy, three, four, and five in a day: nevertheleſs all that remained of thoſe ſent from Madraſs were returned thither to be confined again, for the perfidy of their comrades.

On the 19th, Colonel Coote went out again in the afternoon, with the cavalry, and ſix companies of Sepoys, to reconnoitre on the Red-hill; the French cavalry, ſupported likewiſe by ſome Sepoys, came out, and advanced along the neareſt avenue, but only the Sepoys on either ſide engaged, and that with diſtant firing, until four field-pieces came up from Villenore, on which Colonel Coote returned to the camp. Two of his black horſemen were killed, and the horſe of a trooper, with five Sepoys, wounded.

During theſe operations of the main army, Colonel Monſon was advancing with his diviſion from Karical. The French priſoners taken there were ſent to Tritchinopoly, under the eſcort of two companies of Sepoys, and of 60 of the Europeans, who had been drawn from that garriſon on this ſervice; two other of theſe companies, and two lent by the Nabob, with 12 Europeans, were left in

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. April. in Karical. Captain Joſeph Smith, with the reſt of his command from Tritchinopoly, of which 30 were artillery men, remained, as did half the marines from the ſquadron; the other half, with all the battering artillery, were re-embarked. The Nabob with his troops, likewiſe accompanied Major Monſon. They moved on the 10th of April, and continued by the road along the ſea-ſhore, until they came to the mouths of the Coleroon near Devicotah, when they ſtruck to the weſt, and paſſed the river in its ſingle channel, oppoſite to the pagoda of Chilambarum. At the paſſage, they were joined by Kiſtnarow, with his party of horſe, who a few days before had intercepted two companies of Sepoys, eſcorting three tumbrils of ammunition to Chilambarum, which he took, having killed and diſperſed all the Sepoys, and gathered up their arms. Major Monſon ſummoned this place on the 19th; and on refuſal, two eighteen-pounders were diſembarked from the ſquadron, which was at anchor off the bar of Devicotah. They were brought on catamarans up the Coleroon, and joined the camp the next day. The ſlender walls of the pagoda would not have reſiſted a ſingle ſhot, and, although the French had projected redoubts at the four angles, and one in the middle of the north, and another of the ſouth wall; theſe works had only been carried up a little way in earth, and could only ſerve for cannon fired in barbette; ſcaffoldings had been erected for muſketry, and there was a gun in each of the towers at the angles. In the twilight of the evening, the garriſon perceived the artillery-men of the camp bringing faſcines to the ſpot where the battery was intended, and miſtook the faſcines for ſcaling-ladders; on which the officers held a conſultation, which did not reſolve until midnight; when the camp, to their great ſurprize, ſaw a number of torches held out together upon the wall, and diſcovered amongſt them a white flag, which the torches were illuminating. The ſignal of ſurrender was accepted; ſome troops advanced to the gate, and were admitted on the promiſe of good treatment to the garriſon; which conſiſted of eight officers, and 40 other Europeans. The next day, the marines were ſent to Devicotah, to be re-embarked on the ſquadron; and Kiſtnarow, with his horſe, was detached to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

deſtroy the French diſtricts about Cuddalore. This way lay the neareſt road to Valdore; but Major Monſon, imagining that Mr. Lally might poſt a force at Cuddalore to interrupt the march of his own, which was not ſtrong in Europeans, if they ſhould take this route; and, being unwilling to expoſe the perſon of the Nabob to any danger, reſolved to turn inland, and attack Verdachelum; from whence he might proceed to Valdore, keeping the main body of the army between his own diviſion and Pondicherry. 1760. April.

The enemy kept only Sepoys in their ſtation at Trivadi, who abandoned it on the approach of Aſſafbeg's detachment, although they came without cannon. Encouraged by this eaſy ſucceſs, Aſſafbeg proceeded towards Cuddalore, where the ſame panic had prevailed, and no troops remained to oppoſe his entrance; but the town was not entirely deſerted by the inhabitants. This ſtation was of much utility, as the road was in ſight, and at this ſeaſon to windward of Pondicherry: two companies of Sepoys were poſted in the town; the houſes of the factory were prepared to ſerve as an hoſpital to the ſquadron; bullocks were ſent off to ſupply the ſhips with freſh proviſions; and the few boatmen remaining in the town received encouragement to collect more of their own craft from different parts of the coaſt. On the 25th Rear-admiral Corniſh anchored in the road, with the ſix men of war from Karical, and on the 29th was joined by Admiral Stevens, with four more from Bombay: they were part of the nine, which compoſed Mr. Pococke's ſquadron in the preceding year, two of which were arrived before with Mr. Corniſh. Of the three others, the Saliſbury was not completely repaired, and the Cumberland had not entered the dock when Mr. Stevens ſailed; the Yarmouth remained, in conſequence of orders from the admiralty, to convey Mr. Pococke to England, from whence he had been abſent five years. All the preſidencies followed him with the moſt grateful acknowledgements of the eminent ſervices he had rendered the nation during his continuance and command in the ſeas of India, which he completed, by eſcorting ſafely from St. Helena, in the heat of the war, 13 ſail of the company's ſhips returning from their ſettlements, which arrived in

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. April. England in the October following, and were the richeſt fleet that had ever entered the Thames at one time.

The two armies had continued in their reſpective encampments, their advanced guards in full ſight, and continually alarming one another; and on the 27th at day-break, the French cavalry, with 50 of their infantry, attacked a poſt of Sepoys and black horſe, killed ſix or ſeven of each, and wounded more; and loſt themſelves two huſſars killed, and their officer, with ſeveral wounded.

Nothing of conſequence paſſed for ſeveral days after, and in the night between the firſt and ſecond of May, the whole French army decamped from Perimbé, and retreated cloſe to the bound-hedge, leaving only an advanced poſt with two guns about half a mile in front of the main body. Colonel Coote went in the afternoon, with his uſual eſcorte of horſe and Sepoys, to reconnoitre their poſition, and, advancing too near, ſeveral of his Sepoys were killed by the fire of the cannon from the advanced poſt.

Major Monſon with his diviſion, and the Nabob with his troops, arrived before Verdachelum on the 26th. This place ſtands 60 miles N. N. W. of Chillambrum, and 60 S. W. from Valdore. It is extenſive, and was originally a pagoda, and although converted into a fort by the addition of towers at the angles, and projected maſſes of maſonry in each of the ſides as gateways, ſtill continued of very feeble defence againſt cannon. It ſeemed therefore only to acquit his military honour, that the commanding officer refuſed to ſurrender on the firſt ſummons; for the next day, on the appearance of the two eighteen-pounders in battery, he of his own accord threw out the white flag, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. His garriſon were, beſides himſelf and another officer, 13 Europeans, and 150 Sepoys. This place as well as Chillambrum was delivered over to the Nabob, who gave them in charge of his own Sepoys, and put both garriſons under the command of Kiſtnarow. He was here joined by his brother, Maphuze Khan, who when leaſt expected, had left the Pulitaver in the beginning of January, and joined Mahomed Iſſoof at Tinivelly; from whence he was ſent, with an eſcorte, to Puducotah, the principal town of the polygar Tondiman, where

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

where he remained, ſtill full of ſuſpicions of the evil intentions of the Nabob, until encouraged to truſt him by repeated aſſurances from the Preſidency, that no harm ſhould befall him. He arrived with very few attendants, and had not money to entertain more. From Verdachelum, the troops continued their route by Villaporum and Vicravandi, and arrived at Valdore on the 3d of May. The Nabob remained in the camp until the 10th, much delighted with the army and commanders, who had reſtored him to ſo great a part of his dominions. He then proceeded to Madraſs, in order to regulate with the Preſidency the modes of adminiſtration in the countries which had been recovered. 1760. May.

The French, when they abandoned Cuddalore, demoliſhed the parapets of the baſtions, took down the three gates, and made ſeveral breaches in the rampart, and the whole face of the town fronting the ſea never had a wall. Several informations had been lately received, that Mr. Lally intended to retake Cuddalore, of which Colonel Coote adviſed the officers there, and warned them to keep ſpecial guard. On the 10th at night, 100 Europeans, with 60 huſſars and three companies of Sepoys, entered the town, ſurprized and diſperſed the Sepoys, and advanced to the hoſpital, where they took five ſurgeons, ſix petty officers, and 58 ſailors and marines belonging to the ſquadron, moſtly ſick, whom they carried away, and left none of their own men to maintain the place. The next day, a reinforcement of two companies of Sepoys, with 20 of the European horſe, and a field-piece, under the command of Lieutenant Fitzgerald, were ſent into the town from the camp, and 60 marines were landed from the ſquadron. At four in the enſuing morning, whilſt it was yet dark, a ſtronger party than the night before entered the town again, and took the field-piece; but, finding more reſiſtance than they expected, retreated over the rivers towards Fort St. David, of which the fortifications had been ſo completely demoliſhed, that a ſingle redoubt was not left to give poſt to a company of infantry. Lieutenant Fitzgerald, with the huſſars and ſome Sepoys, for all would not move, and none of the marines, followed, and hung in their rear, until they had recroſſed the Panar

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. May. beyond Fort St. David; where the enemy abandoned the field-piece they had taken. It was ſaid, that the commander was killed, three other officers wounded, and 32 of the common ſoldiers killed and wounded. Of the Engliſh troops a Jemidar with 20 Sepoys were wounded, and a Subadhar was killed. From this earneſtneſs, other attempts were expected, and diligence was uſed to render the place more defenſible, and the Sepoys were augmented to 700. On the 20th, information was received, that the enemy intended another attack, with a much greater force than the laſt: on which, Colonel Coote detached an officer, with 30 Europeans, and 300 black horſe, to interrupt their parties, or ſuccour the place. The officer went with the Europeans into the town, and ſtationed the horſe at a diſtance without; between one and two in the morning, the expected attack was made by 700 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 150 of the French horſe, which were half this body: and they had four field-pieces. They divided into five different aſſaults; all entered the town, but were ſtopped at the traverſes which had been thrown up in the ſtreets leading to the hoſpital, which reſiſted the direct fire of their field-pieces, and commanded their muſketry. They however perſiſted, until two of their officers were killed, and 60 private men killed and wounded. The Engliſh officer followed them, with the black horſe and ſome Sepoys, to the Panar: but their cavalry and field-pieces keeping in order in the rear, deterred any effectual attempt to interrupt their retreat.

On the 23d, the Saliſbury joined the ſquadron from Bombay, and brought from thence to the aſſiſtance of the army three companies of the royal artillery, which the King had ſent for the defence of that iſland, and the government there, very judiciouſly, to the coaſt, where they were more immediately wanted. They were 178 men, excluſive of officers, all ſound, and joined the army a few days after from Cuddalore, where they landed. After the retreat of the French troops to the bound-hedge, the two camps were at too great a diſtance to afford ſuch continual occaſions of ſkirmiſh as before.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The ſucceſſes of the Engliſh army, had not a little conduced to encreaſe the diſſentions which had long rent the government of Pondicherry, where calamity, inſtead of reconciling, only exaſperated the animoſities of thoſe who were ſharing the ſame diſtreſſes. The loſs of Permacoil was imputed to the retreat of the army, which was on march to relieve it; but they were only faulty in not having advanced with more expedition; and in either caſe Mr. Lally, not being preſent, was exempt from blame: which nevertheleſs was urged, becauſe the officer who commanded in his abſence was of his own regiment, and ſuppoſed to be much in his favour. The fall of Alamparvah was aſcribed to the loſs of Permacoil, and Valdore to malignant treachery, that Pondicherry might be deprived of the laſt poſt which remained to protect any convoys which might attempt to get into the town. Mr. Lally was informed of what every one thought and ſaid concerning himſelf; and retaliated with ſarcaſms on their foreneſs for the loſs of their own peculations out of the diſtricts which he had been obliged to abandon. In this ſtate of virulence were minds, when the ſquadron with Mr. Corniſh was working up the coaſt to Karical. There were in the town of Pondicherry, 600 Europeans, invalids, fit only for garriſon duty: and the inhabitants were 500 more Europeans. Theſe, added to the regular troops, would contribute to make a formidable diſplay, which Mr. Lally intended to exhibit on the ſtrand to the view of the ſquadron, as they were paſſing through the road: orders were given in conſequence. The covenanted ſervants of the French company were to be a part of the parade; but a little before, at the hour appointed, they came into the court of the government-houſe, and ſent up word to Mr. Lally, that they would not march unleſs led by the Governor and Council, whom Mr. Lally had exempted from this duty. Mr. Deleyrit, the governor, immediately offered to put himſelf at their head; but the counſellors coming in, ſaid, that none of the Company's ſervants were obliged to bear arms out of the walls of the town. On this declaration, Mr. Lally arreſted the two ſpokeſmen of the Council, and two of the forwardeſt of the repugnants, diſarmed and diſmiſſed the reſt, and went on with the review without.

1760. May.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. May. without them. The offence and punishment left no bounds to the mutual aversion between him and the company's servants. Whilst the English army were attacking Valdore, two ships arrived from the islands; they brought neither troops nor money, but unfavourable advices, which were with much caution suppressed, and published as good news with salute of cannon, fireworks, and rejoicings, "That Mr. D'Aché's squadron, reinforced from France to 25 sail "of the line, might be soon expected on the coast, with a large body "of land forces on board." After the fall of Valdore, a few enclosures under the guns at Villanore and Ariancopang, with the ground within the bound-hedge, and the town of Pondicherry itself, contained all the live provisions, on which the colony was to rely for their future sustenance, and all further means were precluded of bringing in grain or other articles of store from the country without; for although Gingee and Thiagar remained in the hands of the French, their situation was distant, and their garrisons not strong enough to furnish sufficient escorts, and no parties equal to the same purpose could be detached from the main body, without incurring the risque of interception. When the farm of the districts adjacent to Pondicherry was taken from the European renters, and let to the Malabar, after the defeat at Vandivash, there was a sufficient quantity of grain on the ground in reach of Pondicherry, to have stocked the place, as some say, for years; but money was then more scarce than victuals, and the new farmer was permitted to sell his grain, that he might be enabled to pay his rent in coin into the treasury, instead of delivering grain, as acquittal, into the magazines. As soon as Permacoil and Alamparvah fell, and the English army advanced between Gingee and Pondicherry, Mr. Lally saw this error, and that it was not retrievable, but by means which he had hitherto, with too much presumption, despised.

Hyder Ally, the general of the Mysoreans, had at this time acquired the whole power of the government. He had lately taken the King out of the hands of his uncle, the Dalaway, whom we have seen commanding the Mysore troops before Tritchinopoly.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

poly. The Dalaway had agreed to retire to the fort of Myſore with a jaghire allowed for his maintenance and ſecurity, and Hyder Ally was left without controul; for the King was young, weak, and timid. Not unmindful, however, of a reverſe of fortune, Hyder Ally caſt about to get ſome place of refuge immediately for his treaſures, and contingently for his own perſon; and judiciouſly preferred Thiagar in the Carnatic, as well for the difficulty of acceſs to it from Myſore, as the inexpugnable nature of its fortifications. A Portugueſe monk, named Norognha, who aſſumed, and perhaps had obtained, the title of Biſhop of Halicarnaſſus, had, by reſidence under the pretext of religious miſſion, acquired much knowledge of the adjacent countries, as well as of the Carnatic itſelf, and Mr. Lally, immediately on his arrival at Pondicherry, gave him his confidence, and employed him in all his tranſactions with the chiefs of the country. The biſhop performed his commiſſions with zeal; for he was greedy of money, and it is a common cuſtom in India to give ſome to the negotiator of a treaty. It was he who bargained for the Morattoes who joined the French army at Arcot; after which he continued in Velore, watching other opportunities, and either ſuggeſted to Hyder Ally, or diſcovered his inclinations to obtain Thiagar. Mr. Lally ſeeing no other means of procuring relief to the neceſſities which began to threaten Pondicherry, repreſſed the contempt with which he had hitherto regarded the military faculties of the princes in India, and ſent two of his officers to conclude the treaty with Hyder Ally. It was agreed, 1760. May.

" that Hyder ſhould immediately ſend a body of 2000 horſe, and " 3000 Sepoys. with artillery, who, on their arrival at Thiagar, " were to be put in poſſeſſion of that fort, and of Elvanaſore, with " the dependencies of both, which were to remain the property of " the Myſoreans in perpetuity as long as the flag of France exiſted in " India. This army was to be paid at the rate of 100,000 rupees a " month, from the day of their arrival at Thiagar. Ten eighteen " pounders were to be given as a preſent to Hyder, excluſive of the " artillery in the two forts, which, as well as all the military ſtores, " was to be delivered with them. His troops were to be furniſhed

" with

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. May. "with ammunition, whilſt ſerving for the French; who, after the "Carnatic ſhould be cleared, were to aſſiſt him in conquering the "ſouthern countries of Madura and Tinivelly. Beſides the number "already ſtipulated, Hyder Ally engaged to ſupply 1000 horſe and "2000 Sepoys more: in conſideration of which, half the countries "which ſhould be recovered in the Carnatic, were to be aſſigned to "his government, excepting the French company's domains of "Villenore, Valdore, Bahoor, and Alamparvah: the territory of "Vellore, as belonging to Mortizally, their ally, and the diſtricts de-"pendant on Trinomalee, having been granted in appanage to Rajah-"ſaheb, the ſon of Chundaſaheb, were likewiſe exempted; and "whatſoever portion of the Carnatic ſhould fall to the Myſoreans, "was to be delivered back to the French, in proportion to the pro-"greſs of the acquiſitions in the ſouthern countries."

The negotiation was conducted with ſo much ſecrecy, that no ſurmiſes of it were obtained by the Engliſh until the 24th of May, juſt as their late ſucceſſes ſeemed to have left nothing on the land, which could interrupt the proſecution of their intention to blockade Pondicherry; for which, preparations were making at Madraſs, when Colonel Coote received intelligence of this unexpected alliance by a letter from one of his correſpondents in Pondicherry, ſignifying, that Mr. Lally was preparing a conſiderable detachment, to march and join Hyder Ally at Thiagar. Hyder it was known was not there, nor was there any probability, that his other intereſts would permit him to leave Seringapatam: nor were any diſpoſitions obſerved in the enemy's encampment, which ſignified ſuch a detachment as was ſaid to be going. On the 30th, Colonel Coote went out to reconnoitre them himſelf, accompanied as uſual by the black horſe and Sepoys. The enemy cannonaded hotly, and killed ſome of the horſemen; but Aſſafbeg, with two or three ſquadrons, broke in upon their Sepoys, and killed 14 of them. Nothing appeared for ſeveral days after to confirm the intelligence; and Colonel Coote began to regard it as a rumour thrown out by Mr. Lally himſelf, to conceal ſome other deſign, when, on the 7th of June, he received a confirmation of it from Kiſt-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Kiſtnarow, who had been ordered to look out, and had advanced with his party to Volcondah. 1760. June.

The firſt diviſion of the Myſore troops, conſiſting of 1000 horſe, and 2000 Sepoys, arrived at Thiagar on the 4th of June, and the next day ſome of their parties, roaming to collect cattle, ſkirmiſhed with Kiſtnarow's near the pettah of Volcondah. The reſt of the diviſion, ſtill remaining at Thiagar were 30 miles nearer Pondicherry; and Kiſtnarow believing the exaggerated accounts of their numbers, and being in want of ammunition, hurried back to protect the diſtricts of Verdachelum, which had been entruſted, not without profit, to his care; from hence he ſent his report and his fears to Colonel Coote, with earneſt requeſt of reinforcements; and then, he ſaid, he would march, and beat the Myſoreans.

A month before the rumours of theſe troops, the forces which the Myſore government maintained in Dindigul had commenced hoſtilities againſt the adjacent polygars depending on Tritchinopoly; and it was reported that they intended to get poſſeſſion of the paſs of Nattam, which would preclude the immediate communication between Tritchinopoly and Madura. But as the Myſoreans in theſe quarters had ſeveral times before attacked the poſſeſſions of the Nabob, their preſent hoſtilities had not led to any ſuſpicions of the greater effort which Hyder Ally was preparing againſt the Carnatic; nor were they deemed of danger to require immediate reſiſtance from this province: but Mahomed Iſſoof ſent a detachment from Tinivelly to Madura, from whence they were to take the field and enter the diſtricts of Dindigul; and the troops maintained by the Nabob for the protection of the diſtricts of Tritchinopoly, aſſembled at the paſs of Nattam, under the command of Huſſain Cawn, who had ſerved with the French at Terriore and Seringham until they retreated out of theſe countries, when he offered his ſervice to the Nabob, and was accepted.

The heats of the ſeaſon, ſince the land-winds had ſet in in April, had this year been much more intenſe than uſual; and had ſtruck ſickneſs through the camp. Sixty Europeans had died, and 300 were in the hoſpital, and to preſerve the reſt from the ſun, the day-duty of the line was done by the Sepoys. From the ſame attention

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. June. fifty of the late deſerters had been incorporated, and called the Free Company, under the command of two French officers, brothers, of the name of Martin: like the French volunteers, they were intended for the ſervices of moſt fatigue and danger, and were now employed, for the firſt time. They marched on the 10th, accompanied by 25 Coffrees, two companies of Sepoys, 1000 black horſe, and an iron gun with five European gunners, to join Kiſtnarow at Villaporum; as it was ſuppoſed the Myſoreans would attempt to paſs either by this place, or Trivadi.

Although no regular detachments had marched from Pondicherry, ſmall parties to the amount of 200 Europeans had paſſed at different times undiſcovered to Gingee, and from thence proceeded to Thiagar, before the firſt diviſion of Myſoreans arrived there; but remained in order to accompany the main body to Pondicherry. Preparing for this important convoy and reinforcement, the garriſons both of Thiagar and Gingee had collected all the cattle, which the inhabitants had not driven out of their reach: but the Myſore horſe in three days ſwept a much greater number; but refuſed to proceed with them, until fully apprized what interruption they were likely to meet in the way; and the French officers were afraid to tell them that they only ran the riſque of more by this delay.

The Martins arrived at Villaporum on the 11th, and heard nothing of Kiſtnarow; and the commandant of Gingee, thinking he could cope with their detachment, marched from his forts with 100 Europeans, ſome Sepoys and black horſe. The Martins, as well as the deſerters they commanded, behaved with much ſpirit in their new cauſe, and repulſed their countrymen, who acted but faintly. Some of the French Sepoys were killed, and two Europeans, a Topaze, and a Coffree, were made priſoners.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs and repeated injunctions Kiſtnarow ſtill kept aloof; and, as it was ſuppoſed that the Myſoreans already arrived were the whole body, and would advance, accompanied by the Europeans from Thiagar, to which force that with the Martins although ſtrong, would in no wiſe have been equal, another detach-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

detachment ſtill ſtronger was ſent from the camp: both when joined would amount to 190 European infantry, 30 European horſe, 25 Coffrees, 600 Sepoys, and 1600 black horſe; and were to be commanded by major More, the ſame who marched in January to Tripetty, and had lately been promoted from the rank of captain. 1760. June.

More Myſoreans arriving, they called in their parties, and being joined by 40 or 50 of the French troops from Thiagar, appeared before Tricalore on the 10th; but, the Frenchmen having brought only two or three ſmall field-pieces, and the fort being of ſtone, the Sepoys within, who were three good companies left there by Captain Airey, refuſed to ſurrender; and by the fire of their muſketry from the walls obliged the enemy to retire; who then went againſt Tritchimungalum, a fort five miles to the eaſt, where the garriſon, which was likewiſe of Sepoys, took fright, and evacuated it on their approach. From this place all the Myſore cavalry, now 1500, ſet off for Pondicherry, driving a multitude of cattle. but unaccompanied by any troops on foot, even their own, that, if interrupted, the horſe might be free to force their way, or retire. The rule of theſe countries had ſo often been ſhifted to and fro by the fortune of war, and they had ſuffered ſo much, as well from the ravages of hoſtility, as the concuſſions of unſettled government, that they regarded both the Engliſh and French at leaſt as tyrants, when not enemies; and, at this time, the renters and heads of villages, not knowing how ſoon they might have new maſters, gave no aſſiſtance to Major More's detachment, who, diſtreſſed for proviſions, and miſled by falſe intelligence, advanced from Villaporum towards Tricalore, where they expected ſupplies, and hoped to intercept the Myſoreans in their rout; who had paſſed before to the ſouth, by Trivanelore, and arrived at Trivadi on the 23d, where they halted the day. Mr. Lally, apprized of their approach, had moved his whole army from the bound hedge to his former encampment at Perimbé, in full ſight of Valdore, and then detached 50 of his European cavalry to join the Myſoreans on the road. Colonel Coote received quick intelligence of their arival at Trivadi, with an account of their num-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. June. bers, and immediately ſent out all the cavalry remaining in the camp, which were 1000 black, and 80 European horſe: they were led by Vaſſerot, but whilſt proceeding ſtreight towards Trivadi, the Myſoreans filed off from thence along the Panar, until they reached the bounds of Fort St. David, and then croſſing the plain, and keeping about a mile from the ſea, came in towards the evening at Ariancopang, three miles in the rear of the French camp at Perimbé. They ſet out from Trivadi, with 2000 head of cattle, which retarding their march, they left in different herds in various places, intending to return and bring them in by detachments; ſo that only 300 bullocks arrived with them at the French camp.

The day after, Mr. Lally, in order to make proof of their ſervice, advanced with them all, and the French European horſe, towards the grand guard of the Engliſh cavalry, which was poſted a mile and a half in front of the camp. All, when at a proper diſtance, ſet off on the gallop, and ſurrounded the guard on every ſide. Colonel Coote immediately puſhed to relieve them with the main body of the cavalry, from the camp; but before they came up, as theſe kind of onſets are generally decided in a very few minutes, the whole guard was diſperſed, and hurrying back to take ſhelter with the main body. The Myſoreans carried off 30 horſes belonging to the black cavalry, and ſeven to the huſſars.

Enſign Turner, who commanded at Cuddalore, receiving intelligence of the cattle which had been left on the way, went out with the Sepoys of his garriſon, and in two or three days collected and drove in 900 of them; and none of the reſt got into Pondicherry.

The detachment of Myſoreans eſcorted the officers appointed by Hyder Ally to ſettle the treaty and the plan of operations with the French government. A little before their arrival a report had been ſpread, that orders were on the way recalling Mr. Lally to France; which the Myſoreans hearing, inſiſted that Mr. Deleyrit, and all the members of the Council, ſhould ſign the treaty: had they refuſed, no further aſſiſtance was to be expected; they therefore ſigned it, but at the ſame time compoſed a proteſt, which they kept entirely

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

tirely ſecret amongſt themſelves, objecting more eſpecially to the monthly ſum which the Myſoreans were to receive as pay, to diſcharge which no money exiſted; and that the territories ceded to them were of much more value than the indefinite ſervices they were likely to perform. Nevertheleſs this clandeſtine diſapprobation was unworthy their office, being calculated to exempt themſelves from blame, and to exaggerate it on Mr. Lally, if affairs ſhould better with the aſſiſtance of the Myſoreans; at the ſame time the apparent ſanction evinced that the council ſaw no immediate means ſo likely to ſtop the progreſs of the Engliſh ſucceſſes, which had taken every thing abroad but Thiagar and Gingee, and were at this inſtant menacing the capital, Pondicherry: ſo that had the council meant ſincerely, they only promiſed the half of what they had loſt, or never poſſeſſed, to obtain the only chance of gaining the other half, perhaps of preſerving what remained. The treaty was ſigned on the 27th, and on the 28th at night all the Myſoreans went away, promiſing to return very ſoon with their whole force, and abundance of proviſions. The next day the French army retreated from Perimbé to the bound-hedge. 1760. June.

In this interval, the ſquadron had been joined by two ſhips of the line from England, the Norfolk of 74, and the Panther of 64 guns, which anchored at Cuddalore on the 15th; and a few days after one of the Company's ſhips arrived from Tellicherry on the Malabar coaſt, with a detachment of 100 Europeans, and 122 Topaſſes, ſent from that ſettlement by order from Bombay. This, with the detachment of artillery which arrived a little before, would have been a great reinforcement at any time, but was at this juncture more eſpecially ſeaſonable; and theſe exertions did honour to the councils of that Preſidency, which had hitherto been very cautious of parting with any part of its force.

On the 30th, the day after the French army returned to their bounds, Celonel Coote detached the remainder of the huſſars, who were 20, 500 black horſe, 50 European infantry, and four companies of Sepoys, to Major Moore, that he might be ſtrong enough to encounter the whole body of the Myſoreans in their approach to Pondicherry. This officer had been joined at Tricalore on the 24th, by Kiſtna-

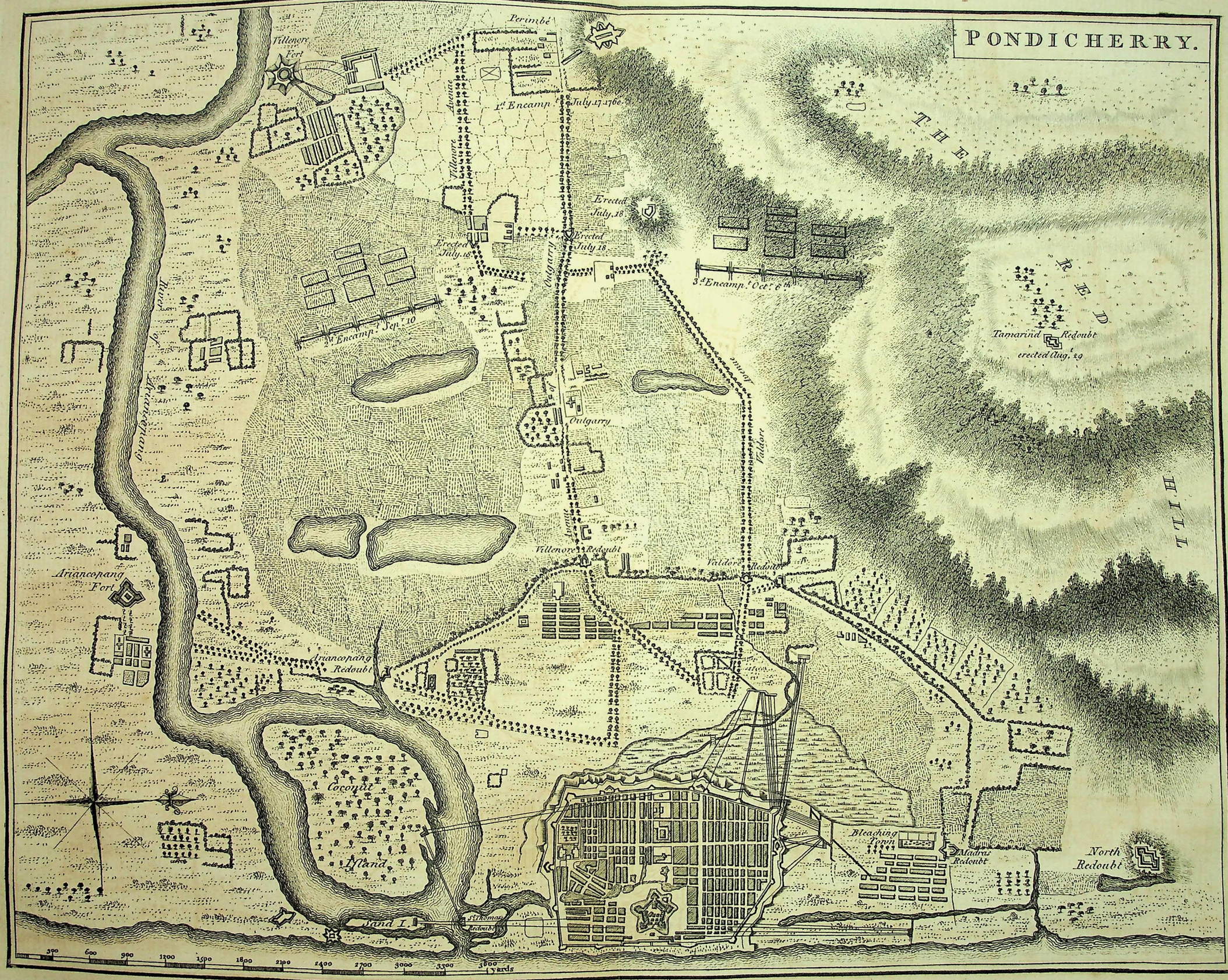
CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. July. row, with 500 horſe, and as many Sepoys. They proceeded againſt Trichimungalum, which ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance on the 26th. The garriſon were a ſerjeant, another European, and 180 Sepoys, with a much greater ſtore of ammunition than their number required. They had collected 900 head of cattle in the fort, and a large quantity of grain in the town. Major Moore was again miſled by his intelligence, and the party of Myſoreans returning from Pondicherry to Thiagar paſſed again out of his reach.

Mr. Lally determined to riſque nothing before the main body of the Myſoreans arrived; and his troops were too ſtrongly poſted in front of, and within, the bound-hedge, to be attacked by a force, which exceeded them ſo little as the Engliſh army, ſince the detachments it had lately ſent abroad. So that both armies concurring in the ſame caution, in expectation of the ſame event, nothing of any moment paſſed between them for twenty days. Colonel Coote, in this interval, went to Madraſs. He left the camp on the 6th of July, and returned on the 14th. The next day he received intelligence from Major Moore, that the Myſoreans were ſet out from Thiagar, with a very large convoy of proviſions. This intelligence was confirmed the next day, with their route; and at three the next morning, which was the 17th, the van diviſion of the army under Colonel Monſon moved, and took poſſeſſion of Perimbé, which is the ground under the point of the red-hill directly oppoſite to Villenore. The reſt of the army came up before daylight; a party was immediately detached to take poſſeſſion of the pettah of Villenore, and make preparations for batteries; another deſtroyed a redoubt on the hill over Perimbé, which the enemy had lately erected, in the ſpot where they before had raiſed the barracks for their cavalry, which Colonel Coote had burnt on his firſt excurſion to reconnoitre this ground from Permacoil. The diſtance acroſs, from the Red-hill, to the fort of Villenore and the river of Ariancopang, is little more than a mile, and the army poſſeſſed the whole ſpace in poſts and encloſures, which could not be attacked in front towards Pondicherry without great diſadvantage; and nothing was apprehended in the rear, although the Myſoreans were coming; for

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA



Published as the Act directs June 5th 1778.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

they, it was not doubted, would, as before, endeavour to join the French army, by avoiding the Engliſh. 1760. July.

On this day, the 17th, the troops with Major Moore, and the whole body of the Myſoreans, advancing by different routs, arrived nearly at the ſame hour, in ſight of Trivadi. With Moore were 180 European infantry, 30 Coffrees, and 50 huſſars, and together with Kiſtnarow's the black horſe were 1600, and the Sepoys 1100. The Myſoreans were 4000 horſe well mounted, 1000 Sepoys, and 200 Europeans, or Topaſſes of the French army, of whom a part managed eight pieces of cannon. At this time, when the Engliſh troops had been ſo long accuſtomed to ſucceſs, it was ſuppoſed, that the force with Major Moore, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, might have ſtood at leaſt an obſtinate brunt; but it happened otherwiſe; for by ſome miſchance or miſconduct of which no certain account has ever been given, they were totally routed. The black horſe and Sepoys, who it is ſaid firſt gave way, diſperſed on every ſide; five and twenty of the huſſars were cut to pieces, and moſt of the reſt were wounded; they were the only part which behaved with firmneſs, fighting after they were deſerted by the European infantry, who retreated in great hurry and diſorder to the fort of Trivadi, which they gained with the loſs of 15 killed and 40 wounded.

The news of this misfortune reached Colonel Coote the next day, and encreaſed his anxiety to get poſſeſſion of Villenore; for it was not doubted that Mr. Lally, as ſoon as joined by the Myſoreans, would make every effort to ſave this place.

The left of the Engliſh encampment was at the foot of the hill of Perimbé, and it extended 1500 yards to the right, acroſs the plain towards Villenore. Through the center of the camp paſſed a road (raiſed as all the others on the plain above the common level of the ground, and) with a row of trees on each ſide. This avenue comes almoſt in a ſtreight line from a redoubt in the bound-hedge, called the Villenore; but receives its name from the village of Ouglaree, through which it paſſeth about half-way between the bound-hedge and the hill of Perimbé. At a thouſand yards in front of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. July. of the Engliſh encampment, and 2000 from the bound-hedge, another avenue called the Villenore, ſtrikes off from the avenue of Oulgaree, on the left as you come from the bound-hedge, on the right, if looking from the camp. The Villenore, after continuing 400 yards at a right angle from the Oulgaree, turns nearly at another right angle, and leads ſtreight weſt, and parallel to the other avenue; but ceaſes midway in the plain between Perimbé, and the fort of Villenore, which Colonel Coote was preparing to attack, and which muſt always be diſtinguiſhed, in conſidering our narrative, from the redoubt of the ſame name in the bound-hedge: the Villenore avenue, towards its termination, covered the right flank of the Engliſh camp. From a redoubt in the bound-hedge, at 1000 yards to the right of the avenue of Oulgaree, commenceth another avenue, called as well as the redoubt itſelf the Valdore: this avenue continues only 1000 yards ſtreight to the weſt, when, ſtopped by the oppoſition of the Red-hill, it inclines in another ſtreight line to the left, until it has verged within 300 yards of the avenue of Oulgaree, which it then joins in another ſtreight line, and at a right angle on the right, exactly facing the junction of the Villenore avenue on the other ſide the road, ſo that both together interſected the avenue of Oulgaree at right angles in the ſame point. It was along the Valdore avenue, that Colonel Coote, with his cavalry, followed the French troops, when they retreated before him on the 7th of March, the firſt time he went to reconnoitre the ground about Pondicherry. Exactly oppoſite to the ſecond angle of the Valdore avenue, as you come from the bound-hedge, and the firſt if you are going to it from the avenue of Oulgaree, ſtands a hillock, the higheſt, and the only conſpicuous one on the plain, detached from the Red-hill; from the outward ridge of which this hillock is about 300 yards diſtant: thus ſituated, it commanded in flank the third or laſt, and in ſlant the middle or ſecond turning of the Valdore avenue. Colonel Coote, having conſidered all the ground we have deſcribed, fortified the hillock with a cloſed redoubt of three guns, threw up a retrenchment of three guns acroſs the avenue of Oulgaree, 150 yards in front of the ſpot

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſpot where it is joined by the two others, and raiſed another acroſs the Villenore avenue. Both retrenchments, and the redoubt on the hillock, lay nearly in the ſame line in front of the camp, which the hill of Perimbé defended on the left; on the right, the plain on the other ſide of the Villenore avenue was open and paſſable to cannon and cavalry, even to the rear of the camp. But this approach would now be protected by the troops ſtationed in the villages under Villenore, and employed in the attack of this fort. All the three works were finiſhed between the night of the 17th and the morning of the 19th. This diſpoſition was deviſed with much ſcience; for every thing was obviated which might produce a general diſaſter, if the troops ſhould be compelled to quit the attack of Villenore, of which the ſucceſs was ſcarcely probable, if the enemy, as might be expected, riſqued boldly for its ſafety. 1760. July.

A thirteen-inch mortar, ſent from Madraſs, and landed at Cuddalore, arrived in camp on the 19th, and was immediately planted to bombard the fort; but the ſhells ſent with it were too ſmall, and would not take any certain range, and heavy rains prevented any work at the batteries during the night.

The next morning the French army, not yet joined by the whole body of Myſoreans, appeared advancing along the river of Ariancopang, as if they intended to attack the detachmments ſtationed to guard the batteries; on which Colonel Coote marched from the right of the camp with the two battalions of the Company's troops, and half the horſe and Sepoys to meet the enemy, who halted, and began to cannonade; during which Draper's and Coote's regiments with the reſt of the black troops, by previous diſpoſition, marched from the left of the camp along the foot of the Red Hill, as if they intended to ſtorm the redoubts of the bound-hedge, and get into the rear of the enemy's army. Mr. Lally believed this feigned intention to be real, and immediately retreated to his former ſtations; a few of the Engliſh cavalry and Sepoys were wounded. In the evening the Myſoreans arrived from Trivadi with 3000 bullocks, carrying their baggage, and drawing their artillery, and 3000 more laden with rice, and other proviſions; the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. July. French detachments from Thiagar and Gingee accompanied them: they came in unmoleſted, as before, by Ariancopang, and their arrival was complimented with a long ſalute of cannon. In the evening the guards before Villenore were reinforced, and double diligence employed through the night at the batteries.

The fort of Villenore was a circle 50 yards in diameter within the wall; it was ſurrounded by a ditch, a covered way, and a glacis cut in angles, as a ſtar. The rampart was a conſtruction of maſonry, divided into ten lodgements, or chambers, which were arched, the vaults bomb-proof, and the interſtices at top were filled up to an equal level, which formed the terrace on which the cannon were mounted. Each of the chambers was likewiſe opened through the outſide of the wall in caſements intended for cannon, but none were mounted in them. The breadth of the rampart, which was the length of the chambers, was 30 feet, and reduced the area within to a ſmall pentagon, which in no direction was more than 45 feet over; ſo that if the chambers had not been bomb-proof, the place could not have ſtood an hour againſt this kind of artillery. Two villages lay near the fort, one directly north, the other to the north-eaſt. They were about 200 yards from each other, and both were occupied by the Engliſh troops. The paſſage through the glacis to the fort was ſtreight, and nothing obſtructed the view quite up to the foot of the wall but the barrier gate, and the draw-bridge, when up; neither of which could reſiſt a ſhot; nevertheleſs, the French had neglected to cover this opening by a traverſe, either in front or behind the paſſage. The advantage was taken, and a battery of two eighteen-pounders was erected between the two villages, to breach through the opening: another of the ſame force was erected in the village to the north, to deſtroy the parapet, and take in reverſe the part intended to be breached.

Both batteries opened with the day on the 16th. At nine o'clock the French army, with all the Myſoreans, horſe and foot, approached along the bank of the river of Ariancopang. Some of the black horſe and Sepoys, with three field-pieces, were ſent from the Engliſh camp, to ſtop their advanced parties, whilſt the line got under

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

under arms; and as ſoon as they were in motion, a detachment of Europeans, with four field-pieces, filed off from the right to reinforce the villages of Villenore. By this time the batteries there had beat down the parapet, and ſilenced the enemy's fire from the fort, when two companies of Sepoys ſet off on the full run, and poſted themſelves under the brick facing of the covered way, in a hollow, where the earth had not been filled up, as in other parts, to the creſt of the glacis; ſome, more adventurous, jumped over the wall. Still the garriſon had nothing to fear; for the Sepoys had a ditch to paſs, and a very imperfect breach to mount: but the commanding officer held out a flag of truce, and opened the gate to a detachment of Europeans, who haſtened up on the firſt ſight of the flag. They immediately raiſed the Engliſh colours on the rampart, and turned the guns againſt the French and Myſoreans, who were advanced along the river-ſide within the random reach of cannon-ſhot. The change was received with the curſes of every man in the French army. All the lines ſtopped involuntarily, and at once, ſtricken by horror; and Mr. Lally, more confounded than any, immediately ordered the whole to retreat under the guns of Ariancopang. There were in the fort 30 Europeans, 12 Coffrees, and eight pieces of cannon on the ramparts, which might have held out two days longer, before the Engliſh would have ventured to ſtorm; and ten minutes more in the preſent hour would have brought on a general engagement to decide its fate. Of all his ſucceſſes, Colonel Coote deemed this the moſt fortunate, becauſe leaſt expected. Nevertheleſs, he had exerted much ability to place the army in a ſituation to make the attack in ſight of the enemy's, and, if it failed, have nothing unequal to apprehend. 1760. July.

The firſt arrival of the Myſoreans in the province had alarmed the Preſidency of Madraſs, as much as it ſurprized the army; for, beſides the interruption they might give to the ſucceſs of the war, the Nabob's revenues were loſt wherever their parties appeared; and, as horſe, they might in the back country extend their ravages from Tritchinopoly to Arcot: and this detriment was the more dreaded, becauſe the company in England, relying on the treaſures of Bengal,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. July. had determined to ſend no bullion to any of their ſettlements in India, and the Preſidency of Bengal had conſumed all their incomes, and were borrowing money. It was therefore propoſed to the Nabob, who was at Madraſs, to march with what troops had accompanied him thither, ſupported by a detachment of Europeans from the garriſon, in order to protect the countries between Gingee and Trinomaly, and all behind them to Arcot. Captain Richard Smith, at Tritchinopoly, as ſoon as he had acquired intelligence of the ſtrength and intentions of the Myſoreans which were come into the Carnatic, propoſed the expediency of a diverſion, by marching with a force from his garriſon, and attacking the diſtricts of Myſore, which confine on the weſtward to thoſe of Tritchinopoly, whilſt the troops ordered by Mahomed Iſſoof from Madura, ſhould keep the Myſoreans of Dindigul at bay. The idea was approved as the moſt probable reſource; he was ordered to carry it into execution, and Tanjore and Tondiman were requeſted to give him what aſſiſtance he might require.

The Nabob marched from Madraſs on the 3d of July, and on the 7th he arrived at Vandivaſh; after loitering there ſome days, he ſuddenly changed his mind from keeping the field againſt the Myſoreans, and went away to make his entrance into his capital of Arcot; but left 700 of his horſe, and 500 of his Sepoys, with his brother Maphuze Khan, who on the 22d came with them to the army at Perimbé. The day after Colonel Coote, with all the cavalry of the army, a great part of the Sepoys, ſeveral field-pieces, an eighteen-pounder on a field-carriage, but without any European infantry, advanced towards the bound-hedge. This defiance as it were of meeting the Myſoreans with equal arms could not provoke them to come out and try their ſtrength; but the French infantry advanced, and cannonaded from ſeven pieces of cannon, which only wounded two European gunners.

The next morning, the 24th, on intelligence that a large body of the Myſoreans intended to march that night to the weſtward to eſcort proviſions, Major Monſon was detached, with all the black cavalry, ſix companies of Sepoys, and two field-pieces, to take poſt at

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

at Valdore, near which, it was ſuppoſed, the Myſoreans would return; but only a few were gone out, who halted at Rangapillah's choultry on the ſea ſhore, ſix miles to the north of the bound-hedge, where they were joined on the 26th by the large body from Pondicherry, of which intelligence had been given on the 24th. All went on to Permacoil; Major Monſon followed them on the 27th, and arrived on the 28th, when none were remaining there. In the mean time, Lieutenant Eiſer had been detached from the camp on the 26th, with 400 Sepoys, 30 Europeans, and a hundred black horſe, the beſt in the army, to proceed from Rangapillah's choultry along the ſea-ſhore, whilſt Major Monſon was endeavouring to come up with them on the other ſide; but they had ſtruck off in ſeveral parties, ſome towards Gingee, others to the northward, ſpreading to collect cattle, and deſtroying whatſoever elſe belonged to the inhabitants, who, as their ground now ſupplied the Engliſh army with proviſions, were every where conſidered by the French as enemies. One of theſe parties went to Allamparvah, where they plundered the pettah; and took a lieutenant, who was ſick, and chancing to be taking the air, having ſhot him through the back as he was endeavouring to eſcape in his palankin; however, the cannon of the fort drove the party away, and, as they were returning along the ſhore towards Pondicherry, they fell unawares acroſs Eiſer's detachment, by whom they were intirely routed, and 30 of their horſe ſurrendered to him, with which he returned to the camp in the evening, where major Monſon's diviſion likewiſe rejoined the ſame day; for the whole cavalry of the camp had marched in theſe two diviſions. 1760. July.

The laſt day of the month brought the welcome arrival of five of the company's ſhips from England in the Road of Cuddalore: and two days after came in another, which had ſeparated from them. There were on board of the ſix, 600 men drafted from regiments in England, to replace the deficiences which might have happened in Draper's and Coote's.

On the 3d of Auguſt, the free company of Frenchmen were ſent to get in the rear of one of the enemy's advanced poſts, which lay in Auguſt.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. August. in the Valdore road, about half a mile from the bound-hedge. They marched along the ſkirts of the Red-hill, and, coming by ſurprize, killed and wounded ſeveral, and drove the reſt to the bound-hedge.

The Myſoreans, according to their contract, had delivered all the proviſions they brought into the magazines of Pondicherry, where they were carefully ſtored for future need. The purſuit of Monſon, and the ſucceſs of Eiſer, deterred them from going out again in large detachments, and although the Engliſh army could not cover the ground ſufficiently to prevent ſmall parties from getting back, with a few head of cattle or other proviſions, yet all theſe ſupplies were unequal to the daily conſumption of 10,000 mouths; for, with their followers, the Myſore army amounted to this multitude; and in a few days rice began to ſell in their camp at the rate of two pounds for a rupee. This diſtreſs, the conſtant fatigue and riſque neceſſary to redreſs it, and their convictions of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh army, as well by the loſs of Villenore, as the caution of the French to riſque an engagement ſince that event, made them weary of their expedition and alliance; and their Sepoys, foreſeeing leſs likelihood of retreating with ſafety than the horſe, began to deſert in numbers every day.

The garriſon of Gingee had collected 2000 carriage bullocks, and rice to load on them, and, with various parties which had got out from Pondicherry, 150 Europeans of the infantry, and 100 of the cavalry, were waiting there to eſcort this train, expecting to be joined by the Myſore horſe; who were by this time determined to go away to Thiagar, and return no more; on which, 50 more Europeans, with three companies of Sepoys, were detached from Pondicherry, to reinforce the convoy. Colonel Coote took meaſures to prevent its arrival. Some Sepoys patroled along the ſea-ſhore, as far as Rangapillah's choultry; from Alamparvah, Martin, with the free company, four of Sepoys, and three field-pieces, marched on the 12th, to lie between Valdore and Permacoil, and were reinforced the next day by 30 huſſars with Lieutenant Kircher. Whilſt theſe parties were on the north and N. W. Enſign Turner marched from Cuddalore to Trivadi, with the ſeven companies of Sepoys belong-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

belonging to that garriſon, in which Major Monſon remained with the troops juſt arrived from England: ſo that the outlets to the s. w. and s. were equally well guarded, and the main body of the army lying between Villenore and the Red-hill utterly precluded the paſſage to or from the weſt. The convoy from Gingee were expected to ſet out on the 12th, but did not until the evening of the 13th; intelligence of which was ſoon after brought to Colonel Coote, who went off at 11 at night, with all the black cavalry, 200 Europeans, the hundred Topaſſes from Bombay, and two field-pieces, and proceeded towards Killenore. The ſame night the greateſt part of the Myſore horſe, decamped from the glacis of Pondicherry, and marching faſt fell in when it was deep dark with Martin and Kircher, who, charging them unexpectedly met no reſiſtance, killed 40, took 200 of their horſe, and 900 bullocks laden with their baggage. At day-break Colonel Coote came up with his party, when all the Myſoreans were not yet out of ſight: they were retreating in broken parties to the weſt-ward. Colonel Coote divided his force in purſuit of them, which returned the ſame day with many more bullocks and two European priſoners. One diviſion of the Myſoreans eſcaped both the encounter and purſuit. They were at ſome diſtance in the rear, when the front was ſtopped, on which they immediately turned back, and paſſing as they had come at the back of the Red-hill, and by the ſea ſhore, regained the bounds of Pondicherry. 1760. Auguſt.

Notwithſtanding this rout, it was ſtill conſidered as doubtful, whether the Myſoreans might not join and return with the convoy waiting at Gingee: and to prevent the continual fatigue of detachments marching from the camp on every report, to watch and intercept their approach, it was determined to poſt a force ſufficient to cope with them ſeparate from the main body of the army, which continued at Perimbé. The detachment which had accompanied the Nabob from Madraſs, when it was ſuppoſed he intended to keep the field towards Trinomaly, advanced from Vandivaſh; and on the 19th encamped at Ratlagramon, a town under the hills to the eaſt of Gingee, and ten miles north of Valdore; a ſtation which the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. August. convoy could not avoid without much circuit and trouble. The detachment was immediately joined by another from the camp, when the whole amounted to 200 European foot, 50 Coffrees, 500 Sepoys, 50 European horſe, huſſars, and 500 black horſe; they were commanded by Captain Preſton.

The 500 Myſoreans which had returned to Pondicherry were afraid to venture out again in a body, but in every of the ſucceeding nights ſent off ſmall parties, which paſſed undiſcovered. To ſtop thoſe which remained, two companies of Sepoys, with 100 of the black horſe, were detached with Enſign Meredith, and took poſt at Rangapillah's choultry. Another detachment of Sepoys marched the ſame day from the camp in queſt of a party of Europeans which had marched the night before from Pondicherry for Gingee, but only brought back four, whom they had picked up lagging on the road with fatigue. Early the next morning, a ſtrong detachment from the bounds attacked the poſt at Rangapillah's choultry, and obliged the party there to retreat. On the firſt notice, two companies of Sepoys, and all the grand guard of cavalry, marched to ſuſtain them, and the enemy retired on their appearance.

In two or three nights more, all the Myſoreans who had returned to Pondicherry were gone, and all their parties had eſcaped without interruption. News was received at this time that their main body, which had aſſembled at Thiagar, were marched from thence to attack Trinomaly; it was therefore concluded, that they would make no farther efforts of conſequence to ſuccour Pondicherry with proviſions; and in this perſuaſion, the Preſidency reſumed the intention of blockading Pondicherry by ſea and land; and the Governor Mr. Pigot came from Madraſs to confer with Admiral Stevens and Colonel Coote on the means.

The ground between Villenore and Perimbé was the beſt on which the Engliſh army could continue, whilſt the Myſoreans remained with the French; for it preſented a narrow front, was of hazardous approach, afforded ſeveral ſtrong poſts, and was centrically ſituated for the expedition of detachments to interrupt any which might be ſent from, or coming to the enemy's camp. But this ſituation did

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

not fully anſwer the purpoſe of a blockade, which was to reduce the town by famine; for, being five miles diſtant, the army was not ſufficient to form a chain of poſts in a curve of 15 miles from the ſea-ſhore on the north to the ſea-ſhore on the ſouth of the town, cloſe, or in all parts ſtrong enough, to intercept every thing. The bound-hedge of Pondicherry ſweeps from the north to the S. E. of the town, where it ceaſes on the bank of the river of Ariancopang, which, in two arms, with an iſland between them, ſupplies the reſt of the barrier to the ſouth of the town. The area included by the hedge with the arms of the river, comprizes nearly ſeven ſquare miles. This ground afforded paſture for a number of cattle, which, if unmoleſted, might, whilſt the Engliſh army remained at their preſent diſtance, ſupply the troops and inhabitants with proviſions for ſeveral months; and the daily conſumption might be replaced by ſmall convoys from without; ſo that the enemy could not be ſeverely diſtreſſed, until pent within the bound-hedge, when its redoubts and other ſtations in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, would ſuffer nothing to remain abroad beyond the foot of the glacis, and even there not in quiet. Theſe poſts would likewiſe obſtruct the introduction of ſupplies in the whole extent of the hedge, and the preſent ſtock would remain the principal reliance, until the French army ſhould be ſufficiently reinforced to recover them; but now that the Myſoreans were gone, no probability remained of any troops coming to the ſuccour of the town, excepting from the ſea. Nevertheleſs the Engliſh force was not yet ſufficiently ſuperior, even if in poſſeſſion of the bound-hedge, to open trenches againſt the town; and if it had, the preparation, embarkation, and tranſport of the artillery and ſtores, which were all to come from Madraſs, could not be accompliſhed before the ſetting-in of the monſoon, which at fartheſt might be expected in the middle of October. If the French fleet appeared before this time, the iſſue of the fight at ſea would determine the future ſucceſs of the ſiege; if not, their delay muſt ariſe from the want of force to cope with Mr. Stevens's ſquadron; and in this caſe, it was ſcarcely to be doubted that ſingle ſhips, or more, would at any riſque venture with relief

1760. Auguſt.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. August. in the height of the ſtormy weather, in expectation that the Engliſh ſquadron would have left the coaſt to avoid it, as they had done during every monſoon for the laſt five years. Thus it became neceſſary to get poſſeſſion of the bound-hedge and its redoubts without delay; and then that the ſquadron ſhould continue in ſight of Pondicherry through the monſoon, in order to intercept whatſoever ſhips might be coming either with troops or proviſions: but, previous to the attack of the hedge, Colonel Coote thought it neceſſary to reduce the fort of Ariancopang, which ſtanding on the ſouth ſide of the river, almoſt oppoſite, although at ſome diſtance from the termination of the hedge on the other bank, commanded all the ground between, as well as in front down to the ſtrand of the ſea; ſo that from the garriſon of the town on the one hand, and the fort on the other, this quarter of the circumvallation, ſuppoſing the hedge to be taken, could not be completed without more force than the army could ſpare from other parts; and even then the poſts eſtabliſhed on this ſide would be continually expoſed to dangerous attacks; in the mean time, this extent of ground would remain open for the introduction of convoys; which, detachments from the fort of Ariancopang, if taken, might eaſily intercept. The force of the Engliſh army before the town, excluſive of garriſons and detachments, was 2000 Europeans, and 6000 natives, either horſe or Sepoys. If Ariancopang were attacked by a detachment, the number requiſite, of 800 Europeans, would leave the main body ſcarcely a match for the whole of the enemy's force, if collected to attack them, who doubtleſs would make the effort. If Ariancopang were inveſted by the whole army, they muſt move from the advantageous ground between Villenore and Perimbé, which would leave all to the north of Pondicherry open, and admit the French army then to detach a force, which, joined with the party already at Gingee, would be able to drive Preſton from Rattlagrammon, and bring in, if not the whole, at leaſt a conſiderable part of the convoy collected there. Theſe grounds and circumſtances Mr. Pigot repreſented in a memorial to Admiral Stevens, and, in conſequence of them, requeſted that he would land all the marines of the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the ſquadron, to enable the army to attack Ariancopang, and take poſſeſſion of the bound-hedge; and that he would determine to remain on the coaſt with the whole ſquadron, through the monſoon. Mr. Stevens was very loth to deprive his ſhips of their marines during the expectation of an engagement with the enemy's ſquadron, but at length acquieſced to the neceſſity and importance of the ſervice they might render on ſhore; and promiſed without heſitation that his ſquadron ſhould not quit the coaſt until compelled by irreſiſtible neceſſity. Accordingly, the marines were landed at Cuddalore on the 27th; they were, including officers, 422 Europeans. 1760. Auguſt.

The Myſoreans, as ſoon as they arrived before Trinomaly, made an attack on the pettah, in which they were repulſed with the loſs of fifty or ſixty men: but continued to inveſt the place. Captain Preſton, on intelligence of their intention, ſent off on the 22d two companies of Sepoys from Ratlagrammon, who, by bye ways in the mountain, got into the fort on the 26th; and the day after, the enemy in greater force than before made another aſſault, in which they were again beaten off, with the loſs of ſixty men, and an officer of diſtinction; the garriſon ſallied as they retreated, and obliged them to abandon two field-pieces, which they had brought up and uſed in the attack. The whole raiſed the ſiege immediately, and returned to Thiagar.

Two hundred Europeans, with ſome Sepoys, and two guns, marching round the Red-hill in the night of the 23d, eſcaped the interruption of the Engliſh guards, and arrived the next day at Gingee; from whence they ſet out again in different parties, eſcorting 2000 bullocks loaded with proviſions; of which ſome were diſperſed by Preſton, as they were coming out of the hills; and 300 were taken, when advanced within a few miles of the Engliſh camp, by a detachment of Sepoys and black horſe, ſent out to look for them; and none got into Pondicherry: but as all that had been attacked had been met in the night, the eſcorts regained Gingee with very little loſs. Three or four thouſand more bullocks were ready to be ſubſtituted as the convoys ſent might fail, and it was now determined to ſend the whole of this collection together, under the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. Auguſt. ſtrongeſt eſcort that could be riſqued abroad: accordingly Mr. Lally detached 100 of the French cavalry and ſeveral more companies of Sepoys from Pondicherry, to join the troops already at Gingee; ſo that one third of his whole force was now employed in this ſervice; and he had by much ſollicitation, and by inducements of which we are ignorant, prevailed on the Myſoreans to ſend back 800 of their horſe to Gingee, who were likewiſe to accompany the convoy; and this body of horſe arrived there at the ſame time as the laſt detachment from Pondicherry. Intelligence was received on the 29th, that the convoy with the whole eſcort intended to ſet out from Gingee in the enſuing night; on which, diſpoſitions were made to oppoſe their paſſage.

The whole of the Red-hill is interſected by winding dales, in which troops may march unperceived until met within them, or diſcovered from the riſing grounds above: in the middle of the general plot of the Red-hill, ſtands one eminence higher than any of the others, and called from the trees it bears, the Tamarind grove: this hillock has dales on each ſide of it, which join with others, leading from the plain of the country on the outſide of the Red-hill to the N. W. at the fartheſt diſtance from the Engliſh camp, from the left of which ſhouldered under the extremity of the Red-hill at Perimbé, the Tamarind grove was two miles to the N. E. and it was three to the N. W. of Pondicherry. This ſituation being central for the interruption of troops marching through the dales of the Red-hill, either to or from Pondicherry, Colonel Coote, who, by his continual excurſions, knew all the ground in the adjacencies of his camp, ordered a redoubt to be raiſed there, which was finiſhed in the day. Leſt the convoy ſhould attempt to make their way to the ſouth of the river of Ariancopang, the whole body of marines, which were ſtill remaining at Cuddalore, were ordered to march ſome miles from thence along the river Paliar, and to advance ſix companies of Sepoys beyond them towards Trivadi; whilſt ſcouts from the camp patroled between the two rivers: and, to watch the convoy if coming by the direct road from the weſt, ſeveral companies of Sepoys from Valdore proceeded along it towards Gingee. The convoy ſet

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

out from hence on the 29th, the day appointed; but Captain Preſton having two days before taken a mud fort, called Penamalee, ſituated at the opening of the hills, poſted a ſtrong guard there, which the enemy miſtaking for the whole of his force, retired again, and afterwards hearing of the diſpoſitions made from the Engliſh camp, reſolved to proceed as before in ſeparate troops. 1760. August.

On the 2d of September arrived at Cuddalore three of the King's ſhips, convoying ſeveral of the Company's from England. Of the men of war two were the America, and Medway, each of 60 guns, which compleated the ſquadron before Pondicherry to 17 ſail of the line. In the Company's ſhips were part of a Highland regiment, ſupplied by the government, in addition to the troops it had already ſent to India. Theſe mighty aids witneſſed in this quarter of the globe, as equal efforts, whereſoever neceſſary, in every other, the ſuperior energy of that mind, who poſſeſſing equally the confidence of his ſovereign and the nation, conducted the arduous and extenſive war in which they were engaged againſt their great and only rival.

The ſame evening Colonel Coote ordered 400 men to march and inveſt the fort of Ariancopang; but Colonel Monſon, the next in command, did not approve the operation, although it had been pleaded to Admiral Stevens, as the principal inducement to land the marines of the ſquadron: and Colonel Coote, not to diſguſt pertinacity, when concurrence was ſo neceſſary, countermanded the detachment.

Mr. Lally received information, that the detachment had been paraded, and ſuſpected the ſervice for which it had been intended. Such a proof of the opinion which the Engliſh army entertained of their own ſuperiority, convinced him that it would ſoon be followed by ſome real blow of equal detriment, if they were not immediately convinced, that his own was capable of more than acting on the defenſive. He reſolved to attack their camp by ſurprize on the night of the 4th, and his diſpoſitions were made with much ſkill and ſagacity.

In the three ſhips at anchor before the town, were 150 European mariners; they were all landed, and Laſcars ſent on board. Theſe Euro-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September. Europeans, with ſome Sepoys, were allotted to guard the redoubts in the bound-hedge, that all the regular European military might ſerve in the intended attacks, excepting the artillery men, who were diſtributed on the ramparts of the town, and in the out-poſts which mounted cannon. By the detachments lately ſent abroad, the whole force that could march on the preſent ſervice were 1400 European infantry, 100 European horſe, and 900 Sepoys. The battalion of India and the volunteers of Bourbon, amounting to 300 rank and file, had for ſome days been encamped under the fort of Ariancopang; the Portugueze company, which was likewiſe called the company of Jeſus, and had a Jeſuit at their head, with ſome Sepoys, were quartered in the Company's gardens, ſituated within the bound-hedge in the road towards the Valdore redoubt; the regiments of Lorrain and Lally, 500 men, the marines of the ſquadron, 200, and 500 Sepoys, were in the town; the horſe were diſtributed in different patroles. The gates of the town were ſhut early, and opened again at ten at night; and although Colonel Coote entertained ſpies and correſpondents in the town, not one of them acquired the leaſt ſurmiſe of Mr. Lally's intentions, or ſuſpected any unuſual operation.

The marines and Sepoys marched out of the town in two parties, told off in equal numbers of each. They proceeded to the Valdore redoubt, and in the way the Portugueze company, with the Sepoys at the garden, fell into the rear and formed the third ſub-diviſion of this line. Continuing in the avenues from the Valdore redoubt, the firſt party ſoon turned to the right, to gain the Red-hill, and proceed in it to the attack of the Tamarind redoubt; in which, if they ſucceeded, they were to march acroſs to the left, and join the ſecond; which followed them, and quitting the avenue likewiſe, were to advance along the foot of the outward ridge of the Red-hill, until they had gained the flank of the Engliſh redoubt on the hillock in the plain, which they were then to bear down upon, and attack. The Portugueze and Sepoys, which were the third ſub-diviſion, were to proceed quite through the three

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

lines of the Valdore avenue, diſperſing what patroles and out-guards might be in the way, and to take poſt at the junction of this avenue with that of Oulgarry, where they were to wait the orders of the officer who commanded the attack, which was to be made by the regiments of Lorrain and Lally. Theſe troops, in two diviſions, marched from the town, and through the bound-hedge, along the avenue of Oulgarry, until they came to the head of this village, where a deep water-courſe croſſed the avenue, and had a bridge over it, which was defended by a retrenchment with guns. Here Lorrain halted, whilſt Lally's regiment, quitting the avenue by the left, marched outwards in the fields to fall on the right flank of the Engliſh redoubt in this avenue; to which Lorrain was to advance ſtreight along the avenue, and attack at the ſame time. When carried, the Portugueze company, with the Sepoys, which were the third ſub-diviſion of the attack to the right, were to join, and, with Lorrain's and Lally's, proceed acroſs on the left to attack the retrenchment in the Villenore avenue which ſtood in the ſame parallel as that in the avenue of Oulgarry; but the Villenore retrenchment had on its left a large garden, called from its owner, Barthelmi's; in which were likewiſe poſted a ſtrong guard with ſome field-pieces. When this garden and retrenchment were carried, all the troops of this attack were to regulate themſelves by the ſucceſs of another attack on their left, which was to be made by the India Battalion and the volunteers of Bourbon. They were to march from the fort of Ariancopang, acroſs the river, to the villages under the fort of Villenore; but were to leave two field-pieces on the plain in their way from the river, in order to ſecure their retreat. As ſoon as the firing became general, at the retrenchment in the Oulgarry road, the redoubt on the hillock, and the tamarind redoubt, theſe troops were to advance from the village in which they were halting, and proceed along a ſhort road which would bring them to the termination of the Villenore avenue, and exactly in the rear of the right flank of the Engliſh encampment; on which they were to fall with the utmoſt vigour, in full confidence, that the other attacks would have thrown the whole camp into diſorder,

1760. September.

by

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September.

by the uncertainty and diſtraction of what and where ſuccours were to be ſent. Mr. Lally, with a guard of horſe, remained at the bridge of Oulgarry. Calculation had been made, when all the troops would arrive within equal reach of their reſpective attacks, where they were to wait in ſilence for the ſignal of two ſky-rockets, which were to be thrown up at Oulgarry, when all were to advance to the attacks allotted them.

The ſky-rockets were ſhot off a little before midnight, and ſoon after the firing commenced nearly at the ſame time, at the tamarind redoubt, the hillock, and at the retrenchment in the avenue of Oulgarry. The attack at the tamarind redoubt was repulſed; but the redoubt on the hillock was carried; the lieutenant of the artillery and three gunners were made priſoners there, and the reſt of the guard driven out, nor did they rally; which gave the enemy time to carry off a braſs three-pounder, deſtroy the carriage of another gun, ſpike up a third, and burn down the battery. At the retrenchment in the Oulgarry road, the attack and defence were more fierce. Colonel Coote himſelf brought down troops to that in the Villenore avenue and Barthelmi's garden, and, inſtead of waiting to be attacked, advanced acroſs to ſuſtain the other redoubt; againſt which Lorrain and Lally's perſiſted until eight ſergeants, beſides common men, of Lally's, were killed; when the officers, hearing no ſigns of the main attack on the right and rear of the Engliſh camp, drew off. This diviſion, by ſome unaccountable error, inſtead of advancing to the villages under the fort of Villenore, halted in another a mile to the ſouth of it, not far from the river, and in a line with the village of Oulgarry. At this erroneous diſtance, they had not time, after the ſky-rockets were fired, to reach the ground of their attack, before the three others were either repulſed or ceaſed. They were led by D'Harambure, who had always behaved hitherto with gallantry, and eſpecially during the march of Mr. Law's reinforcement to Hyderabad in 1756; but Mr. Lally, with the uſual ſeverity of his prejudices, imputed the failure to a deſign, as the commander of the Company's troops, of fruſtrating the honour which would have redounded on himſelf, had the hardy effort he

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

effort he was making ſucceeded to his expectation. About twenty Sepoys were killed and wounded of the Engliſh troops, but fewer Europeans. Of the enemy, 30 Europeans were ſuppoſed to be killed, and moſt of them either in Lorrain or Lally's; four were made priſoners, with Mr. D'Autueil, the ſame officer we have ſeen opening the inteſtine war of the Carnatic at the battle of Amboor, in which the Nabob's father fell, and who afterwards ſurrendered to Clive at Volcondah. 1760. September.

The ſhips laſt arrived from England brought commiſſions from the war-office appointing the majors Brereton and Monſon to the rank of lieutenant colonels, with prior date to Colonel Coote; but both were ordered not to aſſert their commiſſions whilſt he remained on the coaſt. Colonel Coote nevertheleſs concluded that it was intended he ſhould remove as ſoon as might be to his original and eſtabliſhed command in Bengal, nor did Monſon propoſe to continue ſerving under him, but offered to retire to Madraſs; but Coote immediately delivered over to him the command of the army, and went thither himſelf, and requeſted to proceed with his whole regiment to Bengal. The Preſidency remonſtrated againſt the detriment, and Monſon declared that the blockade of Pondicherry muſt be raiſed if theſe troops were taken away: on which Coote conſented to leave them.

END *of the* TWELFTH BOOK.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

BOOK XIII.

COLONEL Monſon being now maſter of his own views, carried into execution an operation which he had propoſed in the council of war a few days before, when Colonel Coote explained his intention of attacking the fort of Ariancopang. 1760. September.

The bound-hedge of Pondicherry, beſides its natural defence of trees and thorns, is ſtrengthened by four redoubts; one on the north, oppoſite to the north-weſt angle of the town, another nearly weſt of this angle, a third nearly weſt of the ſouth-weſt angle, and the fourth ſtands directly ſouth-weſt of the ſame point. All took their names from their ſituations; the north was called the Madraſs redoubt, the next the Valdore, the third the Villenore, and that to the ſouth-weſt the Ariancopang redoubt. From the Villenore redoubt led the road and avenue, which paſſed through the center of the Engliſh camp at Perimbé, and about a mile from the hedge this avenue leads through the village of Oulgarry, in which were ſeveral country-houſes belonging to the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, and a church belonging to the Jeſuits. The regiment of Lorrain and Lally, which at this time did not aſſemble both together more than 400 men, were remaining in this village ſince the late attack on the camp. The marines, 300 men, were within the hedge, to defend the redoubt of Valdore with the part of the hedge on each hand. The battalion of India, conſiſting of 500 men, were ſtationed at the Villenore and at the Ariancopang redoubts, and between them. The north-ſide of the hedge, with the Madraſs re-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September. doubt, as being at the fartheſt diſtance from the Engliſh camp, was truſted to the Sepoys. The horſe, ſtill only 100 riders, were diſperſed in different poſts round the limits. The reſt of the army, which, excluſive of the garriſon of Gingee and its out-poſts, conſiſted of 500 European foot, 150 European horſe, and 500 Sepoys, were abroad, moſt of them waiting to eſcort the proviſions collected at Gingee.

At midnight the whole of the Engliſh army were under arms; a proportional number from each of the different bodies were left to defend the camp; and the main body appointed to march was divided into two brigades, of which the principal officers had the day before reconnoitred the ground of their reſpective attacks as near as the enemy's out-poſts would admit. The regiments of Draper and Coote, comprizing both together 1000 men, 200 of the marines, the 150 highlanders, with 500 Sepoys, and four field-pieces, marched off their ground from the left of the camp at three in the morning, and entered into the Red-hill, in which they were to take a large circuit round the tamarind-grove, and, coming out where neareſt, were to attack the Valdore redoubt, and the weſt ſide of the hedge adjoining. This brigade was formed into two diviſions; the grenadiers of the two regiments led the firſt, under the command of major Robert Gordon; major William Gordon commanded the rear diviſion, and colonel Monſon the whole of this attack. The other brigade was compoſed of the Coromandel battalion 800, the two French companies 120, the Bombay detachment of 350 Europeans and Topaſſes, 600 Sepoys, and four field-pieces. They were to march from the right, and attack the enemy's troops poſted in Oulgarry, and, after routing them, to proceed and ſeize the Villenore redoubt. Joſeph Smith, who ſince the departure of Calliaud to Bengal was the firſt officer on the coaſt of the Company's troops, and a few days before had been appointed by the Preſidency of Madraſs to the rank of major, commanded this brigade. The cavalry, black as well as white, were intended to appear before the Ariancopang redoubt during the two other attacks, in order to prevent the troops there from ſending detachments to ſupport them.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September.

Major Smith's brigade, having much leſs ground to go than Monſon's, did not move until four in the morning. The enemy's entrenchment in front of the village of Oulgarry lay acroſs the avenue, and they had an advanced poſt in a garden beyond, but a little to the right of the entrenchment. Smith, to avoid the immediate diſcovery of his brigade, as well as the direct fire of the entrenchment along the avenue of Oulgarry, marched down the Villenore, as far as Barthelme's garden, which lies on the left as you come down; the line then turned and paſſed through the garden, which brought them half the diſtance between the two avenues, when the brigade ſtruck down through the intervals of ſome incloſures, which led to the left of the village of Oulgarry, from whence they might likewiſe take the entrenchment in reverſe; but the two French companies were ſent off immediately from the garden to croſs the avenue of Oulgarry, and attack the enemy's advanced poſt on the other ſide of this avenue; but were not to begin their attack, before the firing commenced upon Oulgarry, which ſoon happened; for ſome black fellows belonging to the French troops, who were aſleep in the ſtreets of a ruined hamlet which ſtood oppoſite to the angle of the entrenchment, awakened at the wheels of the field-pieces which moved in front of the brigade, and fled with the alarm to the troops in Oulgarry, who immediately began to fire from the entrenchment, with ſix field-pieces in barbette, and with ſome aim, as the day had begun to dawn. The Engliſh field-pieces, which were of the ſame number and calibre, drew out of the village to anſwer them, and were ſupported by a part of the line; whilſt the reſt paſſed on to gain the flank of the village of Oulgarry: when oppoſite to it, diviſions were detached to attack the encloſures, which the enemy had lined with troops. In the mean time, the two French companies, led by captain Myers, ſtormed the advanced poſt on the other ſide of the road, and ſeized four pieces of cannon which were there, on which the party ſtationed with them retreated in much hurry to the main body at Oulgarry, who, diſpirited by their rout, ſlackened inſenſibly the defence of the encloſures, and

. ceaſed

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September.

ceaſed firing the field-pieces in the intrenchment acroſs the avenue. Major Smith perceived this wavering, ſignified it to his troops; and put himſelf at the head of the grenadiers. Wherever he commanded, affection to the man conſpired with duty to the officer. The grenadiers ruſhed on without firing, forced their way over the encloſures, and fell amongſt the enemy, dealing their arms with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, increaſed by the diſadvantages they had ſurmounted: all the reſt entered at other parts, driving the enemy before them acroſs the road; but thoſe at the intrenchment had time to ſpike up the cannon, and then followed the reſt, who were running towards a riſing ground on the other ſide of the road, but farther back towards the bound-hedge. The main body of the brigade took poſſeſſion of Oulgarry, and were ſoon after joined by the diviſion with captain Myers, which had killed ſome, and brought priſoners. During this, a body of Europeans were deſcried advancing directly towards Oulgarry, in the plain between this and the Valdore avenue: their diſtinctions could not be perceived, and the ſudden halt of the run-a-ways on the riſing ground rendered their appearance very ſuſpicious. Meſſengers after meſſengers were ſent to diſcover whether they were friends or foes, but none returned before Major William Gordon himſelf came, and gave an account that the rear diviſion of Colonel Monſon's brigade, which he commanded, had ſeparated from the van amongſt the ſand hills in the dark; and had continued wandering about until they heard the fire of the attack at Oulgarry, to which he had haſtened to give aſſiſtance; but it was now too late; otherwiſe his error might have been retrieved by the important ſervice of intercepting the regiments of Lorrain and Lally in the confuſion of their flight out of Oulgarry, who, in this caſe, would in all probability have been deſtroyed to a man: during his report, ſtrong firing was heard at the Valdore redoubt.

It was ſome time before the van of Colonel Monſon's brigade diſcovered the ſeparation of the rear, which by turning wrong had got into windings leading towards the plain; and Colonel Monſon, apprehenſive that the rejunction could not be made before the dawn

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of day, which was the time deſtined for the attack of the Valdore redoubt, judiciouſly determined to riſque it with the van diviſion of his brigade alone. They defiled out of the ſand hill exactly right, whilſt it was ſtill dark, at an opening directly on a line with the weſtern ſide of the bound-hedge and the redoubt, up to which, the road, when near, leads in a lane between two encloſures towards the flank of the redoubt. Two field-pieces were in the front of the line, followed by the grenadiers of the two regiments of Draper and Coote, after whom came the reſt of the Europeans, and then the Sepoys of the diviſion. Colonel Monſon knewt he ground, and intended that the line, inſtead of advancing through the lane between the encloſures, ſhould paſs through the encloſure on the right, which being a coco-nut garden, was ſurrounded by a ditch and hedge of little interruption; and the ground within was not only firm, but free from underwood, and the trees themſelves have no branches. When paſt the garden, they were to proceed ſtraight on to the Valdore avenue, which was not far diſtant, and, having croſſed it, were to file down on the other ſide, to gain the left flank of the Valdore redoubt; where, if not diſcovered, they could not be expected, and the bound-hedge hereabouts was not ſo ſtrong as on the other ſide. The redoubt had a dry ditch, with paliſadoes at the bottom, and ſix embraſures, of which the parapet was fraized. The grenadiers were to ruſh on, and eſcalade the redoubt without firing, whilſt the reſt of the line were, part to ſupport them, and part to ſpread along the bound-hedge, and to force their way through wherever they could find openings, or at leaſt to continue the fire until they had driven away the enemy, who were expected to line and defend the other ſide; the two field-pieces were likewiſe to aſſiſt in this ſervice after the grenadiers had paſſed them to the eſcalade. The day had begun to dawn, when the head of the line arrived at the two encloſures, and Major Robert Gordon, who, excepting Monſon, only knew the courſe of march, and was to lead the grenadiers to the aſſault, was not preſent: and the grenadiers, wanting orders, naturally entered the lane which lay before them. Officers were

1760. September.

ſent

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September. sent back to Colonel Monson, to know what next they were to do. Monson, exasperated at this second mistake in the conduct of his brigade, ran forward to rectify it if possible, or to put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and lead the assault. Just as he reached them, the enemy discovered the line which had got to the end of the lane, within a hundred yards of the redoubt, which in this flank had a twenty-four pounder, double loaded with langrain. They fired it, and its execution was terrible, killing eleven men, and wounding 26; amongst them Colonel Monson fell, struck with a piece of iron, which broke both the bones of his leg. The grenadiers, instead of being dismayed, or now hesitating for want of order, of their own motion, rushed to the escalade; and the officers, of their own judgement, got the line as fast as they could out of the enclosed way, and led them to the hedge, when the attack and defence soon became general and extensive; but the assault of the grenadiers stopped the firing of the cannon from the redoubt, which otherwise would have continued to enfilade the troops attacking the hedge. The grenadiers, although severely galled by musketry from above and in flank, persisted after several repulses, and at length forced their way through the embrasures of the redoubt, when the troops within quitted it, and ran out of the gorge; on which all defending the hedge abandoned their posts likewise, and the whole hurried in disorder to gain the glacis of the town.

The regiments of Lorrain and Lally continued some minutes on the rising ground, in as much uncertainty as Major Smith's brigade, who the troops of Major William Gordon's division might be; but remained firm until they heard the firing at the Valdore redoubt, when comprehending the whole disposition of the attack, they marched off in haste, regained the avenue, and retreated to the redoubt of Villenore. Major Smith immediately followed them with his brigade, pressing so close on their rear, that they passed through the winding of the hedge, without stopping to defend or reinforce the redoubt; this trepidation caught the guard, who, after discharging the guns of their loads upon the brigade as it was advanc-

ing

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ing to the poſt, retired with the regiments to the glacis of the town. Major Smith immediately took poſſeſſion of the redoubts, and was ſoon after joined by the Highlanders commanded by Major Scot, who belonging to Monſon's attack had forced their way through the hedge between the Valdore and the Villenore redoubts. The battalion of India ſtill continued at or about the Ariancopang redoubt, having entertained no notion of retreating; but were deterred from making any motion to ſupport the other poſts, in expectation of being attacked themſelves: this however did not happen; for the cavalry of the army under the command of Vaſſerot, who were intended to make a feint attack upon this quarter, when the other two ſhould commence, did not appear upon their ground until all was finiſhed. There was a ſmall opening in the hedge about a quarter of a mile from the Villenore redoubt, where a retrenchment had been thrown up, and the battalion of India kept a guard, who abandoned it on the appearance of a party which Major Smith detached along the inſide of the hedge to attack them in the rear. The total loſs ſuſtained in the two attacks, were 115 Europeans killed and wounded, which fell nearly equal in both brigades, but in Monſon's heavieſt amongſt the grenadiers, of whom, beſides rank and file, a lieutenant and an enſign were killed. The Sepoys ſuffered much leſs, having been very little expoſed. The French loſs was not known; but they ſuffered moſt at the attacks of Oulgarry, where ſome were likewiſe made priſoners. 1760. September.

The Bombay detachment of 350 men were ſtationed to guard the three poſts in the hedge, and the body of the army aſſembled and encamped in the paddy-fields to the left of Oulgarry. The ſituation was ill choſen, being commanded by higher grounds, and liable to be ſwamped on the firſt rain; but the talents of Major Robert Gordon were inadequate to the general command, which devolved on him by the incapacity to which Colonel Monſon was reduced by his wound. Major Joſeph Smith adviſed that the whole of the Company's battalion, 1000 men, ſhould remain in the village of Oulgarry to cover the three poſts in the hedge; and that their gorges, which were open, ſhould be retrenched,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September. without delay, and ſufficient day remained to accompliſh the work; but Robert Gordon, from the falſe ſhame of ignorance, would not ſee the neceſſity: and in the enſuing night, the enemy made a vigorous attack on all the three poſts, which they would have carried, had not the guards defended them, as dearly purchaſed, with the utmoſt reſolution, until reinforced by the picquets from the camp, when the enemy retreated. Seventeen or eighteen Europeans of the Bombay detachment were killed in this defence; the enemy's loſs was not known, but could not be leſs. Had they attacked with their whole force, the redoubt would have been retaken, for the guards, inferior in number, had no advantage of defences on the ſide towards the town, and the main body of the army, exhauſted with fatigue, and dead with ſleep, were at too great a diſtance to have come up in time to ſhare the conteſt.

Two days after, the battalion of India retreated from their ſtations at the hedge near the Ariancopang redoubt; but the uſual guard continued in the redoubt, and the uſual garriſon in the fort of Ariancopang on the other ſide of the river. But the enemy receiving intelligence that preparations were making in the camp to attack the fort, the garriſon evacuated it on the 13th at noon, and as they were going off ſprung a mine, which blew up the baſtion to the eaſt with part of the rampart, and laid the body of the place open. They retreated to the glacis of the town, where the main body of the army lay encamped, and had been reinforced by the arrival of ſeveral ſmall eſcorts with proviſions, which the removal of the Engliſh army from Perimbé had encouraged to venture round the Red Hill; the guard ſtill continued at the redoubt of Ariancopang.

The troops which Mahomed Iſſoof appointed to attack the diſtricts of Dindigul from Madura, were 300 horſe, 1500 Sepoys, and 3000 Peons; but as moſt of them had firſt to march from Tinnivelly, it was the middle of July before they commenced hoſtilities, when paſſing by Sholavanden, they reduced ſeveral ſmall poſts, commanding defiles, but weakly garriſoned, until they arrived at a more conſiderable fort, called Battal Gunta, 12 miles to the S. E. of Dindigul, which made more reſiſtance; and the troops of Madura having only

ſmall

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ſmall guns, with much difficulty made a kind of breach, which they ſtormed, and carried on the firſt day of Auguſt; and immediately began to repair and add better works, but had not compleated them before the troops of Dindigul were reinforced from Myſore, and taking the field encamped within ſight of Battal Gunta, in which the troops of Madura had kept a garriſon, but the main body lay without the walls. 1760. October.

The equipment and departure of the troops which accompanied the Nabob into the Carnatic, and the ſubſequent aſſiſtances ſent to Karical, had left the government and garriſon of Tritchinopoly ſo bare of men, money, and ſtores, that Captain R. Smith could not undertake the expedition he had propoſed againſt the Myſoreans, until all theſe wants were ſupplied, which depended intirely on his own reſources, for although the Preſidency and Colonel Coote approved and recommended to him the moſt active exertions againſt the Myſore territory, he received no aſſiſtance either of money from the one nor of troops from the other; ſo that the preparations neceſſary for the expedition prevented him from taking the field until the 6th of Auguſt. His force was 50 Europeans, with two guns, and four cohorns, 700 Sepoys from the garriſon of Tritchinopoly; 600 horſe, and 1000 peons armed with match-locks, moſtly ſent by Tondiman, a few belonging to the Nabob, the reſt to Tanjore; and 3000 colleries from the neighbouring Polygars, who were content to ſerve on very ſlight ſtipend, in expectation of ample plunder in the fertile diſtricts they were going to invade. This army proceeded along the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, and on the 13th came before Pudicotah, a mud fort, ſituated on the bank of this river, about 40 miles to the weſt of Tritchinopoly, which, with other diſtricts, the Nabob had ceded to the Myſoreans, when his allies, in the war of 1753.

On their arrival, a report prevailed, that a large body of troops were marching from Seringapatam to Caroor. The garriſon at Pudicotah, converting this news into hourly expectation of relief, ſtood on the defenſive, and having three guns, obliged Captain Smith to raiſe a battery, which, having nothing but field-pieces to mount, would not have ſoon produced much effect: but, by

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. the time the battery opened, the garriſon had laviſhed away all their powder, and capitulated. The loſs ſuſtained in the attack was only three men wounded. The next day Captain Smith, with 400 of Sepoys, and two Cohorns, paſſed the Caveri to reduce Iloor, a fort ſituated on the other bank, ten miles beyond Pudicotah; but the garriſon evacuated it on his appearance. From hence he marched againſt Caroor, the principal object of his expedition.

Caroor is ſituated 50 miles weſt of Tritchinopoly, and ſtands on a plain five miles to the ſouth of the Caveri, but near another river, which fall into the Caveri at that diſtance to the north. The river of Caroor was the ancient boundary between the dominions of Tritchinopoly and Myſore; and this conterminal ſituation, under the ſecurity of a ſtrong fort, and its rule over a rich and extenſive diſtrict, had formerly rendered it a place of great mercantile reſort and opulence, and it ſtill continued populous with ſome wealthy inhabitants. The river continues at the diſtance of 800 yards oppoſite to the ſouth ſide of the fort, and 1000 yards beyond, turns ſhort, and ſtrikes directly eaſt: along this part, after the turning, and cloſe to the bank, extends the pettah, which likewiſe has the other courſe of the river on the ſouth ſide; but not ſo near; the extent of the pettah along the river, from ſouth to north, is 1000 yards, and recedes from it about 500, ſo that the eſplanade between the pettah and the fort is 500 yards acroſs. This ground is interſected by two water-courſes derived from the river to the ſouth, one of which paſſes cloſe to the weſt ſide of the pettah, and turns along the north-ſide until it rejoins the river to the eaſt, and thus ſerves as a ditch on the W. and N; the other water-courſe lies midway between the fort and the pettah, and ſtretches to the north much farther out into the plain. The whole of the pettah is incloſed by a mud wall with towers, but of little defence.

The fort is built of ſtone, and is nearly a ſquare of 600 yards. It has ſquare towers in the curtain, and baſtions at the four angles, behind each of which ſtands a cavalier, or round tower of ſolid maſonry, which riſes ten feet higher than the baſtion. The whole fort is ſurrounded by a dry ditch, of which the counterſcarp is faced

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

with ſtone; and on the other ſide is lined by the foot of the main wall of the curtain, without berm or fauſſebraye; excepting along that part of the rampart, which extends from the left of the great gateway in the middle of the eaſtern ſide to the baſtion in the N. E. angle, and round it half-way along the northern wall; in which extent a ſlip of dry ground, 20 yards broad on the eaſtern ſide, and 40 on the northern, is left as a place of arms, and ſkirted with a parapet wall, with loop-holes for muſketry; and round this wall the ditch, leaving the body of the fort, continues. There was no glacis, but a clear eſplanade of 400 yards round. The garriſon conſiſted of 800 horſe, 1000 Sepoys, 1000 matchlock-men, and a great multitude of colleries which had been drawn from the hills towards Dindigul. Moſt of theſe troops were aſſembled in the pettah, and manned the walls on the appearance of Captain Smith's detachment, which came in ſight on the 17th, in the morning, approaching from the eaſtward: the river, although it had no where more than three feet water, was three hundred yards in breadth. 1760. October.

The neceſſity of preſerving the communication with Tritchinopoly required that the army ſhould command the river during the attack of the fort; which if advancing from a different point of ſupport, they might have attacked outright at once on the weſtern face; and as the poſſeſſion of the pettah would beſt ſecure the river, Captain Smith prudently made this his firſt object. If the pettah were attacked on the eaſtern ſide, the river was to be paſſed under the fire of this front: if on the north or ſouth, the attack would be expoſed to the additional fire in ſlant or flank from the fort; which outvailed the paſſage of the river, as the ground on the eaſtern ſhore was higher than the eaſtern face of the pettah, which defended the paſſage. Accordingly the attack was made on this ſide. The field pieces were poſted in the higher ground. The troops were formed into three diviſions. The cavalry compoſed the left; the auxiliary foot the right; the Sepoys and Europeans the center. All entered the river in this order, ſupported by a briſk fire from the artillery. The enemy ſeemed diſpoſed to diſpute the paſſage, and from

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. from the rampart of the pettah kept up a conſtant but ill-directed fire againſt the center diviſion; but the cannon-ſhot penetrating through their parapet did much execution, and ſeeing the columns to the right and left far advanced in the bed of the river, they became apprehenſive that their retreat to the fort might be expoſed to theſe bodies of horſe and foot on each hand; and abandoned the defence, returning to the fort before either of the columns had croſſed the river; but they had killed and wounded ſome Sepoys in the paſſage.

The plunder was given up to the troops without reſerve; but they found little of any value, excepting grain, of which the whole crop of the country was in the town, but no merchants to buy it, nor had the troops means to ſend it away. The ſtrength of the fort, and the ſmall number of Europeans with Captain Smith, on whom, nevertheleſs, the ſucceſs of the attack muſt depend, determined him to proceed with all the caution neceſſary to their preſervation, by opening trenches; and more artillery was ordered from Tritchinopoly. The convenience of the pettah determined the point of attack againſt the ſouth-eaſt baſtion, and as uſual againſt its ſalient angle: the eſplanade in this line was interrupted about half way between the pettah and the ditch by ſome ſtraw huts, to which the enemy had ſet fire, but left the mud-walls ſtanding. The next morning, which was the 20th, a party of Sepoys were poſted there, but a ſtrong ſally of horſe and foot obliged them to retire, and the enemy remained in the poſt: the field pieces advanced, and drove them from it, and it was again taken poſſeſſion of by the Sepoys: in a few hours the enemy made a ſecond attempt, but were beaten off with loſs. The ſituation being exactly proper for the breaching-battery, an entrenchment was thrown round it, and a trench of communication continued to it from the pettah, to preſerve the troops from the fire of the fort, which was inceſſant, as well from their cannon as ſmall arms. On the 23d the artillery with much diſpatch arrived from Tritchinopoly; they were one eighteen-pounder, two field twelve-pounders, one eight, and one nine-inch mortar, with five cohorns; and by the next morning the breaching-battery was compleated, and another in the rear to the right, to enfilade

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

filade the ſouth curtain with ricochet. Both opened at ſun-riſe, the breaching with ſix guns, the mortars and cohorns; the ricochet with two field-pieces; the fort returned with firmneſs, and with much vivacity, and the advantage of a croſs fire from the s. w. baſtion and cavalier on the left, and from the maſs of maſonry of the gateway on the right. On the 26th the approaches were carried on to within forty yards of the ditch, when the fire of the enemy's muſquetry growing ſtrong and ſure, Captain Smith ordered the remainder of the trenches to be conducted by double ſap, which is with earth and gabions on each ſide. The ſmall number of Europeans in the detachment, with the inexperience of moſt of them in carrying on trenches, and the continual fire of the fort by night, as well as by day, rendered the progreſs of the double ſap extremely tedious, inſomuch, that ſeven days were employed in carrying it, although not more than 200 yards of work, to embrace the angle of the counterſcarp, and to ſpring a mine, which blew it into the ditch. 1760. October.

It was perhaps the firſt time that the Myſoreans had ever ſeen an enemy advancing under cover to the foot of their walls, and notwithſtanding the novelty of the attack, they ſuſpected, which was true, that the fort might be entered by the ſame means; this apprehenſion, with the ruin that had been committed in a large tract of country round Caroor by the matchlock-men and horſe of Tondiman and Tanjore, and the whole body of colleries, who had every day been making excurſions, prompted the governor to propoſe terms for the ceſſation of hoſtilities. He began by diſavowing any participation of the King with the body of troops which had joined the French in the Carnatic, and declared Hyder Ally, whom he ſtiled a rebel, the author of that alliance and expedition; in conſequence, he wanted a temporary and conditional ſurrender. Several meſſages paſſed, in the intervals of which the attack and defence was renewed; at length the eighteen-pounder, the only piece of effectual battery, burſt, and the breach was not yet practicable, which induced Captain Smith to agree to the following conditions: "That "an Engliſh ſerjeant, and ſixty Sepoys, ſhould immediately be put

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. "in poſſeſſion of the baſtion attacked, and the Engliſh colours "hoiſted in the fort. That the Engliſh army ſhould remain in the "pettah, or any where elſe out of the fort, keeping guards at the "counterſcarp of the ditch, for twenty days; during which, if no "orders arrived from Madraſs to deliver the fort again to the gover- "nor, it was to be evacuated by the garriſon, who, in conſideration "of their gallant defence, were to carry away their arms and horſes; "but all proviſions and ſtores belonging to the government of "Myſore were to be left in the fort. If in this interval an army ap- "proached from Myſore, the garriſon were in like manner to evacuate "the fort to the Engliſh troops: four hoſtages were to be given by "the garriſon, until the conditions were ultimately decided, and an "European deſerter was to be ſurrendered." This capitulation was ſigned on the 2d of September, and the Engliſh Sepoys immediately took poſſeſſion of the baſtion attacked.

Captain Smith in his interview with Boniapah, the governor of the fort, was convinced that the king of Myſore had no concert in the aſſiſtance which Hyder Ally had ſent to the government of Pondicherry; and Boniapah having no doubt from the articles of capitulation that Caroor would be reſtored to the king, proferred to withdraw the garriſon to Namcull, a fort 20 miles to the north, and there wait the orders of Seringapatam, and Fort St. George; to which Captain Smith conſented under the reſtriction, that none of the garriſon ſhould act againſt the Engliſh until the fate of Caroor was determined at Fort St. George. Accordingly all the Myſore troops evacuated the place the ſame day. The acquiſition was valuable and important; for, beſides that its revenues amounted to 44,000 l. a year, it highly aggravated the reſentment of the miniſtry of Myſore againſt Hyder Ally, as the author of the loſs.

Hoſtilities had continued in this interval between the Myſoreans of Dindigul, and the troops of Madura. The Myſoreans continued the attack of Battle Gunta for ſix days, and having driven away the troops which ſupported it without, carried the fort itſelf by aſſault; but the defence had been maintained with reſolution; for in the courſe of it 30 Sepoys and 20 horſemen had been killed and wounded; and

of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of the Peons 50 wounded, and 40, with an officer of note, killed. The Madura troops retired to a fort three miles distant, called Gadamcotah, one of those which they had taken from the Myſoreans, and were there joined by a reinforcement from Madura, which had marched to relieve Battle Gunta, but came too late; this addition rendered the whole body equal to the Myſoreans, againſt whom they marched, beat up their camp, took their artillery, recovered poſſeſſion of Battle Gunta, and advanced to reduce the other poſts towards Dindigul. 1760. September.

The capitulation of Caroor arrived at Madraſs on the 13th of September. On the ſame day intelligence was received from Captain Preſton, that the body of Myſoreans, which had continued with the French troops at Gingee, had moved from thence with all their baggage; and on the 11th the French troops followed, both proceeding in the road to Thiagar. The preſidency were by this time convinced that the king of Myſore and Hyder Ally were at utter variance; but conſidered, that either they might reconcile their differences, or that Hyder, as was moſt probable, would predominate; and in either of theſe caſes, other ſchemes might be formed by the Myſore ſtate to balance, as formerly, the conteſt between the two European nations, againſt which Caroor in their own hands would be the beſt indemnity. They therefore ordered Captain Smith to keep poſſeſſion, ſtill with profeſſion of amity to the king, but neither to give any aſſiſtance, nor oppoſe any force which the king might ſend againſt Hyder Ally, but rather to employ his detachment ſeparately againſt the troops of Hyder Ally, if the opportunity ſhould occur.

Colonel Coote was not embarked for Bengal, when the news of the ſucceſs againſt the bound-hedge arrived at Madraſs, and with it Colonel Monſon repreſented the incapacity in which he was likely to remain for ſeveral months of acting in the field, and requeſted that Colonel Coote might reſume the command of the army. The Preſidency ſeconding the requeſt, he conſented, and arrived in the camp on the night of the 20th; where he found the army in the greateſt diſcontent, eſpecially the black troops, for the want of proviſions, owing to the avarice of the renters appointed by the Nabob in the conquered countries, who, foreſeeing that the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. September. price of grain would riſe, ſuffered none to be brought to the camp. Sickneſs likewiſe prevailed, and with the wounded there were 600 Europeans in the hoſpital.

The next day Colonel Coote cauſed the gorges of the redoubts in the bound-hedge to be fortified, and fixed poſts in proper ſtations in the higher ground round the camp: from whence on the 23d, a detachment of 200 rank and file, with the company of pioneers, a great number of cooleys and carpenters, marched to a hillock of ſand, which ſtood half a mile from the ſea, and at the diſtance of a mile directly oppoſite to the Madraſs redoubt in the north ſide of the bound-hedge. Here they were to remain, and raiſe a large redoubt on the table of the hill, capable of containing five hundred men. On the 27th in the forenoon, Colonel Coote advanced, with his uſual eſcort of three companies of Sepoys, and 300 black horſe, towards the Ariancopang redoubt, at which the guard took panic, and firing off the guns before the party were within point-blank-ſhot, abandoned the poſt, of which Colonel Coote took poſſeſſion, and leaving the Sepoys in it, returned in the afternoon with workmen to retrench the gorge; on whoſe appearance the town cannonaded and threw ſhells, but without effect, and the gorge was compleated the next night. Early in the morning of the 29th, 400 of the enemy's Europeans, with two field-pieces, marched from the glacis to recover the redoubt, and made various attempts, in all of which they were repulſed, until they perceived two companies of Sepoys marching on their right to gain their rear, whom Colonel Coote, who was always early abroad, had ſent from the Valdore redoubt; on which the enemy retreated, but as they were going off received the fire of the Sepoys, who were themſelves expoſed to a ſtrong, but diſtant fire from the town. The enemy had two officers and ſeven private killed, and the adjutant of the Lorrain regiment with 18 wounded. None were killed in the redoubt, and only one Sepoy in the plain. Fifty Europeans were appointed to be the guard in future, as ſufficient for the ſudden defence, until reinforced; and more would have

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

been unneceſſarily expoſed to the fire of ſhot and ſhells, which continued and reached from the town. 1760. September.

In that part of the limits, which is immediately behind the Madraſs redoubt, was a regular village of ſeveral ſtreets, called, from its intention, the Blancherie, in which all the cloths purchaſed for the French company at Pondicherry were bleached, and warehouſes were built in the village to receive them. As theſe buildings would not only afford ſhelter but convenience to the Engliſh troops, the enemy reſolved to deſtroy them, and to ſtrengthen the Madraſs redoubt, with the ground about it. They began to demoliſh on the 30th of September, of which Colonel Coote received intelligence, and ſaw the intention. He went the next day, with his uſual eſcort of Sepoys and black horſe, as if he only meant to review the progreſs of the redoubt he had ordered to be raiſed to the north of the hedge, in which Major Joſeph Smith commanded for the week. After dinner, both officers mounted their horſes, and proceeded with the eſcort along the ſtrand of the ſea, towards the limits of Pondicherry, as if they only meant to reconnoitre. The bound-hedge ceaſeth at ſome diſtance from the water-mark, and left an opening on the ſand, which the enemy had neglected to cloſe or obſtruct. As ſoon as near this opening, Colonel Coote ordered the Sepoys to form in three parties, and the horſe to divide equally with them; but the Sepoys having entertained no ſuſpicion that they were led to ſuch an attack, boggled; on which he ordered the horſe to cut down whoever refuſed to advance, or attempted to run away; and the Sepoys, aſhamed of their backwardneſs, recovered their ſpirit. Two of the diviſions went off to the right, one to force through the bound-hedge, 500 yards beyond the Madraſs redoubt on its left, the other to attack the redoubt itſelf, whilſt Colonel Coote with Joſeph Smith remained along the ſea-ſhore, ready to puſh, and gain the rear of the hedge, and all the three attacks were to be made at the ſame time. There were ſome ſmall pieces of cannon in the redoubt, and ſeveral guards of Sepoys along the inſide of the hedge, all of which kept up a conſtant fire, but at too great a diſtance, whilſt the two parties ſent to the right were advancing October.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. to the ground oppoſite their reſpective attacks. All bore down properly, as it had been concerted. Colonel Coote's attack eaſily puſhed round, and that on the right through the hedge; and as ſoon as within both advanced, driving the guards before them, to gain the rear of the redoubt, againſt which the diviſion which attacked it had not ſucceeded, having more difficulties and reſiſtance to encounter; but as ſoon as the guard ſaw the danger approaching from either hand within the hedge, they abandoned the redoubt, and retreated haſtily into the warehouſes of the bleaching town, which ſtood within 200 yards incloſed with a high wall. Five Sepoys were killed, and the ſame number wounded in the different attacks. All the three companies, with an Enſign, were left at the redoubt; Colonel Coote and Major Smith returned, the Major to his poſt, the Colonel to the camp, from whence he ſent off a party of pioneers with gabions and faſcines under the command of Enſign Macmahon, to cloſe and retrench the gorge of the redoubt; but they were firſt to proceed to Major Smith's poſt, from whence they were to be accompanied by a detachment of European ſoldiers: but Macmahon, miſtaking his orders, did not call for this neceſſary reinforcement. In war more than in all the other occupations of man, neglect rarely fails to bring on its own puniſhment.

At midnight, whilſt the pioneers were at work, they were ſuddenly attacked by 400 Europeans, and 600 Sepoys, detached from the town. The Enſign, a Dane, who commanded the Sepoys in the redoubt, abandoned it on the firſt onſet, in which Enſign Macmahon was killed; and the pioneers, ſurprized and defenceleſs, eſcaped as they could; what Sepoys were within the redoubt jumped out; but the greateſt part, who were ſtationed round, encouraged by a Subahdar named Coven Naig, kept with him, and gained the plain at ſome diſtance without fright, where they formed, under his direction, and followed him to recover the poſt. They mounted the outſide of the rampart, gained footing on the inſide, kept it, and continued a hot fire on the area below, eſpecially towards the gorge. The enemy imputed this reſolution to much greater numbers than they expected, and than really were at the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the poſt, and in this ſuppoſition retreated to the bleaching-houſe. Soon after came up a ſtrong party of Europeans detached on the firſt firing by Major Smith from his poſt to the north. In the different actions from the firſt aſſault, three private Europeans, beſides enſign Macmahon, were killed, and 30 Sepoys killed and wounded. The enemy the next morning erected a battery of four pieces of cannon at the end of a lane, which joined the ſtreet of the Blancherie, leading as well as that in a ſtraight line to the rear of the redoubt, on which they continued firing two days without killing any of the guard, and then having other occupations they deſiſted; ſome muſketry ſtill continued in the bleaching houſe, but were driven out the next day, and abandoned the village. 1760. October.

The acquiſition of the Madraſs redoubt compleated the entire poſſeſſion of the bound-hedge from the ſea-ſhore to the north, as far as the river of Ariancopang to the S. E.; and turned againſt the town, with every advantage, the line of circumvallation intended for its defence. But the ground to the ſouth along the courſe of the river, from the redoubt of Ariancopang to the ſea, was ſtill open, and the river ſpreading over ſheets of ſand, which were often dry, was at all times, excepting in the rainy ſeaſon, fordable; and to ſecure the paſſage, Mr. Lally had ſome months before erected a redoubt which he called St. Thomas in a ſmall iſland of ſand in the river, oppoſite to the center of this face of the town, and about 500 yards from the walls. The rains were now approaching, and the redoubt, if immediately taken poſſeſſion of, could not be maintained by the Engliſh army after the river ſhould fill, and as uſual overflow the country; for which reaſon Colonel Coote deferred the reduction of it, until the rains were paſſed. In the mean time efforts were ſtill to be apprehended to bring proviſions into the town; for the French troops, which had followed the laſt diviſion of the Myſoreans to Thiagar, continued there; and although the main body of the Myſoreans had left Thiagar, no intelligence was yet received of their departure to their own country.

The French force which had marched to Thiagar, was 400 European foot, 250 European horſe, and 1000 Sepoys. The little

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. little army of obſervation, under the command of Captain Preſton, was not equal to an open encounter with this force; he, however, with his uſual activity, determined to give them all the interruption in his power, and ordered Captain Martin, who, with the free company of 50 Frenchmen, was abroad with the Polygar of Ventivalum in the hills to the ſouth of Gingee, to hang in the rear of the enemy's march; and moved himſelf with the main body of his diviſion from Ratlagrammon, to watch their motions at Vicravandi, leſt they ſhould turn, and lay waſte the recovered diſtricts between this place and Verdachilum. Martin knowing the country, and uſing the night, picked up twelve Europeans of the French troops. They reached the Panar juſt as it was ſwelled by a ſudden flood; and perſiſting nevertheleſs to croſs it, ſome of them were carried away and drowned in the ſtream, which the Myſoreans had paſſed with eaſe before the freſhes came down. As ſoon as Preſton was arrived at Vicravandi, the garriſon remaining at Gingee marched and aſſaulted Ratlagrammon, in which had been left only two companies of Sepoys, who defended the poſt with reſolution, and obliged the enemy to retire, after they had loſt fourteen Europeans killed in the attack, and leaving an officer and three wounded, who were made priſoners. Preſton receiving intelligence, that the French troops and the Myſoreans were aſſembled at Thiagar, returned from Vicravandi to Raltagrammon, leſt they ſhould return ſuddenly during his abſence, and attempt to move to Pondicherry with the convoy of bullocks which ſtill continued at Gingee.

By this time the preſidency knew the cauſe of the departure of the laſt body of Myſoreans from Gingee to Thiagar, but were not able to account for the march of the French troops ſo far to the weſtward, at a time when their utmoſt efforts became every day more neceſſary to eſcort the proviſions they had collected, into Pondicherry.

In the beginning of the year, Balagerow, the general and regent of the Morattoes, ſent an army of 8000 horſe, and the ſame number of foot, with cannon, under the command of an officer of ſervice, named

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

named Vizvazypunt, which croſſed the Kriſtna in the month of February, and advancing to the ſouthward ſtopped frequently to exact contributions from forts and ſtrong-holds in the way; ſeveral of which, on denial, they took. In the beginning of June they halted and encamped at Chinabalabaram, on the confines of Myſore to the N. E. and not far from the hills to the N. W. of the Carnatic, from whence Vizvazypunt ſent letters, ſignifying expectations of money, but profering aſſiſtance to the Nabob Mahomed Ally; and others to the king of Myſore, demanding with more authority the arrears of the chout, or tribute, to which the Morattoe nation pretends a right from all the countries in the peninſula. At this time Hyder Ally, at Seringapatam, the capital of Myſore, had, as if in diſguſt, reſigned his employments of general and miniſter: he had ſome time before concluded his treaty with M. Lally, and ſent off the body of 4000 Myſoreans, which came to Pondicherry under the command of his brother-in-law Muctoon Saheb; relying on this alliance, and his own courage, he was ſo aſſured of his importance and ſafety, that he abided at a town within three miles of Seringapatam, with all his family of women, attended only by 300 horſemen, who were of proved fidelity and reſolution. Agents accompanied the letters of Vizvazypunt, with whom the king concerted, that their maſter ſhould move with his army to Seringapatam, as if to haſten by intimidation the levy of a large contribution, which the king had privately conſented to pay. Hyder Ally ſuppoſed, that their approach would reinſtate him in the command of the king's forces to oppoſe them, and diſcovered when near, that the Morattoes had engaged to ſeize his perſon; on which he mounted in the dead of night, accompanied by ſome of his horſemen, and left his whole family behind. Some Morattoes followed them, whom he out-ſtripped, and the next day arrived at Bangalore, a ſtrong city 60 miles to the north of Seringapatam. Being the bringer of his own errand, he had time, and found means to engage ſome of the officers, who prevailed on the reſt to declare they would abide by his fortunes; and in conſequence they ſhut the gates. From this retreat he immediately ſent orders to his brother-in-law, to quit the

1760. October.

Carnatic

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. Carnatic with all the troops under his command, and to march, avoiding the Morattoes, to Bengalore. Muctoon Saheb had received the letters, when he moved from Pondicherry on the 16th of Auguſt; but concluding Hyder Ally to be in ſafety for a while at Bengalore, and believing either that a reconciliation would take place between him and the King, after the retreat of the Morattoes; or otherwiſe, that Hyder Ally might think it moſt expedient to come himſelf, and join the French, for the ſake of the ceſſions ſtipulated in the treaty; he determined, although not to return to Pondicherry, to continue in the Carnatic, and in conſequence employed, as we have ſeen, his troops againſt Trinomaly, and other places in that part of the country, until he received, in the beginning of September, farther intelligence from Hyder Ally, which left no alternative to his departure; on which he recalled the 800 horſe which were at Gingee, and without ſolicitation, with an integrity rare in the politics of India, requeſted the French force to accompany them in order to receive back the poſſeſſion of the fort of Thiagar, which he without ſtipulation tendered of his own accord. On their arrival there on the 13th of September, he fulfilled his word, claiming only on occaſion their future aſſiſtance, and three days after marched away with his whole force to join his brother. The French left 200 European foot, and five companies of Sepoys in Thiagar, and the reſt, being the ſame number of foot, 150 European horſe, and three companies of Sepoys, returned to Gingee.

The reſtitution of Thiagar, and the departure of the Myſore troops out of the province, confirmed the veracity of the king's diſavowal of any participation in that expedition, and the Preſidency repeated their orders to Captain Smith and the troops of Madura to ceaſe hoſtilities in the Myſore diſtricts. Previous to the receipt of theſe orders, Captain Smith had ſent a detachment from Caroor, againſt a fort called Pudicotah, different from that he had taken in his approach. It ſtands nine miles to the N. E. of Caroor on the ſouth bank of the Caveri. The garriſon evacuated it on the appearance of the detachment, who left a party to hold it, and returned to Caroor. The want of money prevented any farther operations; for, although the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the revenues of the country reduced exceeded 300,000 rupees a year, the devaſtation of the auxiliary horſe and foot which could not be reſtrained, left no contributions to raiſe. Captain Smith, therefore, returned with a part of his command to Tritchinopoly, and on the way ſent off a detachment to reinſtate two polygars, who had been driven out of their pollams by the troops of Dindigul, from whom the detachment met no reſiſtance, as the governor of Dindigul had received orders, in conſequence of the capitulation of Caroor, to ceaſe hoſtilities againſt the poſſeſſions of the Nabob. By this time the troops of Madura had taken five other forts between Batal Gunta and Dindigul, in all ſeven, and continued to keep poſſeſſion of them until farther orders, encamping their main body at Batal Gunta, and keeping ſlight guards in the others. Captain Smith arrived in the beginning of October at Madraſs, to give an account of his expedition, and the ſtate of the conquered country; and ſoon after returned to his command in Tritchinopoly. 1760. October.

As ſoon as it was aſcertained that the Myſoreans had quitted the province, Colonel Coote, to ſave the heavy expence of the black cavalry, diſcharged 500 of them, moſtly thoſe brought by Maphuze Khan, which reduced the number to 800, of which 500 were with Preſton, and the reſt with himſelf in the camp. A party, with ſome bullocks, advancing from Gingee, arrived on the 2d of October at Malamoodi, a village twelve miles from Pondicherry between the river of Ariancopang and the Panar, intending to puſh into the town in the night under the protection of St. Thomas redoubt. On intelligence of their approach, Colonel Coote detached all the cavalry in the camp, which, beſides the black, were one of the two troops of Europeans, to lie in their way: of which the party got intelligence, and leaving their bullocks retreated during the night, and in their return three officers, who lagged behind in their palankins, were taken by ſome black horſe and Sepoys, which Captain Preſton had detached to harraſs the party from Ratalgrammon.

The army had hitherto continued on the ground between Oulgarry and the river of Ariancopang, where they had encamped immediately after the ſucceſs of the bound hedge. This ground is always

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. overflowed in the rainy ſeaſon, of which the ſigns encreaſed every day; and on the 6th the whole army marched off by the left, and encamped on the ridge of the Red-hill, a mile and half nearer the bound-hedge than their firſt encampment at Perimbé, but to the left of that ground. The heighth and ſandy ſoil of this ſituation drained and dried the wet as faſt as it fell, and ſecured at leaſt the troops from this inclemency under foot, and large caſerns of mat and bamboo were built to ſhelter them from the other.

At one the next morning, firing of cannon and muſketry was heard in the road of Pondicherry. Beſides ſmaller craft, three French ſhips, the Hermione, the Baleine, and the Compagnie des Indes were at anchor before the town, as near the ſurf as prudence permitted, and under the command of 100 guns, mounted along the works on this ſide, and the ſtrand, to protect the road. Theſe ſhips were intended to wait until the ſtormy weather, and then ſail to ports to the ſouthward, and return with proviſions, of which the prevention would in that ſeaſon become precarious, even ſhould the Engliſh ſquadron be able to continue in ſight of Pondicherry. Mr. Stevens had for ſome time determined to cut them out of the road. His ſquadron always continued at anchor before Cuddalore. A fortnight before the preſent, a night had been fixed; but the ſhips beginning to hoiſt out their boats before it was dark, they were perceived by teleſcopes from Pondicherry; and men were immediately ſent from the ſhore to reinforce the French ſhips; which was likewiſe diſcovered by the ſquadron, and obliged Mr. Stevens to defer the deſign, until the enemy's ſuſpicions ſhould have ceaſed. In the mean time the Tyger of 60 guns was ſent to continue near Pondicherry, and anchored a little to the ſouth, two miles from the ſhore. On the night of the 6th, the enterprize was reſumed. The boats, ſix and twenty, were hoiſted out after dark, and manned with 400 ſailors, moſtly volunteers, and ſailed to the Tyger, where all aſſembled at 12. Soon after they perceived the lights in the great cabbin of the neareſt ſhip, the Hermione, extinguiſhed, and concluding that the officers were gone to reſt, ſet off for the attack. The boats moved in two diviſions, one allotted to the Hermione, the other to the next ſhip, the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October.

Baleine; the attack of the Compagnie des Indes was to depend on the ſucceſs of theſe. To prevent deviation, the boats of each diviſion moved in a line, holding to one other by ropes. The niches of the oars were covered with freſh ſheep-ſkin, to prevent creaking. The watch-word by which the men were to know one another in the attack, was Cathchart, a ſound which few Frenchmen can pronounce. It lightned continually, as uſual in the nights before the change of the monſoon; nevertheleſs, the diviſion to the Hermione got within piſtol-ſhot of her ſtern, before they were diſcovered; when the boats ſeparating, ranged up equally on each ſide of the ſhip, and two went forward to the bows to cut the cables. During this approach, all hands in the ſhips were up, and firing muſketry on the boats, and ſhot came from the guns of the Compagnie des Indes, which lay to command both the other ſhips. The Hermione was boarded in as many parts as there were boats round her. The crew, which were 70 Europeans, behaved well, defending themſelves and the ſhip with pikes and piſtols, when the attack came hand to hand. The man who firſt attempted to cut the cable had his head cut off by an officer ſtanding to guard it in the bows; nevertheleſs numbers prevailed, and the crew were all driven or tumbled down the hatch-ways; for no concert of ſurrender could take place, or be truſted. As ſoon as they were all down, the hatches were cloſed and centinels fixed over them, and then the mizen topſail, the only ſail bent, was ſet to carry off the ſhip, which ſeveral boats were likewiſe ready to tow: but by this time, the ſhore, which had waited until the firing of the attack had ceaſed in the ſhip, began a violent cannonade, of which the lightning directed the aim: and ſhot continually ſtruck: one deſtroyed the wheel of the rudder, killed the two men who were ſteering, and cut the tiller rope. The priſoners confined below deterred every one from going down into the gun-room to fix another rope to the rudder, and the ſingle ſail was not ſufficient to ſteer the ſhip; the boats remained the only means of carrying her off, and they tugged with ſuch violence, that they continually ſnapt the towing ropes. Mean while the fire continued from the ſhore. At length, ſome imagined

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. October. that the ſhip had no motion, and reſiſted by a cable and anchor concealed under her keel; on which the officer who commanded the attack, reſolved to leave her. The priſoners below were told, that it was determined to ſet her on fire, on which they came up readily to be carried off in the boats, which rowed away with them to the Tyger. When arrived on board, the captain, Digby Dent, ſaid he ſhould ſend his own men, if the diviſion did not immediately return to bring off the ſhip. This ſpirited rebuke prevailed, all the boats ſet off again and met the ſhip half a mile nearer; for the land-wind had ſprung up and was driving her out.

The diſpoſitions for the attack of the Baleine, were the ſame, and ſucceeded more eaſily. The crew made little reſiſtance; only two men were killed before they ſurrendered. The rudder of the ſhip was aſhore, but ſeveral ſails were bent to the yards which ſufficed to move and ſteer her, and ſhe was brought, and anchored near the Tyger, before the Baleine came up. No attempt was made on the Compagnie des Indes.

By this time the want of proviſions preſſed ſo hard, that Mr. Lally aſſembled a general council, and propoſed the immediate expulſion of the black inhabitants, who repreſented that their fidelity alone to thoſe who might condemn them to this ſevere calamity, had left it in their power to inflict it: by their removal, likewiſe, all the Europeans would be deprived of their domeſtics; and from theſe conſiderations the aſſembly broke up without deciſion: but ſome from fear of the other inconveniences of the blockade during the ſtormy weather, requeſted permiſſion of Colonel Coote to ſend away their families either to the Daniſh or Dutch ſettlements on the coaſt, which were neutral in the war; and paſſports were granted.

Intelligence was received on the 11th, that the garriſon intended to march out a detachment of 400 men, to ſtorm the Madraſs redoubt in the bound-hedge, and then puſh on to attack the large redoubt, which the Engliſh army had raiſed to the north of it; on which the picquets of the camp marched, and took poſt half-way, in order to fall on the rear of the detachment: being diſcovered, the enemy

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

enemy made no motion, but the next day the town fired hotly, but without execution, on the Ariancopang redoubt. 1760. October.

The winds had for ſome days veered and ſtrengthened; and on the 22d and 23d, the two Admirals ſailed out of the road of Cuddalore with all the ſhips, excepting four, which two days after, on ſuſpicion of ſtormy weather, went away likewiſe. Their departure was unexpected, becauſe contrary to Mr. Stevens's declaration, that he would not quit the coaſt until compelled by the utmoſt neceſſity, which had not yet come. As ſoon as they diſappeared, the Compagnie des Indes, and a ſloop which was in the road, prepared as had been foreſeen to put to ſea. The ſhip ſailed on the 30th to bring proviſions from Tranquebar, and the ſloop armed with ſeveral guns was intended to cruize in the offing for the grain-boats, which at this ſeaſon of the year come with the wind and current from the northern to the ſouthern parts of the coaſt, and generally ſail in ſight of the ſhore. The four men of war which left Cuddalore on the 23d, anchored on the 1ſt of November off of Alamparvah, from whence they fell down on the 14th to the road of Pondicherry, and gave information, that Mr. Stevens was gone with the other 12 ſhips of the ſquadron to refit them in the bay of Trincomaly.

Captain Preſton, on the 18th of October, detached ſome black horſe and Sepoys from his poſt at Ratlagrammon, who came back with 400 head of cattle of thoſe collected by the French, which were grazing in the country round the pettah of Gingee: The detachment was neither oppoſed or purſued, although a conſiderable party of the French troops was then in the pettah ready to march. This party moved on the 21ſt; they were 200 Europeans and Coffrees, 400 Sepoys, 100 European, and as many black horſe. They croſſed the river Panar on its decline, and on their arrival at Thiagar, a detachment larger than their number was formed, and marched away, to attack the fort of Chandamungalum, which ſtands half way towards Trinomalee: the fort was garriſoned by four or five companies of Sepoys, with a few Europeans from Chittapet, who repulſed the aſſault with uncommon ability, having killed ten Europeans and 40 Sepoys, and wounded 50 Sepoys and 20 horſes;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. horſes; after which the French party attempted nothing more, but returned to Thiagar.

October. Captain Preſton, on the firſt intelligence of their motion from Gingee, ſet out, as before, to follow them with the greateſt part of his force from Ratlagrammon, but when arrived on the 24th near Villaporum, found the river ſwelled, and continued on the bank, in expectation of its fall; and on the 1ſt of November, the garriſon of Gingee, being ſtronger than the force he had left at Ratlagrammon, again detached a party of 25 European horſe and 20 foot with three companies of Sepoys and ſome black cavalry, to drive away all the cattle about this place, which by the late captures and purchaſes made for the camp were many herds. Captain Robert Fletcher, who commanded during the abſence of Preſton at Ratlagrammon, waited until the enemy began to retreat with the cattle they had gathered, when he appeared with 50 black horſe, and three companies of Sepoys in their rear, and followed them ſix miles, but as if cautious of coming too cloſe to their fire; which continually drew it from them; when, perceiving that they had almoſt expended their ammunition, he approached nearer, and engaged them regularly, which they ſcarcely ſuſtained, and ſoon broke, and all their Sepoys flung down their arms. Fifteen of them were killed, and 30 with a Subadar or captain made priſoners: of the Europeans, ſix were killed, or fell wounded, and 150 muſkets were collected. The next day, Fletcher, with a ſtronger force, marched again from Ratlagrammon, and contriving his time, arrived at night, and entered the pettah of Gingee, which has but a ſlight wall, by ſurprize, ſet fire to it in every part, and met no reſiſtance, excepting the uncertain fire of the cannon from the hills above, and on his return he drove off a greater number of their cattle than the enemy had taken the day before.

November.

The frequent, although ſlender attempts and enterprizes, which had been made by the body of French troops in the field, in order either to ſupply Pondicherry with proviſions, to gain plunder, or to create diverſions of the Engliſh force, had in the whole expended more than three hundred Europeans; moſt of the reſt were now at Thiagar,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Thiagar, and from the force remaining at Gingee, including what the garriſon might on occaſion ſpare, no attempt of convoys to Pondicherry beyond the proviſions of a few days were to be apprehended. They had loſt, if ever it lay open, the opportunity, when they were in full force. Nevertheleſs the number of troops remaining at Pondicherry, with the defences and ammunition, ſtill ſecured the town from every danger, excepting famine; and Mr. Lally not imprudently preferred that the troops he had detached, ſhould remain abroad, where they might do ſome ſervice, and would ſubſiſt themſelves, rather than return to conſume in Pondicherry the ſlender ſtock of proviſions, of which they had ſupplied ſo little. He now wiſhed even to add more to their number for another purpoſe, on which ill fortune and neceſſity obliged him to rely as the likelieſt means that remained of relieving the diſtreſſes of Pondicherry. 1760. November.

The French ſquadron, which had left the coaſt on the 1ſt of October of the preceding year, arrived on the 15th of November at the iſle of France. This iſland never furniſhed proviſions ſufficient for the ſettled inhabitants, and had been ſo much exhauſted of the ſtores collected from abroad, by victualling the ſquadron at their departure for the coaſt, that little remained to afford them on their return; and this ſcarcity had been injudiciouſly encreaſed by the equipment of two veſſels, which had been ſent to attack the Engliſh factories in the gulph of Perſia. In this diſtreſs, it was reſolved to follow the example of the preceding year, and to ſend three ſhips of burthen, under the convoy of the Centaur of 74 guns, belonging to the French Company, to purchaſe proviſions at the Cape of Good Hope. But Mr. D'Aché propoſed to give the command of the Centaur to the captain of the King's ſhip the Actif; on which all the captains of the Company's ſhips of war proteſted againſt this preference, as derogatory to their own rights; and whilſt the tedious diſputations uſual on ſuch occaſions were carrying on in writing, with much acerbity and little public zeal, the annual tempeſt of the elements in this climate aroſe in the night of the 27th of January, and laſted without intermiſſion, and with the utmoſt exceſs, for 36 hours. Thirty-two veſſels in the port of Mauritius were torn from their anchors;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. November. anchors; but all, excepting one of 30 guns, were ſtopped by the ooze of the bay from driving on the rocks which fraize the ſhore; on which all the ſmaller craft were ſtranded and wrecked. The ruin was greater on the land. All the vegetation of proviſions above the ſurface was deſtroyed. The cattle and fowls were waſhed away by the torrents, or periſhed by the inclemency, and of the magazines of grain, which are all built of wood, ſome were overthrown, and the reſt opened by the wind to the rain. Three months were employed in repairing the damages of the marine and ſhore. In this interval, ſome few proviſions were brought by ſome trading veſſels of the colony from Madagaſcar, and the ſurplus of the iſland of Bourbon. On the 26th of May it was determined to ſend four ſhips of war, as faſt as they could be equipped, in order to ſubſiſt at Foul-point in Madagaſcar. On the 8th of June, arrived a veſſel from France, appriſing, that an armament was fitting out in England to attack the two iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon; in conſequence of which, the French government had ſent the regiment of Cambray, of 700 men, to reinforce them; and the ſquadron, if at Mauritius, was ordered to continue there; and, if gone to the coaſt, to be immediately recalled. Theſe orders determined Mr. D'Aché to remain with the greateſt part of his ſhips for the defence of the iſland, but to ſend away thoſe before allotted to Madagaſcar; which, to ſave the conſumption of victuals, were not to return to the iſle of France, until the 20th of Auguſt: if at this time they received no directions how to act, the council of war might proceed to the execution of any ſervice, of which the condition of the ſhips might be deemed capable: meaning to intimate, that they might, if they choſe it, go to the coaſt of Coromandel. The Centaur ſailed for Madagaſcar on the 16th of June, but the other three not in leſs than a month after, by which time the regiment of Cambray was arrived in ſeveral of the Company's ſhips from France. The news of the ſtorm was brought to Pondicherry by the Hermione and Baleine in July, but by detaining the ſailors for a while on board, the report was kept ſecret, until others properly fabricated and given out, perſuaded the colony, and the enemy at their gates,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. November.

gates, that the ſquadron ſtrongly reinforced from France might be every day expected on the coaſt. In the middle of October, letters diſpatched from Mauritius to Mahé, on the coaſt of Malabar, arrived from hence, with information of the departure of the four ſhips to Madagaſcar, and dubious aſſurances of their intention to come at all events to Pondicherry. Mr. Lally had always regarded the operations of the ſquadron as ſo unzealous and indeciſive, that he was convinced theſe ſhips would not make the effort. He, however, concealed this opinion, and the intelligence concerning the ſuppoſed attack of Mauritius from England; but gave out that the ſhips gone to Madagaſcar, and more, might be expected at Pondicherry with the regiment of Cambray on board. But, deſpairing of the relief he pretended, he perſuaded the Council to conclude a treaty for the aſſiſtance of the body of Morattoes under the command of Vizvazypunt, which had lately returned from Seringapatam in Myſore to the confines of the Carnatic.

Vizvazypunt, on his firſt approach from the Kriſtna, had in April ſent letters to Pondicherry, tendering the ſame aſſiſtance to the French as he was offering to the Nabob and the Engliſh: a vague correſpondence had continued in conſequence of theſe overtures; but, on his nearer approach, Mr. Lally ſent two agents to his camp. The Morattoe required a ſum of ready money in hand, and the ceſſion of the fortreſs of Gingee, which, beſides the influence it would give Balagerow in the province of Arcot, was the wiſh of a national point of honour, ſince Gingee had, until the beginning of the preſent century, been the capital of a race of Morattoe kings, whoſe dominion extended from the Coleroon to the Paliar. The Council empowered the agents to agree that Gingee ſhould be delivered to him as ſoon as the Engliſh army retreated from Pondicherry, and that 500,000 rupees ſhould be paid him when his own appeared in ſight of the town. All the French troops abroad were to join the Morattoes as ſoon as they paſſed the hills, and entered the province. If theſe terms were not readily accepted, the agents were to inſinuate that, although the diſtreſſes of Hyderally had broke any farther expectations of aſſiſtance from him, the king of Myſore himſelf

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. November.

ſelf would be glad to obtain Gingee on the ſame terms; when the Morattoes would be precluded from the probability of gaining any advantage by their expedition to the Carnatic.

But as the negociation might be protracted, and proviſions, even for a few days, were become of great importance, Mr. Lally ordered the troops abroad to make what effort they could before the rains ceaſed; and as Gingee was ſo cloſely watched by Preſton's command, he directed the main body to continue and act from Thiagar, from whence, by the diſtance, and the nature of the country between, their motions would be leſs liable to be aſcertained and interrupted. In the mean time, as well to ſave the conſumption in the town, as to convince the Morattoes that the troops in garriſon were more than ſufficient to defend it, he reſolved to ſend out more to join thoſe already in the field. Accordingly on the night of the 1ſt of November, 100 Europeans croſſed the river of Ariancopang in boats, and were proceeding along the ſea-ſhore, from whence they intended to turn inland, and gain their way to the weſt between the two rivers, expecting no interruption, as the rains were almoſt continual, and had drenched the plain: but in the cloſe of the evening, a guard of Sepoys had been advanced from the fort of Ariancopang, and took poſt on the ſtrand of the ſea; they fired on the firſt alarm upon the French party, who, imagining their force greater, and that it had been ſtationed on purpoſe to intercept them, hurried back to their boats, and regained the town: only one of the Sepoys was killed; the enemy's loſs was not known, but was ſuppoſed to be more.

Exceſſive rain ſtopped any farther opperations between the Engliſh camp and the French troops for ſeveral days, during which, both continued intent only on the ſea. To oppoſe the armed boats of the town, ſome were equipped in the like manner at Cuddalore, which on the 7th took a boat coming with paddy from Tranquebar, and another going thither with effects of value; and intelligence being received that the ſhip la Compagnie des Indes, with a ſchooner and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, were taking in proviſions there, Commodore Haldan detached two of the men of war with orders

to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

to ſeize them, and every other veſſel which had more than the proviſions of their own diet on board. They came into the road on the 8th, where they found the Saliſbury of 50 guns arrived from Triconomaly, which had anchored cloſe to the Compagnie des Indes, and kept her under command, waiting orders from the commodore. The Compagnie des Indes ſtruck on the firſt ſummons; and the ſchooner, which was loaded with 400 bags of wheat, and ſome barrels of ſalted meat, ran aſhore. The ſmaller veſſels in the road eſcaped to the ſouthward; and the Saliſbury ſailed away with the prize to rejoin Admiral Stevens at Triconomaly. The news of this loſs was received in Pondicherry with as much concern as a diſaſter in the field. The Daniſh government ſent deputies to Colonel Coote, with a proteſt againſt the infraction of the neutrality of their port; but were ſhewn intercepted letters, which proved their aſſiſtance to the French agents, and ſilenced their remonſtrances. 1760. November.

On the 9th of the month, a ricochet battery of four eighteen-pounders was finiſhed in a ruined village, 1400 yards to the north, between the ſea-ſide and the bleaching town: the ſhot plunged along the eaſt face of the town, and were anſwered very hotly by twelve pieces of cannon, which as well from the diſtance, as the parapet of the battery, by which the guns were entirely concealed, could do no miſchief.

On the 12th, Colonel Coote received information, that a convoy was advancing from Thiagar; they were 24 European and 100 black horſe, eſcorting 100 bullocks, laden with ſalted beef, and each of the horſemen likewiſe carried a parcel of it at the croup of his ſaddle. They croſſed the Panar on the 13th, at ſome diſtance above Trivadi, and proceeded between this and the river of Ariancopang; but imprudently loſt time in driving 300 bullocks more, which they had taken up in the way. At four in the morning they came up near the fort of Ariancopang, and were immediately ſurrounded by a detachment of 100 European foot, 40 European and 150 black horſe, which were waiting to intercept them. The officer with one of the troopers was killed, and ten, with more than half the black horſe, ſurrendered; but the other 12 of the European

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. November. horſe puſhed to the river, and were ferried over to the town under the guns of St. Thomas' redoubt. To prevent ſuch attempts in future, 50 Europeans, with a company of Sepoys, were ſtationed and retrenched on the ſlip of ſand on the ſea-ſhore, oppoſite to the bar of the river.

By this time the waters of the Panar were run off, and, as the troops at Ratlagramon with Captain Fletcher were deemed ſufficient to oppoſe what the enemy had at Gingee, Captain Preſton, with the main body of his command, marched away from Villaporum to attack Elavanaſore, to which the officer at Thiagar ſent a reinforcement, chiefly of black troops; but after Elavanaſore was inveſted did not advance to its relief. The only guns fit for battery with Preſton's diviſion, were two field twelve-pounders, which are too ſlight againſt ſtrong defences; but, as the laſt thing which is done in country forts is to repair them, a breach was eaſily made, and the garriſon capitulated at diſcretion, although they were 11 Europeans, 19 Topaſſes, and 400 Sepoys, with three field-pieces, beſides the guns of the fort.

Preparations had for ſome time been making at Madraſs to convert the blockade of Pondicherry into a regular attack; and on the 16th, the Admiral Watſon, a ſhip of 500 tons, laden with all kinds of ſtores, arrived, and anchored off the north redoubt, and the maſſoolas of Cuddalore repaired thither to unload her. On the 18th, Mr. Call, the chief engineer, arrived in the camp, to conduct the trenches.

There were remaining in Pondicherry about 50 horſes belonging to the cavalry, for which no forage could be procured either within or without the walls; and, as the grain they conſumed was ſo much taken from the ſuſtenance of the garriſon, Mr. Lally reſolved to ſend them with the beſt riders to Thiagar. Colonel Coote received intelligence of the intention, but not of the time. At two o'clock in the morning of the 21ſt, 200 grenadiers, with the horſemen, paſſed the river on rafts, near the bar, oppoſite to the retrenched guard on the ſpit of ſand, from which the Europeans had been withdrawn, and only the Sepoys were remaining; on whom the French

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

French grenadiers immediately advanced, and gave their fire, whilſt the horſemen went off as faſt as they could over the plain, taking the road to Trivadi. On the alarm, the pickets of horſe in the camp mounted, and croſſing the river, which chanced to be fordable at Villenore, went in purſuit, and took thirteen, whoſe horſes were too feeble to keep pace with the others. 1760. November.

Major Preſton, following his ſucceſs, marched from Elavanaſore, againſt a fort called Riſhavandum, which ſtands 15 miles to the N. E. of that place: it ſurrendered to him, after little reſiſtance, on the 22d: the garriſon conſiſted of 200 Sepoys, and five Europeans. From hence he marched againſt Chacrapollam, a mud fort, 15 miles north of Thiagar; which ſurrendered to him without making any defence; for the garriſon was only a company of Sepoys, with a ſerjeant. In the mean while, the French troops remaining at Gingee, excluſive of the garriſon there, went againſt Chittamoor, a fort 10 miles to the S. E. and were repulſed, with the loſs of 20 Sepoys and four Europeans, killed and wounded.

The landing of the ſtores from the Admiral Watſon had been impeded by the deſertion of the boatmen, who ran away, becauſe they had not been regularly paid; but the blockade continued with the utmoſt vigilance, and nothing, ſince the laſt convoy, had attempted to get in by land; ſeveral boats coming from the ſouthward, with ſalt proviſions and arrack, were intercepted by armed boats equipped at Devicotah. The encreaſing diſtreſs determined Mr. Lally to conſult nothing any longer but neceſſity; and on the 27th, he turned out of the gates all the blacks remaining in the town, excepting a few who were domeſtics to the principal inhabitants. The number expelled were 1400, of both ſexes, and every age. They wandered in families and companies towards all parts of the limits, hoping the mercy of being ſuffered to paſs away; but they were every where ſtopped by the advanced Sepoys, and ordered to go back; on which they retired, and aſſembled round the foot of the glacis, begging admittance, and many of them attempting to paſs over into the covered way, were fired upon by the muſketry and cannon, and ſome were killed. At night they were quiet; but the next day, and for ſix

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. November. December. six more, they repeated the same importunities to the town and the English posts, and received the same repulses. Examples of this severity rarely occur; and in civilized war is never exercised but with the utmost reluctance. At length Colonel Coote, finding Mr. Lally inflexible, let the whole multitude pass. Their only sustenance, excepting the little they had brought out of the town, secreted about their persons, had for eight days been the roots of grass they picked up in the fields, in which they lay. They were all extenuated by famine, and few had homes or friends to go to; nevertheless their thanks were inexpressible, even for this chance of preservation.

The Nabob was present at this act of mercy, and concurred in it. He left Arcot on the 15th of November, and went to Madrass to confer a few hours with Mr. Pigot, from whence he arrived in the camp on the 3d of December. On the 2d and 3d, two vessels, a sloop, and a pinnace remaining at Pondicherry, sailed away for Tranquebar, but the pinnace was taken by the boats of Devicotah.

Four ricochet batteries, which were first to open against the town, were finished on the 8th. We have already given some description of Pondicherry, when attacked by Mr. Boscawen in 1748. All the bastions remained in their first form, which, for a town of this size, was very confined; but counter-guards had been made before three of them, and ravelins raised before the three gates to the land; a rampart of earth had been added to the curtains, which before were only walls of brick five feet thick. A wet ditch had been compleated on the three sides to the land, excepting in an extent of 200 yards on the south side towards the sea, where the ground rising higher required a deeper excavation, which for this reason, as being more laborious and expensive, had not yet been dug; to the extremity of this higher ground where the ditch ceased, came a large creek from the river of Ariancopang, which supplied the ditch all round with water. The berm within the ditch was 25 feet broad; the covered way was narrow, and the glacis not sufficiently raised. The face to the east being within a few yards of the surf, and exposed only to an escalade by surprize, had no ditch, but its curtain was flanked by projecting batteries, which likewise commanded the road. The citadel

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. December.

tadel was a pentagon with five baſtions, but too ſmall to endure bombardment; two of its baſtions over-looked the eaſt curtain, and added to the fire on the ſea. The town was very commodiouſly laid out in ſtraight ſtreets which traverſed it entirely in both directions.

The ricochet battery of four guns, which had opened on the 10th of November, had for ſome time been quitted, and the guns removed to the north redoubt beyond the bound-hedge; becauſe their effect was not equal either to the expence of ammunition, or the fatigue and riſque of the guards. The four batteries which were now opened were thus ſituated. One ſtood near the beach to the north, 200 yards in front of that which had been abandoned, and about 1200 from the walls; it mounted four 18 pounders, and enfiladed the eaſt front of the town. Another of two 24 and two 18 pounders, with three mortars of 13, 10, and 8 inches, was raiſed on the other ſide of the moraſs, which ſpreads to the weſt; it was 1400 yards from the walls, and bore, but a little to the left, upon the weſt flank of the baſtion in the north-weſt angle, which mounted 10 guns, and had before it, within the ditch, a ſtrong and extenſive counter-guard, mounting 25 guns. The two other batteries were to the ſouth. One on the edge of a large iſland, formed by the river of Ariancopang; this battery mounted only two guns, of which, one bore on the baſtion next to that in the s. w. angle of the town, the other on St. Thomas redoubt, which ſtood on the oppoſite bank of the river lower down; the other battery was raiſed in a ſmaller iſland below the Coco-nut, from which it is ſeparated on one hand, and on the other from the ſpit of ſand, which forms the ſtrand of the ſea from the bar of the river. This is called the Sand Iſland; the battery bore upon St. Thomas redoubt, and on the curtain of the town between the two baſtions on this ſide neareſt the ſea.

All the four batteries were only intended to harraſs the garriſon by a croſs fire of ricochet ſhot along the ſtreets or ramparts; for none of them were on the perpendiculars on which the breaching batteries

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. December. were intended to be erected. They opened at midnight, between the 8th and 9th, firing all of them at the ſame time, and in vollies, on the ſignal of a ſhell. A little before the firſt volley, Colonel Coote, with two or three officers, approached towards the glacis of the north front, in order to obſerve what effect the firing would produce upon the garriſon. They beat to arms, but without confuſion, and ſeemed to have every thing in proper order on their baſtions; they raiſed blue lights in different parts of the town, but did not fire a ſhot. Captain Fletcher, who was with the Colonel, very imprudently quitted him without notice, and went to the foot of the glacis, where he fell in with the centinel of an advanced guard of Sepoys, whom he ſeized and diſarmed, and was bringing off; when the guard, hearing the ſtruggle, ran into the covered way, from whence immediately came a hot fire of muſketry upon Colonel Coote's party; but Fletcher brought off the Sepoy, who gave no intelligence but what was better known before.

The batteries ceaſed before day-break, and the guns were kept maſked until the afternoon, when they recommenced, and the town returned with great vivacity, but the firing ceaſed on both ſides in two hours. The two batteries to the ſouth prevented the enemy from launching a large boat which they had fitted on the ſhore near the bar, and drove them likewiſe from their guns in St. Thomas's redoubt, which were only mounted in barbette.

The firing continued in the ſix following days, but was every day renewed at a different hour, and laſted variouſly, and never more than three or four hours at a time. On the 18th, the vollies ceaſed for want of powder, and only fired on particular occaſions. In all this conſumption, only one man was killed at the baſtions, and very few in the town; but the purpoſe was anſwered of waſting the garriſon with fatigue, which their ſcanty allowance of proviſions rendered them little able to endure. On the 19th, a party of pioneers appeared at work with great eagerneſs, to raiſe and convert the barbette of St. Thomas's redoubt into a parapet with embraſures. The battery on the ſand iſland fired to interrupt them

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. December.

by night as well as by day, but they perſevered. On the 20th, ſome powder arrived in a veſſel from Madraſs, and the enfilade and bombardment recommenced from all the batteries as before; and was conſtantly anſwered with the ſame vivacity from the town. On the 23d, the ſhip Duke, of 500 tons, arrived from Madraſs, laden with 17 pieces of battering cannon and their ſhot, and with all kinds of ſtores for the ſiege; but ſo few of the boatmen had returned to their maſſoolas, that very little could be landed until others were aſſembled from the neighbouring ports on the coaſt, and even from Madraſs: this delay, however, appeared of leſs detriment, becauſe the materials for the trenches, and for the batteries which were to diſmantle the defences and breach the body of the place, were not yet collected, and the engineers reported, that they ſhould not be ready to open this fire before the third of January; but the batteries already conſtructed continued theirs. On the 26th, Admiral Stephens in the Norfolk, with three other ſhips of the line and the Protector fire-ſhip, returned into the road from Trinconomaly.

The French troops aſſembled at Thiagar were ſo much ſuperior to the little forts around, that they became the terror of the country, and their ſmalleſt parties brought in proviſions in plenty, and without riſque. Major Preſton, having no longer any apprehenſions that the troops at Gingee would either be able to puſh any convoys through the circumvallation of the Engliſh army, or even to diſtreſs the poſts under the protection of Captain Fletcher at Ratlagrammon, reſolved, by cutting off the daily ſupplies of Thiagar, to oblige the troops there to employ large eſcorts, which he hoped to intercept. He marched from Raſhivandum on the 1ſt of December, and encamped in the evening three miles to the N. W. of Thiagar. On the night of the 3d, all the French cavalry, amounting to 200, led by Major Allen, an officer of Mr. Lally's regiment, puſhed out of the pettah, and went to the weſt of Trinomalee. Being ſure of proviſions abroad, they intended to remain in the hills, waiting the event of the negociation, which Mr. Lally was carrying on with the Morattoe Vizvazipunt, whoſe troops, if it ſucceeded, they intended to accompany to Pondicherry.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. December. A few days afterwards, they were joined by a party of 100 European infantry, whom, to alleviate the conſumption of proviſions, Mr. Lally had ſent out of Pondicherry in the two veſſels which ſailed on the 2d and 3d of the month, and eſcaped to Tranquebar; from whence, headed by the biſhop of Hallicarnaſſus, they marched to eſcort him to the camp of Vizvazipunt at Cudapanatam, with whom the biſhop was empowered to conclude the negociation. They proceeded to Combaconum, by the ſame road as the Nabob and Major Joſeph Smith had come to Karical, and received no moleſtation in their journey through the country of Tanjore. From Combaconum, they croſſed the Coleroon, and then paſſed between Volcondah and Thiagar, out of the reach of Preſton's troops; but 10 or 12 of them deſerted, and travelled to Tritchinopoly, where they offered to ſerve, but were not enliſted; becauſe Captain Smith had at this time diſcovered a conſpiracy of the French priſoners to riſe and overpower the garriſon; in which the number of Europeans did not exceed 100, and moſt of them were invalids or foreigners; whereas the priſoners were 500; being the collection of all that had been taken at Karical, Chillambrum, and Verdachilum, by Colonel Monſon, and in the different actions at Seringham and its diſtricts, by the two Smiths from Tritchinopoly.

The King of Myſore, not thoroughly convinced that his proteſtations of good-will to the Engliſh would induce them to reſtore Caroor, ſent a large body of troops to the confines of its territory, in order to ſecond the terms of his negociation by the appearance of renewing hoſtilities, if not accommodated; and other troops proceeded to reinforce thoſe at Dindigul; from whence the governor on their arrival marched, with 1000 horſe, 2000 Sepoys, as many common peons, and ſome cannon, againſt Agarpatty, the neareſt and laſt of the forts, which the troops of Madura had taken, but having left it only 40 Sepoys, it ſurrendered on the 4th day of the attack. From hence the Myſoreans marched againſt Narafingapore, another of the forts, ſix miles farther, which they likewiſe battered for four days, when they were attacked themſelves by a ſtrong body detached from Madura, who beat them off the ground, and drove them back

to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

to Dindigul, with the loſs of 50 men killed and wounded. The colleries of Nattam, encouraged by this renewal of hoſtilities, made incurſions into the northern diſtricts of Madura, and ſtopped the whole road of the paſs, with trees which they felled on either ſide, and with much labour dragged and laid them acroſs the road with ſo much contrivance, that a ſingle perſon could not paſs without continual difficulty. 1760. December.

No events of great importance had happened during the courſe of this year, in the country of Tinivelly. The commandant, Mahomed Iſſoof, after the repulſe before Waſhinelore in the end of the preceding year, was, from the want of battering cannon, no longer in a condition to attack the ſtronger holds of the polygars; and contented himſelf, until ſupplied, with poſting the greateſt part of his army in ſtations to check the Pulitaver and the eaſtern polygars; but remained himſelf with the reſt at Tinivelly, watching Catabominaigue and the weſtern. The departure of Maphuze Khan from Nellitangaville in the month of January, left the Pulitaver and his allies no longer the pretext of oppoſing the authority of the Nabob in ſupport of the rights of his elder brother; and they debated whether they ſhould treat with Mahomed Iſſoof, or wait the event of Maphuze Khan's journey, who they ſuppoſed would return to them, if not received on his own terms by the Nabob. In this uncertainty, they formed no vigorous deſigns, and employed their colleries in night robberies, wherever they could elude the ſtations of Mahomed Iſſoof; but attempted nothing in the open field or day. Nevertheleſs, their depredations were ſo ruinous to the cultivation, that Mahomed Iſſoof thought it worth the expence, to draw off ſome of their dependants and entertain them in the Company's ſervice, as beſt able to retaliate the ſame miſchief on thoſe by whom they had been employed; and towards the end of April, ſeveral of theſe petty leaders, with their followers, amounting in the whole to 2000 colleries, joined him at Tinivelly, and faithfully entered on the duties for which they had engaged. Nothing, however, like regular fighting happened untill the end of May, when Catabominaigue appeared at the head of two or three thouſand men, near

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. December. Etiaporum, and ſtood the attack of ſeven companies of Sepoys, drawn from the limits towards Nellitangaville, by whom they were diſperſed, but with little loſs. In May Mahomed Iſſoof received intelligence of the hoſtilities commenced by the Myſoreans from Dindigul, and the orders of the Preſidency to oppoſe them; in conſequence of which he ſent the detachment we have mentioned of 1500 Sepoys, 300 horſe, and 3000 peons. They were ſcarcely gone, when a new and unexpected alarm aroſe in the Tinivelly country. The Dutch government at the iſland of Ceylon had received a large reinforcement of European troops from Batavia, which aſſembled at the port of Columbo, oppoſite to Cape Comorin, from whence a part of them arrived in the beginning of June at Tutacorin, a Dutch fort on the continent, 40 miles eaſt of Tinivelly. Two hundred Europeans, with equipments, tents, and field-pieces, immediately encamped, giving out that they ſhould ſhortly be reinforced by more than their own number, and that 400 other Europeans had left Batavia at the ſame time with themſelves, and were gone to Cochin on the Malabar coaſt, in order to join the king of Travancore. The natives were frightened, and pretended to have diſcovered, that the force they ſaw was intended to aſſiſt the polygars in driving the Engliſh out of the country of Tinivelly, and to begin by attacking the town. Mahomed Iſſoof immediately ſent to the Dutch chief at Tutacorin, to demand an explanation; who anſwered, that he ſhould give none. A few days after the troops advanced inland, and halted at Alvar Tinivelly, a town in a very fertile diſtrict, ſituated 20 miles S. E. of Tinivelly, and the ſame diſtance S. W. of Tutacorin; and at the ſame time, another body of 200 Europeans landed from Colombo at Manapar, 20 miles to the S. E. of Alwar Tinivelly. Mahomed Iſſoof had previouſly drawn troops from the eaſtern ſtations, and marching with 4000 Sepoys, and ſome horſe, appeared in ſight of the Dutch troops at Alvar Tinivelly in the evening of the 18th of June; who, in the enſuing night, decamped in ſtrict ſilence, and marched back to Tutacorin; thoſe at Manapar went away thither likewiſe in the ſame embarkations which brought them; and no more was heard of this alarm.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The depredations of the polygars continued; but, deprived of Maphuze Khan, and hearing how closely Pondicherry was invested, they ventured nothing more: the Pulitaver's colleries continued as usual the most active in the robberies; and to repress them, Mahomed Issoof again stationed the greatest part of his force towards Nellitangaville. In December these troops formed a camp at the foot of the hills within three miles of this place, and Mahomed Issoof joined them from Tinivelly on the 12th; he had purchased several eighteen-pounders at Tutacorin, and had the two mortars which had been sent to him the year before from Angenjo, but no shot or shells for either, and was moreover in want of gun-powder and flints, all which he expected from Tritchinopoly, and, whilst waiting for them, made such preparations as the country afforded to attack Nellitangaville in form. On the 20th of the month, the colleries, with the Pulitaver at their head, attacked his camp, sallying, as usual, on all quarters at once, and persisted until 100 of them fell; but they killed ten of Mahomed Issoof's men, and wounded seventy, and some horses. 1760. December.

At this time the Mysoreans on the frontiers of Caroor, although professing peace, and disavowing the operations of the governor of Dindigul, did not prohibit their own horse from foraging in the districts, of which they had consented that the English should collect the revenue until the Presidency and their king had agreed concerning the restitution of the fort. The crop on the ground was plentiful and ready to be cut; and as the renewal of hostilities would only aggravate the evil they meant to revenge, Captain Richard Smith resolved to remain quiet until the harvest was gathered. Such was the state of the southern countries at the end of the year.

The consumption of provisions in Pondicherry had ever since the month of August exceeded the supplies received. In November, when the black inhabitants were turned out, the soldiery were put to an allowance of a pound of rice a day, with a little meat at intervals. In the beginning of December, Mr. Lally caused a strict search to be made in all the houses of individuals, and what could be found

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. December. found in them was brought to the citadel, from whence they were diſtributed indiſcriminately to the military and inhabitants. Two colonels lately arrived from France, men of family, deemed the ſearch in their apartments an affront, and ſent word to Mr. Lally, that they would no longer act as officers; but on every occaſion as volunteers. But the event juſtified the ſeverity; for by the end of December, notwithſtanding ſome ſupply had come in by the ſea, the ſtock remaining in the public ſtore was not more than the conſumption of three days; and Mr. Lally, guided by certain information, determined that another ſearch ſhould be made; on which father Lavaur, the ſuperior of the Jeſuits, who knew all the ſecrets of the town, prevailed on him to defer it, promiſing to produce a ſufficiency for fifteen days more, but gave no expectation of farther ſupply; but the French agents with Vizvazypunt ſent hopes of ſucceeding in their negotiation; and on the laſt day of the year intelligence was received in the Engliſh camp, and ſomewhat credited, that a large body of Morattoes, with all the French horſe, were arrived from Cudapanatam at Trinomalee, and were going to Thiagar, from whence they intended, at all events, to puſh with proviſions to Pondicherry.

The rains had ceaſed for ſome days, and the weather was reſtored to its uſual temperance; the ſky bright, although the winds ſometimes ſtrong, which always, at this ſeaſon, blow from the north, and near the coaſt in the day from the ſea, and at night from the land: but on the 30th of December, although the weather continued fair, a large ſwell came from the S. E. and the ſurf beat ſo hollow and heavy, that no boats could paſs; which encreaſed in the night. The next morning the wind freſhened, and the ſky was cloſe and duſky, but without that wild irregularity which prognoſticates a ſtorm; and this aſpect did not change till noon, nor the wind encreaſe until eight at night. There were in the road eight ſail of the line, two frigates, the fire-ſhip, and the ſhip with ſtores from Madraſs, in all 12 ſail. From eight o'clock the wind blew in ſqualls, every one ſtronger than the laſt, until 10, when the Admiral's ſhip, Norfolk, cut her cable, and fired the ſignal for the other ſhips to do

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

do ſo too; but the ſignal guns were not heard, and the ſhips, in obedience to the diſcipline of the navy, rode until their cables parted with the ſtrain, when they with much difficulty got before the wind, none able to ſet more than a ſingle ſail, and none without ſplitting ſeveral. Every minute encreaſed the ſtorm until twelve, by which time the wind had veered from the N. W. where it began, to the N. E.; when it ſuddenly fell ſtark calm with thick haze all round. In a few minutes the wind flew up from the ſouth-eaſt, and came at once in full ſtrength with much greater fury than it had blown from the other quarter. 1761. January.

By the delay of not getting early under ſail whilſt the ſtorm was from the north, moſt of the ſhips loſt the opportunity of gaining ſufficient ſea-room before it came on from the ſouth-eaſt. The firſt guſt of this wind laid the Panther on her beams, and the ſea breaking over her, Captain Affleck cut away the mizen; and this not anſwering, the main maſt likewiſe, which broke below the upper deck, tore it up, and continued ſome time encumbering over the ſide of the ſhip without going clear off into the ſea, until the ſhock of a wave ſent it away. The ſhip then righted, the reefed foreſail ſtood, and brought her back into fourteen fathom water, when ſhe dropped the ſheet anchor; but not bringing up, which means turning to ride with her head to the anchor, they cut away the fore-maſt, which carried away the bowſprit, when the ſhip came round; and thus rode out the ſtorm. The America, Medway, and Falmouth, cutting away all their maſts on the different neceſſities with the ſame prudence, rode it out likewiſe, after they had anchored again nearly in the ſame ſoundings as the Panther.

The Newcaſtle, the Queenborough frigate, and the Protector fire-ſhip, returning with the S. E. ſtorm, miſtook their ſoundings, and drove towards the ſhore, without knowing where they were, or attempting to anchor. The roaring of the ſurf was not to be diſtinguiſhed in the general tumult of the elements; and the danger was not diſcovered until it was too late, and the three ſhips came aſhore about two miles to the ſouth of Pondi-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January. cherry; but only ſeven in all the crews periſhed, who were knocked over board by the ſhock of ſtriking aground.

The Duke of Aquitain, the Sunderland, and the Duke ſtoreſhip, unfortunately preſerved all their maſts through both the ſtorms, until they were driven back to the neceſſity of anchoring; and in bringing up with them ſtanding, all the three either broached to, or overſet, and went to the bottom. Eleven hundred Europeans periſhed in theſe ſhips; only ſeven, and ſeven laſcars, were ſaved out of the crews, who were picked up the next day, floating on pieces of wreck.

The difference of the element prevented the deſtruction from being equal at land; but the ravage in proportion was not leſs. All the tents and temporary caſerns of the camp on the Red-hill, and its out-poſts, were blown to-pieces. The ammunition abroad for immediate ſervice was ruined. Nothing remained undamaged that was not under the ſhelter of maſonry, either at the redoubts of the bound-hedge, in the buildings at Oulgarrey, or in the fort of Villenore, where the main ſtock of gun-powder was depoſited. The ſoldiers, unable to carry off their muſkets, and reſiſt the ſtorm, had left them to the ground, and were driven to ſeek ſhelter for their own perſons whereſoever it was to be found. Many of the black attendants of the camp, from the natural feebleneſs of their conſtitution, periſhed by the inclemency of the hour. The ſea had every where broken over the beach, and overflowed the country as far as the bound-hedge; and all the batteries and redoubts which the army had raiſed were intirely ruined. But theſe detriments might be repaired. The great anxiety remained for the other ſhips of the ſquadron, whoſe fortune was not yet known.

The town of Pondichery beheld the ſtorm and its effects as a deliverance ſent from heaven. The ſun roſe clear, and ſhewed the havock ſpread around. It was propoſed by ſome to march out immediately, and attack the Engliſh army; but this operation was impracticable; becauſe no artillery could move through the inundation, nor could the troops carry their own ammunition dry; otherwiſe three hundred men, properly armed, would not, for three

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

three hours after day-light, have met with 100 together in a condition to reſiſt them. The wiſh of every one then turned to expectation that the ſhips from Madagaſcar might arrive in the interval before the Engliſh ſhips in the road were repaired, or others joined them from the ſea: but the excellence of the opportunity did not alter Mr. Lally's miſtruſt of the reſource; and letters were immediately diſpatched to the agents at Puliacate, Tranquebar, and Negapatam, ordering them to ſend away proviſions with inſtant expedition, at every riſque, on any kind of embarkation. 1761. January.

The anxiety for the miſſing ſhips continued until ſun-ſet of the next day, when the Norfolk with Admiral Stevens's flag was diſcovered in the offing. The ſhip, prepared at all points, before the ſouth-eaſt ſtorm aroſe, ſcudded before it with a ſtay-ſail, without loſing a maſt, and without being obliged to anchor until the wind fell, when in the morning they diſcovered Sadraſs. The apprehenſion of more bad weather made the Admiral put out again to ſea; when he met the Liverpool, entirely diſmaſted. This ſhip, having parted her cable, and got under ſail before the others, had gained more ſea-room than any of them; but the ſouth-eaſt ſtorm had carried away all her maſts; ſoon after they were joined by the Grafton, who gave the welcome information that ſhe had left, on the 28th of December, the Lenox, Admiral Corniſh, with the York, and Weymouth, 30 leagues off the land: they were all returning together from Trincomaly: the Grafton, after parting with them, met hard weather during the hours in which the ſtorm was raging near the coaſt. The Admiral, leaving her to take care of the Liverpool, anchored in the road of Pondicherry the next morning, and they in the afternoon. The other three ſhips came in the next day. On the 7th came in the Saliſbury, with the prize la Compagnie des Indes, likewiſe from Trincomaly, and the Tyger from Madraſs, where the violence of the ſtorm had not reached. No more were to be expected; for the Elizabeth and the Southſea-caſtle, wanting the dock, were ſailed for Bombay, with the two other prizes, the Hermione and Baleine. But by this time, the four diſmaſted ſhips, although not quite refitted, were again in a condition to

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January. act on neceſſity; and thus in a week after the ſtorm, which had raiſed ſuch hopes of deliverance in the garriſon of Pondicherry, they ſaw their road again blockaded by eleven ſail of the line, and although three of them were only of 50 guns, all were manned above their complements by the addition of the crews which had been ſaved from the three ſtranded ſhips. Their boats continually cruizing, intercepted, or drove away whatſoever embarkations came towards the road with proviſions; but ſeveral boats which were launched from the town in the three nights immediately after the ſtorm, favoured by the wind, the current, and the darkneſs, eſcaped to the ſouthward. In one of them Mr. Lally ſent away Rajahſaheb, the ſon of Chundaſaheb, who, ever ſince the defeat of Vandiwaſh, had reſided with his family in Pondicherry; he landed at Negapatam, and from thence paſſed to Ceylon in the character of an elephant-merchant.

Every diligence was exerted to reſtore the works and ſtations of the army to the condition from which they had been diſmantled by the ſtorm. Reports of the Morattoes continued, and the advantages of the preſent opportunity increaſed the apprehenſions of their attempts to throw proviſions into the town. The bound hedge and its redoubts remained as before a ſufficient defence as far as they extended; but the ſouth ſide of the blockade along the river of Ariancopang was laid open by the ruin of the two batteries on the coco-nut and ſand iſland, and of the ſtar redoubt on the ſpit of ſand over againſt the bar; which could not be reſtored in ten days; and the torrent of the river prevented the immediate tranſport of men and materials to ſet about the work. Colonel Coote therefore determined, as ſoon as the river ſubſided, to ſurprize St. Thomas's redoubt, which, whilſt it remained as at preſent without oppoſition on the other ſhore, would protect the paſſage of what convoys the garriſon might expect; but if taken, would preclude their approach even more efficaciouſly than the poſts on this the blockade which the ſtorm had ruined. The waters fell ſufficiently on the 5th, and the detachment intended for the attack, having previouſly aſſembled at the Ariancopang redoubt, which ſtood above at the extremity of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the bound-hedge, and on the ſame ſide of the river, marched down after it was dark under the bank, which was ſteep and ſkirted by a ſand. The redoubt ſtood at the opening, but on the farther ſide, of a channel, which ſtrikes to the north from the main body of the river, and carries water into the ditches of the town. A French officer, with three troopers of his nation, who had taken ſervice in the Engliſh army, croſſed firſt, whilſt Colonel Coote himſelf, with the reſt of the detachment, halted on the nether ſide of the channel. The officer was challenged, and anſwered that he came from the town with a party, which Mr. Lally had ſent off in haſte, on intelligence that the Engliſh intended to attack the redoubt this very night. He was believed, and admitted; and Colonel Coote hearing no buſtle or firing, immediately ſent over the front of his party, who, as ſoon as their numbers were ſufficient, declared themſelves, and threatened to put the whole guard to death, if a ſingle man made the leaſt noiſe, or attempted to eſcape. All obeyed, excepting one Caffre, who ſtole away unperceived. They conſiſted of a ſerjeant, five gunners, five Caffres, and ſome Sepoys. The chief engineer, Mr. Call, followed with the pioneer company of 50 Europeans, and 100 Laſcars, carrying gabions, faſcines, and tools, with which they immediately ſet to work to cloſe and retrench the gorge; over which it was intended when neceſſary to turn the guns againſt the town. At one in the morning blue lights appeared over the ramparts along the ſouth front, as if the garriſon apprehended ſome attack on their walls. Soon after they began to fire ſingle ſhot upon the redoubt, which came with ſuch good aim, that the party at work threw the guns out of their carriages on the ground, to preſerve them. At two, every thing was quiet in the town, and the work forward, when Colonel Coote went away to get reſt at his head quarters at Oulgarry, leaving a lieutenant of artillery, with the 40 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, in the redoubt, which the officer was ordered to defend to the laſt extremity. The workmen had finiſhed, and were withdrawn at four o'clock. At five, the redoubt was attacked by the four companies of grenadiers from the garriſon: they aſſaulted on every

1761. January.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January.

ſide at once, few fired, and all puſhed with fixed bayonets through the ditch over the parapet. The reſiſtance was not equal either to the ſtrength of the poſt, for it was cloſed on all ſides; or to the number of the guard, which were, including the Sepoys, 170 men. Some eſcaped by jumping over the parapet; a few were killed, and the greateſt part, with the officer, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. At noon, Mr. Lally ſent back all who had been taken, to the Engliſh camp, for want of proviſions to feed them; but on condition, that they ſhould not act again. This diſcovery of the diſtreſs of the garriſon could only be required or warranted by the utmoſt neceſſity. However, Mr. Lally might ſuppoſe, that the priſoners had not time to learn the worſt of what the town was enduring, and that they could not tell ſo much as deſerters.

On the failure of this attempt, a large portion of the working parties was allotted to complete the redoubt on the ſpit of ſand, which was to replace that which had been waſhed away. It was raiſed for the advantage of higher ground, three hundred yards in the rear of the former; its ſcale ſufficient to contain 400 men, and to mount 16 guns in different directions. Equal attention was given to repair and complete the Hanover battery, where, from the lowneſs of the ſituation, much labour was requiſite to clear the water, which had filled the trench that communicated with it from ſome incloſures in the rear. The only fire from the town was to interrupt the workmen here, but with little effect. On the 7th, the Company's ſhip Falmouth arrived from Madraſs, laden with battering cannon, ammunition, and ſtores, to replace what had foundered in the Duke: and on the 9th another ſhip brought Mr. Pigot the governor, with Mr. Dupré, one of the council, and Captain Robert Barker, who had been to Madraſs to ſuperintend the embarkation of the ſtores and artillery, which Captain Hiſlop and he were now to direct againſt the town.

At this time the Nabob received intelligence that his agents had concluded a negotiation with the Morattoe general Vizvazypunt. Allen, and the Biſhop of Halicarnaſſus, had added the offer of Thiagar

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

to Gingee, and the payment of 500,000 rupees for their assistance, and profered substantial shroffs as security; how this wary tribe of money-changers were induced to this venture, when there was not so much in Pondicherry, nor likely to come, remains unaccountable. Either Vizvazipunt himself must have encouraged them to stand forth in appearance, that he might obtain the highest terms from the Nabob; or some secret enemy of the Nabob, who was to gain advantage by the march of the Morattoes into the Carnatic, and the support of Pondicherry, must have proved to the shroffs the certainty of producing the money before the payment should fall upon their security; in this case we see no one but Hyderally to conjecture. The Nabob's agents were so perplexed by the fact, that they rose by degrees from the same sum of 500,000 rupees with which they had begun, and concluded for two millions, of which one was to be paid in 20 days, and the other in nine months; on which Vizvazipunt told the French representatives, that they had no assistance to expect from him; and Allen and the Bishop went away with their troops, who were 200 Europeans mounted, and 100 on foot, to Hyderally in Bengalore, which is five days from Cudapanatam. The Nabob, on this important occasion, as indeed on all others ever since he was convinced of the probability of taking Pondicherry, enlarged himself with more decision and spirit, than he had ever exerted since his government, and first connexion with the English nation; and as the smallest undissembled excesses of the mind tell more than the whole composure of political reason, he never failed to ask Colonel Coote every day, whether he was sure, and when, Pondicherry would surrender. Advices were at the same time received from Captain Preston, that he had attacked the pettah of Thiagar, which stands on the plain, and after some resistance carried both the mud-walls; on which the French troops who defended it ran to the rock, and saved themselves in the fortifications above, which could only be assaulted by surprize, or reduced by famine or bombardment: he had already begun to throw shells from two howitzers, and was waiting

1761. January.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January.

ing for mortars from Madraſs. Theſe advices removed any farther apprehenſions of ſuccours getting into Pondicherry from the land.

By the morning of the 10th, the Hanover battery was compleated; but before it opened, Colonel Coote, with ſeveral officers, advanced from the Villenore redoubt, to reconnoitre the baſtions of the town. As they were ſtanding about 800 yards from the walls, a flag appeared approaching. Colonel Coote ſent forward his aid-de-camp lieutenant Dueſpe, (not the officer we have mentioned at Vandivaſh) to receive his meſſage or letters. Two other officers accompanied Dueſpe, and went on in the avenue leading from the Villenore redoubt to the glacis, until they were challenged by the centries, and ordered to retire; but not obeying, a ſhot was fired from a ſix-pounder on the Villenore gate, which miſſed them, but unfortunately ſtruck and killed Dueſpe, as he was talking to the meſſenger. Colonel Coote ſent to demand ſatisfaction for the outrage, ſuppoſing it unprovoked. Mr. Lally confined the officers on duty at the gate, and the next day ſent his aid-de-camp to explain the miſchance, for which he expreſſed much concern.

A few hours after Dueſpe was killed, the Hanover battery opened with ten guns, ſix were twenty-four, and four eighteen-pounders, and with three mortars, two of thirteen and one of ten inches. The ſix guns on the left fired upon the weſt face of the N. W. baſtion, and of the counter-guard before it. The two next upon the next baſtion on the left, which was ſmall, and mounted only three guns: it was called St. Joſeph. The two other guns on the right battered the two projecting towers ſtanding on each ſide of the Valdore gate, which had a good ravelin in front between them. The mortars fired variouſly. The fire of the cannon ceaſed in three hours, but the mortars continued at intervals throughout the day. The garriſon returned very ſparingly. The next day, the 11th, the battery, having been damaged by its own uſe, fired leſs, and the town more, with the addition of ſhells from two mortars in the Valdore ravelin, which ſeveral times fell in and near the Hanover battery; which nevertheleſs opened again the next morning quite repaired, and with great

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

great vivacity; but the enemy neither in this nor the preceding night had given any repair to the N. W. baſtion, and its counter-guard; which, in conſequence of this neglect, had very little fire to return, nor did much come from the baſtion of St. Joſeph, or the works of the Valdore gate. Many deſerters came over in theſe two nights, and their accounts agreed of the diſmal diſtreſs of the garriſon. The Engliſh army, on the contrary, received the confirmation of a report, that more forces from England (ſent by the ſame ſpirit as the others) were arrived at Anjengo, on the coaſt of Malabar. ſix hundred men, the remainder of the highland regiment, had embarked in the month of May in five of the company's ſhips and two men of war of the line. Three of the company's and one of the men of war arrived at Anjengo on the 15th of December, and the others were daily expected there. 1761. January.

The redoubt on the ſpit of ſand to the ſouth was compleated by the night of the 12th, and the workmen and tools recalled, to ſerve at the opening of the trenches, for which all the materials were by this time collected. The Hanover battery fired little through the 13th, and received only a few ſhells. In the beginning of the night, all appointed for the trenches were aſſembled at the bleaching town. They were 700 Europeans draughted from the rank and file, 400 laſcars, the pioneer company of 70 Europeans, and 200 coolies: there were likewiſe 400 oxen, with their drivers, one to three. The ground was opened, under cover, juſt within the ſkirt of the bleaching town, in the part neareſt the beach. After three ſhort returns, the trench was brought to the outſide of the houſes, and from hence puſhed on obliquely in one ſtreight line, until it paſſed croſs the high road leading from the Madraſs gate, on the other ſide of which road, the intended battery was to be erected. This oblique trench was 480 yards long, and from its termination was continued another of 280 yards, parallel to the defences of the town. Two ſhort trenches continued, one from each end of this parallel, and fell in with the two ends of the intended battery, which was to be conſtructed 40 yards in front; and the parallel in the rear was to be the ſtation of the main guard for the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January.

the ſupport of the battery, if attacked. All this work, comprehending 800 yards, ſheltered on the left by gabions, faſcines, and ſand-bags, was executed by the European ſoldiery, divided into companies, all working at the ſame time according to the trace, on the different ground allotted to each diviſion; whilſt the 400 laſcars, and the 200 coolies, were employed in bringing the materials, not only to them, but to the battery, where the pioneers were at work, as requiring more knowledge and exactneſs; who before the morning had finiſhed ſix embraſures in the battery; to which, likewiſe, the oxen had brought the cannon from the artillery-park, which had been formed near the ſea-ſhore, juſt without the bound-hedge. It was ſcarcely poſſible for the ſame number of hands to have done more work in the ſame time. Colonel Coote, and the principal officers, paſſed the night in the trenches, and were accompanied by Mr. Pigot and Mr. Dupré. The town, to their great ſurprize, although blue lights often appeared on the walls, did not fire a ſingle ſhot to interrupt the work. Care had been taken to leſſen the uſual noiſe, by not driving the picquets of the gabions into the earth with the entrenching tools; nevertheleſs, ſo many perſons continually buſy, the ſound of the carriages and oxen, and the call of their drivers could ſcarcely remain unheard; as the battery was within 450 yards of the walls. Juſt before day-light all the workmen were withdrawn, and 100 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, were poſted in the parallel, and another party of the ſame number in the cover of the village at the tail of the trenches, in order to ſupport the foremoſt guard. The embraſures that were finiſhed were left maſked; becauſe there had not been time to lay down the platforms for the guns. Nevertheleſs, it was expected, that the garriſon would fire hotly the enſuing day, were it only to damage the parapet of the battery.

They were doubtleſs aſtoniſhed at the work they ſaw done; but, only fired now and then, and only ſingle ſhot at a time; obſerving which, the chief engineer ſent carpenters, who laid down the platforms, without receiving any hurt. The Hanover battery fired throughout the day, with all its artillery and redoubled vivacity,

which

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

which before night ſilenced all the guns againſt which it opened; on the N. W. baſtion and its counter-guard, on St. Joſeph's, on the two demi-baſtions, and on the ravelin of the Valdore gate. 1761. January.

At night the pioneers, with 300 Laſcars, went to work again at the royal battery; and the town, having well marked the aim, kept up a ſmart fire of ſhot, grape, and muſketry, which killed or dangerouſly wounded 12 men in the battery. Several ſhowers of rain fell in the night, which gave apprehenſion that the enemy would ſally; but they refrained, and before day-light the battery was compleated. It was called the royal, and contained eleven twenty-four pounders, and on the left three heavy mortars. It opened early in the morning, and, ſeconded by the croſs and enfilading fire of the Hanover battery with 10 guns, ſoon ſilenced all the defences which bore upon it; excepting a gun or two on the baſtion next the beach. Inactivity joined neceſſity in this unaccountable abandon of defence; which was ſo great, that, what rarely happens until all commanding works are entirely demoliſhed, men were ſet, and continued at work throughout the day, along the whole line of the trenches, fixing more ſecurely the gabions, ramming down the earth, and ſmoothing the tops of the parapet, that the troops, if ſallied upon in the enſuing night, might fire over them with certainty and ſafety. A party was draughted to begin, as ſoon as it was dark, another battery of ſix guns, 300 yards nearer to the beach, and 150 nearer the walls: it was intended to deſtroy the flanks of the ſeveral baſtions, which the royal battery could only take in reverſe.

As the ſun was ſetting, Colonel Coote coming, as was his cuſtom, to ſuperviſe the batteries, ſaw a flag advancing in the Villenore avenue; who, being challenged, announced the approach of a deputation. They came on foot, the town having neither horſes or palankin bearers to carry them, and Colonel Coote received them at his head-quarters at Oulgarry. The deputies were Colonel Durre, commandant of the king's artillery, father Lavaur, ſuperior of the Jeſuits, Moracin and Courtin, members of the council, with Tobin ſerving as interpreter.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January.

Colonel Durre delivered a memorial ſigned by Mr. Lally of the following purport: "That the Engliſh had taken Chanderna-"gore againſt the faith of the treaties of neutrality which had al-"ways ſubſiſted between the European nations in Bengal, and eſ-"pecially between the Engliſh and French; and this at a time, when "that ſettlement had juſt rendered the Engliſh the moſt ſignal ſer-"vices, as well by refuſing to join the Nabob Surajah Dowlah in "the attack of Calcutta, as by receiving and ſuccouring the inha-"bitants of this colony, after their defeat and diſperſion; by "which protection they were enabled to remain in the province, and "by this continuance to recover their ſettlements; as Mr. Pigot had "acknowledged in a letter to the government of Pondicherry.—" That "the goverment of Madraſs had refuſed to fulfil the con-"ditions of a cartel concluded between the two crowns, although "Mr. Pigot had at firſt accepted the cartel, and commiſſioners had "been appointed on both ſides to meet at Sadraſs, in order to ſettle "amicably whatſoever difficulties might occur in the execution."—"This conduct of the Engliſh (Mr. Lally goes on) puts it out of "his power, as reſponſible to the court of France, to propoſe any "capitulation for the city of Pondicherry."—"The troops of the "king and company ſurrender themſelves, for want of provi-"ſions, priſoners of war to his Britannic Majeſty, conformably "to the terms of the cartel, which Mr. Lally claims for the "civil inhabitants and citizens, and for the exerciſe of the "Roman religion, the religious houſes, hoſpitals, chaplains, ſur-"geons, domeſticks, &c. referring to the two courts to decide a "proportional reparation for the violations of treaties ſo ſolemnly eſ-"tabliſhed."—"In conſequence, Mr. Coote may to-morrow morn-"ing at eight o'clock take poſſeſſion of the Villenore-gate, and on "the ſame hour the next day of the gates of the citadel (Fort Louis); "and as he has the force in his own hands, he may dictate ſuch far-"ther diſpoſitions as he may think proper."—"From a principle of "juſtice and humanity alone I demand (theſe are Mr. Lally's words) "that the mother and ſiſters of Rajahſaheb be permitted to ſeek an "aſylum whereſoever they ſhall think proper, or that they re-

"main

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January.

" main priſoners with the Engliſh, and be not delivered into the " hands of Mahomed Ally Cawn, ſtill tinged with the blood of the " father and huſband, which he ſhed, to the ſhame indeed of thoſe " who delivered up Chundaſaheb to him, but to the ſhame likewiſe " of the commander of the Engliſh army, who ought not to have ſuf- " fered ſuch a barbarity to have been committed in his camp."— " Being himſelf confined by the cartel in the declaration which he " is now making to Mr. Coote, Mr. Lally conſents that the mem- " bers of the council of Pondicherry make their own repreſentations, " on what may more immediately concern their particular intereſts, " and thoſe of the colony."

Father Lavaur and the other deputies preſented another memorial, drawn up by the governor and the council of Pondicherry, containing the following requiſitions. " That no hurt ſhould be " done to the inhabitants; their houſes be preſerved, their effects " and mercantile goods left to their own diſpoſal: that all who " choſe might remain in their habitations, and were to be con- " ſidered as Britiſh ſubjects, and enjoy their former poſſeſſions and " advantages. In their favour the Roman Catholic religion was " to be maintained; the churches, the houſes of the eccleſiaſtics, " and the religious orders, whether within or without the city, to be " preſerved with every thing belonging to them; the miſſionaries free " to go and come, and receive under the Engliſh flag the ſame pro- " tection as they had under the French." " No buildings or edifices, " and no part of the fortifications, were to be demoliſhed, until the " deciſion of the reſpective ſovereigns." — " The records in the " regiſter-office, on which the fortunes of individuals depend, were " to remain under the care of the preſent depoſitaries, and be ſent " to France, at their diſcretion."—" Not only the inhabitants who " were French, but of whatſoever other nation eſtabliſhed at Pon- " dicherry for their commerce, were to participate of theſe con- " ditions."—" The Creoles of Bourbon and Mauritius, of whom " the number, including five officers, are 41, having ſerved only as " volunteers, ſhall have liberty to return home by the firſt oppor-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January.

" tunity."— " Safeguards were to be furniſhed to prevent diſorders." " And all theſe conditions were to be executed with good faith."

Colonel Coote gave an anſwer in writing to Mr. Lally's memorial, ſignifying, that " the particulars of the capture of Chandernagore " were before his Britannic Majeſty, which precluded him from " entering into any diſcuſſion on this ſubject, neither could he admit " that it had any relation to the ſurrender of Pondicherry." " That " the diſpute which had ariſen concerning the cartel remained as yet " undecided, by which it was out of his power to conſent that the " troops in Pondicherry ſhould be deemed priſoners on the terms " of that cartel; but that they muſt ſurrender priſoners of war, to " be treated at his diſcretion, which ſhould not be deficient in hu- " manity." " That the gates of the town and citadel ſhould be " taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh troops at the hours propoſed by " Mr. Lally." " That the mother and ſiſters of Rajahſaheb ſhould " be eſcorted to Madraſs, where proper care ſhould be taken for " their ſafety, and that they ſhould not on any account be delivered " into the hands of the Nabob Mahomedally." To the other deputies Colonel Coote only ſaid, that their propoſitions were anſwered in his anſwer to Mr. Lally: they returned into the town at midnight.

The next morning, it was the 16th of January, the grenadiers of Coote's regiment marched from the camp, and took poſſeſſion of the Villenore gate. Colonel Coote dined with Mr. Lally; who, apprehenſive of tumult or diſorders, conſented that the citadel ſhould be delivered up in the evening, that the ſoldiers might be put under confinement before night. Accordingly more troops marched in from the camp; and in the afternoon the garriſon drew up under arms on the parade before the citadel, and the Engliſh troops facing them; Colonel Coote then reviewed the line, which, excluſive of commiſſioned officers, invalids, and others who had hid themſelves, amounted to 1100, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue, or diſeaſe. The grenadiers of Lorrain and Lally, once the ableſt bodied men in the army, appeared the moſt impaired, having conſtantly put themſelves forward to every ſervice; and it was recollected, that from their firſt landing,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

landing, throughout all the ſervices of the field, and all the diſtreſſes of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deſerted to the Engliſh army. The victor ſoldier gave his ſigh (which none but banditti could refuſe) to this ſolemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own. The French troops, after they were reviewed, marched into the citadel, where they depoſited their arms in heaps, and were then conducted to their priſons. 1761. January.

The next morning the Engliſh flag was hoiſted in the town, and its diſplay was received by the ſalute of a thouſand pieces of cannon, from every gun of every ſhip in the road, in all the Engliſh poſts and batteries, the field-artillery of the line, and on the ramparts and defences of Pondicherry.

The ſurrender was inevitable, for at the ſcanty rate of the wretched proviſions, to which the garriſon had for ſome time been reduced, there did not remain ſufficient to ſupply them two days more. Neverthelefs the deteſtation againſt Mr. Lally, if poſſible, increaſed, as the ſole author of the calamity, and, no longer reſtrained by his authority, broke out in the moſt vindictive expreſſions of menace and reproach. The third day after the ſurrender was appointed for his departure to Madraſs. In the forenoon of this day a troop of officers, moſtly of the French company's battalion, went up the ſteps of the government houſe, towards his apartments, where they were met by his aid de camp, whom they inſulted; and were diſperſed by the guard, which came up on the quarrel. This troop then aſſembled and waited below at the gate of the citadel until one o'clock. Mr. Lally did not move until the cloſe of the day; his eſcort was 15 Engliſh huſſars, and four troopers of his own guard; he came out in his palankin, and at the gate were gathered a hundred perſons, moſtly officers, with them the counſellors Moracin and Courtin. As ſoon as Mr. Lally appeared, a hue was ſet up by the whole aſſembly, hiſſes, pointing, threats, and every abuſive name; but the eſcort prevented violence. Mr. Dubois, the King's commiſſary, who was to proceed with Mr. Lally, came out of the fort an hour after, but on foot; the ſame aſſembly had continued on the parade, and ſhowered the ſame abuſes. Dubois

ſtopt,

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January. ſtopt, and ſaid he would anſwer any one. One Defer ſtept out, they drew, and the ſecond paſs laid Dubois dead, who was 60 years of age, ſhort-ſighted, and always wore ſpectacles. No one would aſſiſt his ſervants to remove and bury the corpſe; and his death, violent and iniquitous as it was, was treated as a meritorous act: his papers were immediately taken poſſeſſion of by the regiſter. It was known, that he had, ever ſince his arrival at Pondicherry, compoſed proteſts on the part of the King againſt all the diſorders and irregularities which came to his knowledge in any of the departments of the government, and the collection was very voluminous; but none of his papers have ever appeared.

The total number of the European military taken in the town, including ſervices attached to the troops, was 2072; the civil inhabitants were 381; the artillery fit for ſervice were 500 pieces of cannon, and 100 mortars and howits. The ammunition, arms, weapons, and military ſtores, were in equal abundance.

On the 4th day after the ſurrender, Mr. Pigot demanded of Colonel Coote, that Pondicherry ſhould be delivered over to the Preſidency of Madraſs, as having become the property of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company. A council of war, compoſed of the two admirals, and four poſt-captains of the ſquadron, Colonel Coote and three Majors of the king's troops, aſſembled, to deliberate on this demand; and required the authority on which it was made. Mr. Pigot inſiſted on the king's patent, dated the 14th of January 1758, which regulates the Company's ſhare and title to captures. The council of war deemed the patent incompetent to the pretenſion. Mr. Pigot, as the ſhorteſt way, declared, that if Pondicherry were not delivered, the Preſidency of Madraſs would not furniſh money either for the ſubſiſtence of the King's troops, or the French priſoners. This concluſion barred all farther argument, for neither the Admiral, nor the commander of the King's troops, were authorized to draw bills on the government in England for ſuch a contingency. The council of war, therefore, ſubmitted to the requiſition, but proteſted againſt the inſult it conveyed againſt the King's prerogative, and declared the Preſidency reſponſible for the conſequences.

During

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January.

During this diſcuſſion, Colonel Coote detached eight companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Stephen Smith, to inveſt the forts of Gingee; and a convoy of military ſtores were ſent from the camp to Major Preſton, who was continuing the blockade of Thiagar.

The Nabob requeſted and expected that the army, after the neceſſary repoſe, would accompany him againſt ſuch chiefs and feudatories, whom he wiſhed or had pretenſions to call to account, either for contempts of his authority, or for tributes unſettled, or withheld. He had not forgiven the rebellion of his half-brother Nazeabulla of Nelore. His indignation had never ceaſed againſt Mortizally, the Kellidar of Velore, who, as well as the three greater Polygars to the north, and of Arielore, and Woriorepollam to the ſouth, were ſuſpected of hidden treaſures; ſtill more the greater and leſſer Moravars; and the king of Tanjore, wealthier than all, ſcarcely conſidered the Nabob as his ſuperior.

But the Preſidency had other attentions to regard; their treaſury and credit was exhauſted in the reduction of Pondicherry; the care of 2500 French priſoners required ſtrong guards and no little expence. Bengal was engaged in hoſtilities, wanted troops, and could ſend no money. Bombay had extended its military concerns by the acquiſition of the caſtle of Surat in the beginning of the year 1759, which had induced the neceſſity of other important attentions in that part of the continent; and they were at this time earneſtly requeſting the return of all the troops they had ſent to Coromandel. The factory at Tellichery likewiſe adviſed, that they intended to ſtop the troops which were juſt arrived and expected in the ſhips from England, and waited only the orders of their ſuperiors at Bombay to attack the French ſettlement at Mahe, in which ſervice they requeſted what aſſiſtance could be ſpared from Coromandel. It was ſtill uncertain what was become of the French ſquadron; the Engliſh ſquadron wanted their marines, and were enjoined a ſecret ſervice from England, in which Madraſs was to aſſiſt. Theſe views and conſiderations appeared to the Preſidency of more immediate importance than the indulgence of the triumphal notions which ſwelled the

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. January. the mind of the Nabob, whoſe joy at the reduction of Pondicherry, although the arſenal which had forged all the anxieties of his life, was immediately imbittered by this interruption to the future conqueſts he had ſo near at heart: and, unwilling to continue in the Carnatic without the entire predominance of his authority, he retired as it were in diſguſt with victory to Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of February.

February. Four hundred of the French priſoners were ſent to Madraſs, and the Highlanders, ſix companies, with ſome artillery-men, and four companies of Sepoys, marched thither to reinforce the garriſon; 200 were ſent to Tritchinopoly under the eſcort of 100 Europeans, and ſome Sepoys. The reſt of the priſoners remained in the dungeons of Pondicherry, until they could be otherwiſe diſpoſed of; and 300 Europeans, including the pioneer company, and 50 artillery-men, with the troop of European horſe, and four companies of Sepoys, were appointed to garriſon the town. The troops from Bombay, being 120 of the king's artillery, and 190 common infantry, belonging to that preſidency, embarked in two ſhips to return thither; the marines were reſtored to the ſquadron; the reſt of the army went into cantonments at Cuddalore.

The court of France had inſtructed Mr. Lally to deſtroy the maritime poſſeſſions of the Engliſh nation in India, which might fall to their arms. Theſe inſtructions had been intercepted; and, in conſequence of them, the court of Directors of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company had ordered their Preſidencies to retaliate the ſame meaſure on the French ſettlements, whenever in their power. Accordingly Mr. Pigot, with the approbation of the council of Madraſs, reſolved to demoliſh the fortifications of Pondicherry; and as Mr. Stevens ſignified his intention to repair forthwith to Bombay, in order to refit his ſquadron, the demolition was commenced without delay, leſt a French armament ſhould arrive during their abſence, and recover the town, whilſt the fortifications remained in a condition to afford any advantage in maintaining it.

Mr. Stevens ſailed on the 23d of February, with all the ſhips, eleven of the line, and two frigates. They took away 400 of the priſoners

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

in Pondicherry, all of the regiments of Lorrain and Lally, to be confined at Bombay, or ſent to Europe as opportunities ſhould offer. As Mr. Stevens intended to aid, if neceſſary, in the attack of Mahé, the Preſidency ſent 50 of the company's artillery, and three of their engineers in the ſquadron. 1761. February.

Mahé is ſituated four miles to the ſouth of Tellicherry. The fort and town ſtand not far from the beach of the ſea, along the ſouth ſide of a river, which admits ſmall veſſels. Several hills riſe near the town, and on the two neareſt on the ſame ſide of the river are built two ſmall forts, and a much larger, called St. George, on a hill on the other ſide. The ſettlement preſides over all belonging to the French company on this ſide of the peninſula, excepting their factory at Surat. Theſe dependencies are five forts to the north of Tellicherry, and a factory houſe at Calicut.

The five ſhips from England had landed the troops at Tellicherry by the 5th of January; but from the length of the paſſage to and fro, the permiſſion from Bombay to attack Mahé did not arrive before the beginning of February; and with it the preſidency ſent one of their cruizers, and a bomb-ketch to aſſiſt; as none of the ſhips had been detained. The delay had given Mr. Louet, the governor of Mahé, time to make treaties for aſſiſtance with ſeveral of the neighbouring chiefs of the country, with whom the ſettlement had long been in commerce; and they promiſed and ſwore to aſſiſt efficaciouſly, as againſt a common enemy. The aid was much wanted, for the European military, on whom the ſtreſs of the defence was to reſt, did not exceed 100, and even they, from the general neceſſity of the French company's affairs, had not received their pay for ſeveral months, and miſſed no opportunity of deſerting. The black troops belonging to the company, were a thouſand.

The troops at Tellicherry marched out and encamped on the 8th of February on the limits of Mahé. Their numbers, for the garriſon took the field, amounted to 900 Europeans, and 700 natives; they were commanded by major Hector Munro, who determined to direct his firſt attack againſt Fort St. George, on the hither ſide of the river.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. February. All the ſolicitations of Mr. Louet were of no avail, when his allies ſaw the Engliſh troops taking the field, and were apprized of their numbers; they did not ſend a man; and before day-break the next morning, he diſpatched a letter to Mr. Hodges, the chief of Tellicherry, propoſing terms of capitulation, on which Major Munro was ordered not to commence hoſtilities. Agents ſent to explain doubts and objections, continued going to and fro until the morning of the 13th, when the capitulation was ſigned. It was agreed, that all the European military ſhould be tranſported at the expence of the Engliſh, either to the iſland of Bourbon, or to Europe, and when landed there, to be free. The effects, artillery, and military ſtores, belonging to the French company, were to be ſurrendered, but the effects and poſſeſſions of individuals were to be preſerved to them entire, without moleſtation in the uſe. The free exerciſe of the Roman religion was to be permitted as before the ſurrender; the prieſts on no account were to be vexed, nor the churches or religious edifices impaired. The forts to the northward of Tellicherry were to be given up on the ſame conditions as Mahé, and the factory at Calicut was to continue unmoleſted under the uſual neutrality of that town: ample honours of war were allowed to the garriſon. Five hnndred men under the command of Major Peers marched into Mahé at noon; and ſoon after, the garriſon were eſcorted with their honours to Tellicherry. A detachment was then prepared under the command of Major Monro, to take in the forts to the northward, which it was ſuſpected might diſpute the terms of capitulation provided for them. The news of the ſurrender of Mahé arrived at Madraſs on the 3d of March.

Captain Stephen Smith, as ſoon as encamped before Gingee, ſummoned Macgregor, the commanding officer, who anſwered, that if he had brought one hundred thouſand men, the forts would not be reduced in three years. The troops encamped to the eaſt oppoſite to the outward pettah on the plain, which, although it it had a mud wall, was of much leſs defence than the inward town, which ſtands on higher ground, nearly in the center of the triangular valley, extending between the three mountains. The valley

is

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

is encloſed on the three ſides by a ſtrong wall with towers of ſtone, which have a ditch before them, excepting in ſuch parts where the rocks render it unneceſſary; but the wall continues up the mountains, and ſurrounds the three forts, connecting them with each other. Beſides this exterior encloſure, the interior and higher defences run double round the two forts to the eaſt; and the great mountain to the weſt, which is the principal fortification, has four encloſures, one below another towards the town in the valley, but of different ſpaces and elevations; and the higheſt is a ſteep rock in the north-weſt part of the third encloſure above the valley; this far overtops all the mountains, and in the fort on its ſummit, although ſmall, is a continual ſpring of water. The extent of wall in all the fortifications meaſures more than 12000 yards; to defend which the French had only 150 Europeans, topaſſes, or coffrees, 600 Sepoys, and 1000 natives of the adjoining hills, whom they called colleries. But they ſuppoſed the forts on the mountains to be impregnable, and that the town below would not be attempted, becauſe, if taken, the troops which were to maintain it, would be continually ſubject to the fire of the defences above. 1761. February.

The wall on the eaſt ſide of the valley extends 1200 yards from the mountain of St. George on the right, to the Engliſh mountain on the left, and nearly in the middle paſſeth along the ſide of a heap of rocks on which the French had raiſed a work, which they called the royal battery; under which on the right towards the mountain of St. George ſtood a gateway oppoſite to the outward pettah in the plain: but the pettah extended only from this mountain to the rocks of the battery.

Obſervation and deſerters (of whom ſeveral came every day) apprized Captain Smith of the ſtate of the garriſon and defences, and that the garriſon remained in perfect ſecurity as well in the town below, as in the forts above. On the night between the 2d and third of February, he marched from his camp with 600 Sepoys, in two diviſions, of which the foremoſt, 200, carried a ſufficient number of ſcaling ladders, and the others were to ſupport when called for. They left the north wall of the pettah on the left, but paſſed

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. February. through the intervals of ſome houſes, which adjoined to it and brought them oppoſite to the middle of that part of the wall of the valley which extends between the royal battery and the Engliſh mountain. They croſſed the ditch, placed their ladders, and got over the wall unchallenged: the object was now to get poſſeſſion of the gate on the other ſide of the royal battery; but the rocks on which it ſtood extended backwards to the firſt houſes of the town, and it was neceſſary to go through the firſt ſtreet leading acroſs, in order to paſs beyond the rear of the rocks and gain an avenue of trees, which led down to the gateway: they proceeded even quite through the ſtreet unperceived; but, as they were coming down the avenue, were challenged and diſcovered by the guard of the gateway, who fired; which alarmed the other ſtations in the town, but with ſo much confuſion, that Captain Smith gave no attention to it, but haſtened to the gateway, from which he diſperſed the guard at the puſh of bayonet, and opening the gate let in the other diviſion of 400 Sepoys, who were halting not far off in the neareſt ſhelter, and with them took poſſeſſion of the royal battery. It was now three in the morning, and Smith waited for day light to drive the enemy out of the town, who retired before; ſome to St. George's, others to the Engliſh mountain, but moſt of them into the encloſure next the town towards the great mountain, where they continued firing from the adjacent rampart throughout the next day upon the guards which were advanced and ſtationed in the houſes of the town; and cannon from all the hills continually plunged down, whereſoever they ſaw or ſuſpected any of the Engliſh troops; but with little effect. In the enſuing night the enemy's troops, who had retired to the ſecond encloſure, left it, and retreated to the higher defences of the great mountain.

On intelligence of this ſucceſs 1000 more Sepoys were ſent to Smith, who as the town was very unhealthy, continued more than one half of his force in the encampment on the plain. The deſertion continued, and amongſt them came a very experienced Jemautdar of the Sepoys, who profered to lead a party by a path he knew to ſurprize the forts on St. George's mountain: he was truſted, and

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

the next night 200 Sepoys marched under his guidance. We are not apprized of their track, but ſuppoſe they proceeded from the camp and went up on the outſide of the mountain to the ſouth, to the enclоſure of the outward rock which is 80 feet higher than thoſe beneath. They fixed their ladders, and got over the wall before they were diſcovered, and ſeized 8 Europeans, but the reſt of the guard eſcaped to the enclоſures below; where all continued very alert until day-light, when an officer came down to capitulate, and demanded very liberal terms; but captain Smith knowing that they were at any time in his power, by ſending more men up to the rock above them, refuſed to accept the ſurrender, excepting at diſcretion; to which they conſented. They were 42 Europeans, of whom ſix were officers, and 70 Sepoys. A large ſtock of proviſions was found in the forts of this mountain, by which it was concluded, that thoſe in the two others were equally as well provided; and no enquiry gave hopes that either of theſe fortreſſes could be taken by ſurprize, and ſtill leſs by open attack. It therefore remained to try if time might produce the ſucceſs which was not to be expected either from force or fortune. 1761. February.

The ſame day that the mountain of St. George ſurrendered to captain Smith, the important fortreſs of Thiagar capitulated to Major Preſton, after a blockade and bombardment of 65 days, during which, above 40 Europeans had deſerted to him from the rock, 20 had been killed or died, 25 lay wounded in the hoſpital, and 114 rank and file, with twelve officers, were in a condition to march, ſo that the whole number of Europeans which had been ſhut up were upwards of 200, with 300 Sepoys, and 100 Coffrees; they had proviſions for two months longer; and the water, which gave the principal value to the fort, continued as uſual in plenty, and of a good quality. Nevertheleſs, the commanding officer only ſtipulated that the garriſon ſhould receive the ſame treatment as the troops taken in Pondicherry; according to which the officers were to be ſent to Europe upon parole, not to ſerve again during the preſent war, and the Europeans of rank and file were to be treated at diſcretion; and they were ſent to be confined with thoſe already in the priſons of Tritchi-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. February.

Tritchinopoly; but the Sepoys and Coffrees being excellent were taken into the Company's ſervice.

In the mean time, the detachment from Tillecherry was proſecuting the reduction of the dependencies of Mahe. The firſt is called Fort Delhi, ſituated on the ſtrand of a promontory called Mount Delhi, which is a remarkable head-land ten miles to the north of Tellicherry; four miles further on is the mouth of the river of Neliſerum, which, deſcending from the mountains to the eaſt, turns ſhort many miles above, and continues parallel to the beach of the ſea, from which it is no where a mile aſunder; a mile and a half up this river on the left hand, and on the mouth of another, ſtands Ramatilly, which is a ſmall fort; on the ſame ſide, five miles beyond, is the fort of Mattalavy, which ſtands ſtrong on a rocky eminence: ſeven miles farther, on the N. ſide of the mouth of another river, is the fort of Neleſerum, which is much larger; and ſix miles up this river, to the eaſt, and on its left ſhore, ſtands the fifth fort, which is ſmall, and called Veramaly. Fort Delhi, Neliſerum and Ramatilly were garriſoned by French troops, but the government of Mahé had delivered up the other two in pledge for debt to two chiefs of the country, who were determined not to part with them until compenſated; and as they equally commanded the rivers, which were the channels of traffick, the other three would be of no ſervice, if the two continued in hoſtility. Delhi and Ramatilly ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, but at Mattalavy were aſſembled a large body of Naires, whoſe bravery is always deſperate. The two ſhips from Pondicherry, which were carrying back the Bombay troops, were at this time working up the coaſt of Malabar, and had paſſed beyond the river of Neliſerum; and Major Monro, finding more reſiſtance than he expecteed in his expedition, ſent after them for artillery-men and cannon, which came, and two batteries were erected againſt Mattalavy: but the ſettlement of Tellicherry had in the mean time been negotiating with the two chiefs who were in poſſeſſion of Matalavy and Veramally, who conſented to ſurrender them on condition of receiving an annual fine, which for both amounted to 3000 rupees. As ſoon as theſe forts

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

forts were delivered, the French garriſon at Neliſerum, which did not exceed 20 Europeans, ſubmitted without reſiſtance. 1761. April.

On the 5th of April, Captain Stephen Smith received a propoſal from Captain Macgregor, who commanded in the great mountain of Gingee, that he would capitulate, if his garriſon were allowed the honours of war, the rank and file to be ſent to Europe by the firſt opportunity as priſoners liable to exchange, but the officers permitted to retire, with their arms, baggage and effects, to any of the neutral ſettlements on the coaſt, where they were to be ſubſiſted according to their ranks at the expence of the Engliſh company, who were likewiſe to defray their paſſage to Europe. Three hundred of the Engliſh Sepoys had already died in the town, and in the mountain of St. George, from the peculiar inclemency of the air, which has always been deemed the moſt unhealthy in the Carnatic, inſomuch that the French, who never until lately kept more than 100 Europeans here, had loſt 1200 in the ten years during which it had been in their poſſeſſion. Captain Smith, therefore, very readily accepted the terms, and in the afternoon the garriſons marched out of the two mountains. They were 12 officers, and 100 rank and file, Europeans, coffrees, and topaſſes, and 40 laſcars for the artillery, which were 30 pieces of cannon and ſome mortars. A paſſport and ſafeguard was allowed to a moor of diſtinction, who had long reſided in the great mountain.

This day terminated the long conteſted hoſtilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a ſingle enſign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its government in any part of India; for the troops which had gone away to Myſore, were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers ſeeking fortune and ſubſiſtence. In Bengal they had not a ſingle agent or repreſentative, and their factories at Surat and Calicut were meer trading houſes on ſufferance. Thus after a war of 15 years, which commenced with the expedition of Delabourdonnais againſt Madraſs in 1746, and had continued from that time with ſcarcely the intermiſſion of one year, was retaliated the ſame meaſure of extirpation, which had been intended, and invariably purſued, by the French councils againſt the Engliſh commerce and power; for ſuch, as is avowed.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. avowed in the French memoirs on the events we have related, was the object of Delabourdonnais' expedition, of the whole government and ambition of Dupleix, and of the great armament of naval and land forces, which accompanied Mr. Lally to India, who conſtantly declared, that he had but one point, which was, not to leave an Engliſhman in the peninſula. To retard as much as poſſible the facility of their re-eſtabliſhment in Coromandel, if reſtorations ſhould be made at the concluſion of a general peace, Mr. Pigot laid a repreſentation before the council of Madraſs, which determined them to deſtroy all the interior buildings, as well as the fortifications of Pondicherry, of which the demolition was by this time nearly completed: and in a few months more, not a roof was left ſtanding in this once fair andflouriſhing city.

For two years before, the fortune of France had been declining in every other part of the world; they had loſt their ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, half their weſt india iſlands, the whole region of Canada; their naval force was utterly ruined, and their armies were ſtruggling under defeats in Germany. The loſs of India, as a laſt hope, excited the public indignation more than any of the former diſaſters, which was ſo far from producing any reconciliation amongſt the amenable, that it only ſharpened their vengeance againſt each other. Mr. Lally, on his arrival, formally accuſed Mr. De Leyrit, Mr. Buſſy, Mr. Moracin and Courtin, of having wilfully conſpired the ruin of the French affairs from their averſion to himſelf, as appointed by the King to inveſtigate and correct the abuſes of the government of Pondicherry. Of 200 perſons who were either arrived or returning from hence, not more than 20 were in habits or connections with Mr. Lally; all the others, revolted by the exceſſes of his temper, or the ſeverity of his authority, bore him either ſecret grudge, or avowed hatred; all theſe became voluntary partizans with Mr. De Leyrit and the council, whoſe reſolutions were conducted at Paris, as they had been at Pondicherry, by the jeſuit Lavaur. Their firſt ſtep in public was to preſent a manifeſt to the comptroller-general, in exculpation of themſelves, and accuſing Mr. Lally of miſconduct under nine different heads, which, as they ſaid, proved more than incapacity;

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

incapacity; and in Auguſt 1762, they petitioned the King to vindicate themſelves juridically from the accuſations of Mr. Lally; who ſome months after was confined in the Baſtile. In June 1763, father Lavaur died; this jeſuit had compoſed in India two memoirs, the one a juſtification and panegyrick, the other a defamatory impeachment of every part of Mr. Lally's conduct. Arguments taken from this piece were occaſionally ſupplied to propagate the public antipathy, but it had never been authentically publiſhed. As Lavaur was rated as an evidence, his papers were taken poſſeſſion of by the officers of juſtice, and amongſt them this libel was found. Lavaur, as if ruined by the loſs of Pondicherry, had petitioned the government for a ſmall penſion of ſubſiſtence; and it was diſcovered that he died poſſeſſed of 60,000 pounds in gold, diamonds, and bills of exchange. This hypocriſy, with the frauds of another jeſuit, who managed the weſtern miſſions, conduced not a little to the expulſion of the order; but full attention was given to the memoir of Lavaur, and from its documents the attorney general inſerted the charge of high treaſon, which deprived Mr. Lally of the aſſiſtance of counſel. After he had been confined 18 months, the deponents in the proceſs were brought before him, and he permitted to interrogate them before the recorder. The number of facts depoſed againſt him amounted to one hundred and ſixty, for every violent or unguarded expreſſion during the courſe of his government and ill ſucceſs was admitted. The number of witneſſes muſt likewiſe have been many, for Mr. Lally oppoſed ſtrong reproaches of incompetency to thirty-four of them. The recorder was the ſame, who had given the moſt ſanguinary judgment ever pronounced in France againſt a young man of family; and Mr. Lally, with his uſual indiſcretion and intemperance, aggravated the ſeverity of his character, by treating him with haughtineſs and contempt during the diſcharge of his office. Eighteen months paſſed in the confrontation and interrogatories, when the final deciſion was to be made by the whole parliament of Paris, which is compoſed of 120 members. It muſt be left to conjecture, how many of them went regularly through the immenſe volume

1761. April.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1760. 1761. April. of records from which they were to form their judgement, and how few perſevered in comparing and combining this multitude of depoſitions with one another, in a ſubject ſo new to them, whether as military operations by land and ſea, or as tranſactions in a ſtrange land, of which they were now to learn the cuſtoms, manners, climate, and geography. Nevertheleſs with due attention, much of this knowledge, and of the cauſe itſelf, might be acquired from the memoirs publiſhed not long before the deciſion, by Mr. D'Aché, Soupires, Buſſy, and of Mr. Deleyrit, who was dead, but publiſhed by his heirs, with ſeveral others of leſſer note and importance; and from the more copious juſtifications of Mr. Lally, written by himſelf, with the ſame unconquered ſpirit of invective againſt his enemies, as had brought on him the combination of accuſations, on which the juriſprudence of his country was now to pronounce. But none of theſe publications alledged, nor did any evidence aſſert any fact, to warrant the ſentence of his judges, who muſt therefore have been led by the report of the recorder to condemn him to be beheaded, as duly attainted and convicted of having betrayed the intereſts of the King, the ſtate, and the Eaſt India company; of abuſe of authority, vexations, and exactions, upon the ſubjects of the King, and ſtrangers reſident in Pondicherry. Before the ſentence was made known, he had been diveſted in the preſence of the court of his military orders, and declared degraded of his military rank, in conſequence of which he was removed from the Baſtile, as a more honourable confinement, to the common priſon of criminals. Here in the morning of the 9th of May, 1766, his ſentence was read to him; he threw up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, Is this the reward of 45 years ſervice! and ſnatching a pair of compaſſes, which lay with maps on his table, ſtruck it to his breaſt, but it did not pierce to his heart; he then gave looſe to every execration againſt his judges and accuſers. His ſcaffold was prepared, and his execution appointed for the ſame afternoon: to prevent him from ſpeaking to the ſpectators, a large gag was put into his mouth before he was taken out of priſon, when he was carried in a common cart, and beheaded on the Greve. He periſhed in the 65th year of his age.

If

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. April.

If abuſe of authority, vexations, and exactions, are not capital in the juriſprudence of France, they ought not to have been inſerted, as efficacious, in the ſentence of death. The betraying of intereſts required that the intention of ruining them ſhould be proved by inconteſtable facts; but Mr. Lally neither gave intelligence to the Engliſh, of which they could take advantage, nor led or commanded his troops to ſervices of deſtruction without the probability of advantage from their efforts, nor received bribes to influence the general plan of his conduct. The invective of his declaration to Colonel Coote, when offering to ſurrender, ſhews how little favour he expected from the Engliſh government; and he had perſonally offended Mr. Pigot in his correſpondence. Nevertheleſs, the imputation of having ſold Pondicherry, opened the cry againſt him in France. Mr. D'Eſtaign and Crillon depoſed honourably of him. Nor was the ſentence of his judges unanimous. Mr. Siguier, admired for his eloquence, and Mr. Pellot, for his application and the clearneſs of his underſtanding, declared their conviction of his innocence; another of his judges acknowledged, that he was not condemned on any particular fact, but on the whole together. Mr. Voltaire, who had well conſidered the cauſe, has not ſcrupled to call his death a murder committed with the ſword of juſtice.

Mr. Lally conſtantly claimed the right of having his military conduct tried by a board of general officers. They would have ſeen his errors with diſcernment, and weighed them with impartiality. That the recall of Mr. Buſſy from Salabadjing, and the ſubſtituting the inſufficient abilities of Mr. Conflans, produced the loſs of Maſulipatam and the northern provinces. That the ſiege of Madraſs was wrong in the intention, and equally defective in the execution; but that Mr. Lally expected no abler reſiſtance here than he had met at Fort St. David. That the ſeparation of the army, by the large detachment ſent to Seringham, which enabled the Engliſh to extend their barrier to the ſouth of the Paliar by the acquiſition of Vandivaſh and Carangoly, was contrary to the ſound principles of war; but that the motive was, the hope of relieving the want of

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

1761. April. money, and the diſtreſs for proviſions. That the attempt to retake Vandivaſh, reduced Mr. Lally to the neceſſity of receiving battle, which as the Engliſh were ſeeking, he ought to have avoided; but that he had reaſon to expect greater induſtry and ſpirit in the artillery, officers, and engineers, who might have breached the place in half the time. Whether, after this battle, Pondicherry might have been better ſtored, or whether the proviſions collected were injudiciouſly diſpoſed of, would, after all witneſſes, have remained a deciſion of doubt.

The troops which arrived with Colonel Coote in November 1759, with his immediate activity in the reduction of Vandivaſh and Carangoly, brought the war nearly to an equality; which juſtified him in riſquing the battle for the relief of Vandivaſh, although he fought it with the inexplicit diſapprobation of the preſidency in his pocket; but his diſpoſitions had ſecured reſources againſt miſchance. Before this important ſucceſs, the views of no one had extended to the reduction of Pondicherry: but inſtantly after, all were impreſſed with the firmeſt perſuaſion of this termination of the war. This fortunate confidence led to the moſt vigorous counſels. Nothing, it was reaſoned, if all advantages are taken, can ſave Pondicherry, excepting the arrival of their ſquadron in force ſufficient to cope with the Engliſh; or the lucky introduction of troops and money by diviſions of their ſhips, if the whole do not venture: whatſoever is gained in the mean time will require ſo much effort to recover, ſhould the enemy be reinforced; and if they are not, will be ſo much accompliſhed towards the ultimate object. The enterprizing ſagacity of Colonel Coote loſt no time in diſcovering and taking every advantage. The preſidency ſeconded his operations by the expedition to Karical, and in ſupplies to the field; the garriſon of Tritchinopoly by their activity; the detachment to the weſtward by its vigilance; the army by their zeal on all occaſions. Colonel Coote, by conſtantly expoſing his own perſon with the Sepoys, had brought them to ſuſtain dangerous ſervices, from which the Europeans were preſerved. By this oeconomy, and the reinforcements from England and Bombay, if the armament ſo much announced had arrived, and landed a

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

greater force than France had ever before ſent to India, the Engliſh on the day of the ſurrender of Pondicherry, were in a condition to have given them battle, if they had choſen it, under their very walls. 1761. April.

Colonel Coote embarked on the 13th of March, leaving his regiment to follow; and with him, our narrative returns to the affairs of Bengal.

END *of the* THIRTEENTH BOOK,

AND OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ERRATA,

Thoſe marked with an aſteriſk, are errors or over-ſights of the Author.

SECTION THE FIRST.

Page.	Line.	
3	3	*for* Sagor, *read* Sagore.
7	29	*dele one* m *in* Mahommedan.
8	12	*for* Emperar, *read* Emperor.
15	26	*before* government, *inſert* the.
37	16	*for* Behar, *read* Berar.
57	18	*for* even, *read* ever.
59	1	*after* more *put* a comma.
98	29	*dele one of the* ats.
101	ult	*for* Decan, *read* Duan.
107	24	*before* happened, *inſert* had.
. .	. .	*for* hapened, *read* happened.
142	4	*before* mounted, *inſert* were.
151	9	*for* Lattee, *read* Latty.
166	6	*before* his, *inſert* by.
*190	27	*for* Bahar, *read* Bhar.
210	14	*for* Mahomet, *read* Mahomed.
218	32	*for* factoty, *read* factory.
*231	12	*for* ſix, *read* ten.
*245	31	*for* Timary, *read* Timery.
*248	4	*for* weſtern, *read* eaſtern.
—	11	*for* eaſtward, *read* weſtward.
*249	23	*for* N. W. *read* N.
*256	11	*before* brambles, *inſtead of* thick, *read* ſtrong.
284	3	*for* Behar, *read* Bahar.
—	26	idem. idem.
—	31	*after* Nabob *inſert* a comma.
313	26	*dele* the, *the laſt word in the line.*
315	31	*for* Mattaver, *read* Matlavar.
316	2	idem. idem.
	29	*after* came, *inſert* a comma.
322	13	*after* enemy for: *put* ;
*332	17	*for* all at equal diſtance, *read* as the line admitted.
337	2	*for* Arcelore, *read* Arielore.
*352	26	*for* proceed *read* return.

SECTION

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ERRATA.

Thoſe marked with an aſteriſk, are errors or over-ſights of the Author.

SECTION THE SECOND.

Page.	Line.	
*367	3	*for* Rangarow, *read* Kiſtnarow.
*369	2	*for* Chinglapet, *read* that place.
400	18	*dele* of thoſe.
*401	19	*for* Sidapte. *read* Sidapet, *and put after it* ;
*409	6	*for* right, *read* left,
*424	13	*for* Gopaulharry, *read* Gopaulrow; *he went by both names*
*—	14	idem. idem.
—	22	*for* Trivalore, *read* Tripaſſore.
430	28	*dele* comma *after* ſeeing.
*436	21	*for* palliſado, *read* palliſade.
437	18	*for* Achempettah, *read* Aimapettah.
468	25	*dele the* comma *after* Tinivelly.
469	30	*dele the* comma *after* diſtricts.
475	29	*for* diſtance *read* deſiſtance.
494	3	*dele the* comma *after* Paliar.
—	8	*for* with, *read* without.
*498	4	*for* Tri Permadore, *read* Stree Permadore; *though both prevail.*
502	10	*for* Abdulwahad, *read* Abdulwahab.
*512	28	*for* 56, *read* 50.
527	8	*before* which, *inſert* on.
*540	3	*for* left, *read* right.
*562	4	*for* eaſtern, *read* weſtern.
564	29	*before* recovered, *inſert* who.
587	3	*after* ſide, *put* a comma.
593	7	*for* ramparts, *read* ramps.
*601	21	*for* left, *read* poſted.
609	9	*for* requſting, *read* requeſting.
621	21	*for* lain, *read* laid.
626	5	*for* Villaperum, *read* Villaparum.
634	28	*after* iſland, *inſtead of* , *put* ;
641	ult.	*for* arival, *read* arrival.
645	penult.	*for* Ouglaree, *read* Oulgarry.
*660	6	*for* 1400, *read* 1100.
*662	24	*for* error, *read* miſtake.
674	4	*after* of, *inſert* the.
*—	18	*for* eaſt, *read* north.
*682	2	*for* attack, *read* diviſion.
691	18	*for* 14th *read* 4th.

DIREC-

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

DIRECTIONS for the placing and reference of the MAPS.

SECTION THE FIRST.

The Countries of Indoſtan, Eaſt of Delhi, by Major James Rennell, Page 1.
Plan of Calcutta, 1756, Page 61.
Calcutta as in 1756, Page 71.
Bengal and Bahar, Page 119.
Territory of Calcutta, 1757, Page 134.
The Countries of Coromandel, from the Coleroon to Cape Comorin, Page 105.
Trinomalee, Page 247.
Thiagar, Page 248.
Elevation of a Polygar's Fort, in the northern provinces, Page 255.
Vizagapatam, in 1758, Page 261.
Fort St. David, with the French attack 1758, Page 307.
Tanjore, reduced from an exact ſurvey, Page 323.
View of Tanjore, Page 329.

SECTION THE SECOND.

The Carnatic, from the Penar to the Coleroon, with the Weſtern Mountains, and Part of Myſore, Page 367.
Madraſs, part of the Black Town, and the adjacent ground to the s. and w. with the French attack, from Dec. 12, 1758, to Feb. 17, 1759, Page 385.
Plan of the fronts of Fort St. George, attacked by Mr. Lally, from the 14th of Dec. 1758, to the 16th of Feb. 1759, with part of the Black Town, Page 460.
Palam Cotah, near Tinivelly, Page 467.
Maſulipatam, Page 480.
Valdore and Vandivaſh, to face Page 517; but Valdore refers to 627.
Carangoly, Page 545.
Chittapet, Page 591.
Arcot Fort and Chilambarum, to face 593; but Chilambarum refers to Page 630.
View of the Forts on the hills of Veloor, Page 603.
Permacoil, Page 606.
Karical, Page 617.
Pondicherry, Page 645.

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

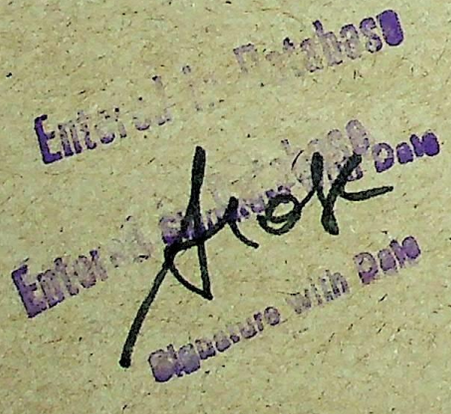
CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

ARCHIVES DATA BASE
2011 - 12



CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri University Haridwar Collection. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA